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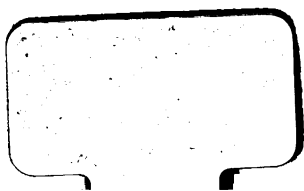
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THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
QUARTERLY REVIEW;

A Journal of Theology, Art, Science, and Literature

FOR

THE UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.



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4. *The Urgent Claims of India for more Christian Missions.* By a LAYMAN in India. Second edition. Octavo, pp. 56. London : T. H. Dalton, Cockspur-street. 1853.

CHRISTIANITY and missions are things inseparable. The religion of the Cross being possessed of universal adaptation, it is designed for universal propagation. It rises far above every geographical limit and every national peculiarity—above all the outward accidents and circumstances of humanity ; and, from the lofty platform of a divine benevolence, looks out upon the wide, wide world, and includes in its sympathies, and solitudes, and provisions, the whole family of man. The good news from a higher world are for all people:

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the glad tidings are to be proclaimed to all nations. The message of redeeming love is addressed to man as man; and whether he is found in savage and untutored ignorance, or sitting high-throned amid the lights and the happiness of a riper civilization, addresses to him the same overtures of grace, and seeks to draw him into the same mighty circle of life and freedom. It deals not with the outward and purely adventitious circumstances of man's earthly condition, but enters the sacred domain of the conscience and the heart as its true and proper sphere of operation—it lays hold of the interior nature, and, there first exerting its living and vivifying power, develops itself in the virtue, intelligence, refinement, and well-doing of our exterior character. It goes down to the lowest depth to which man has sunk; and, treating with him on the common ground of conscious sin and weakness, reveals to him a Saviour and Helper whose love is infinite and to whose power there is no limit. It proffers him the only aid which can avail him in his far-off distance from God and from happiness. Take the love-element from Christianity, and it ceases to be a religion for man. He not only looks for the hand of some strong One to help him, but the heart of some loving One that can sympathise with him in his low estate and turn his mourning into joy—his Saviour must be one who is touched with the feeling of his infirmities, and in whom omnipotent strength is united with boundless grace. Loud and urgent is his call for mercy; and nothing but the revelation of an infinite and self-moving love will allay his fears, inspire his hope, or draw his heart into union with the life of God. It is the benevolence of Christianity which adapts it to the known and actual condition of man: it is in virtue of its rich and exuberant grace that it appeals with such force and emphasis to the conscience. Disclosing the depth and the fulness of Heaven's benignity, it seeks to win the affections and the heart by the power of love. It is not a stream of fire from the seat of justice to scorch and consume, but the effulgence of that light whose beams are for life and healing—it is not a flash and a flame from the dark-bosomed cloud indicating the awakened vengeance of an offended God, but the bright and beautiful beamings of His face, on whose brow there sits the calm and unchanging composure of an eternal good-will—it is not the thunder-tones of an outraged and broken law, but the still small voice of a redeeming goodness. It is the Infinite in the act of stooping to the necessities and the sorrows of the finite—it is divine philanthropy moving along the path of human misery—it

tells of the Saviour yearning over the sinner, and of the loving Father standing with open arms to receive his returning and repenting child—it is mercy waving her bright and beautiful wing, and scattering the blessings of a free forgiveness far and wide among those who have forsaken their submission and their loyalty. It knows nothing of country or of clime—of complexion or of caste; but utters its high announcements in the ear of the world, and aims at nothing less and nothing lower than the drawing of the whole race into union and fellowship with God. A renovated world and a transformed race are its sublime ultimate end, and until this is realized its mission will not be fulfilled.

Christianity is a grand aggressive power on the domain of ignorance and sin. It stands in direct antagonism to every force and variety of evil. Being a pure, heavenly, regenerating influence, it must necessarily remain distinct and separate from everything which is not in harmony with itself. It can never become assimilated to that which is contrary to its own nature; nor has it the power to assimilate any opposite element and transmute it into its own essence. There is an eternal distinction between good and evil, and no power can change the one into the other—the vicious man may become virtuous, but virtue and vice retain their distinctive properties: the one may subdue and overcome the other, but they can never be confounded. It is this eternal distinction between good and evil which gives to Christianity its antagonistic character. Being in itself the revelation of the mightiest and most benevolent power in the universe of God, it cannot fail in its march and outgoing to come into conflict with every opposite force—its very existence in this world involves the fact of struggle and of contest. It is a power to subdue, and on the magnitude of its conquest depends the glory of its triumph. Our world has thrown off its allegiance to the Sovereign of the universe: from one end to the other of it, the flag of rebellion has been hung out, and thus an effort has been made to strike at the root of that authority on which repose both its order and its happiness. To restore the loyalty, the submission, and the obedience of its insurgent population, is the immediate design of the Christian system. The Gospel is the proclamation of a divine amnesty. God is revealed in his incarnate Son as reconciling sinners to himself—granting them free and unrestricted forgiveness—receiving them back to his favour and friendship, and conferring on them all the blessings and all the blessedness of eternal life; but these mighty benefits, made over from God to man,

imply a total change in the moral condition of man himself: the pardon of his sins is inseparable from the renovation of his nature: the grace which forgives involves a power to purify and transform: not only do old things pass away, but all things become new. The change does not consist in converting sin into holiness, but the sinner into a saint. The power of evil is overcome—the demon is cast out of the heart—and, by the introduction of new and heavenly principles, the man is gradually, yet most positively, assimilated to all that is pure, and spiritual, and divine. The Spirit works on the interior nature through his own simple, living truth, and thus brings all into subjection to his own perfect will. Regeneration can be resolved into no mechanical force. The true dynamics of Christianity are to be sought and found in its pure spirituality. It could not otherwise come into contact with the heart and the conscience of man—his spiritual nature can be only reached and touched by a spiritual agency and instrumentality. No combination of means—however beautiful and imposing in itself—will effect the end, if this spiritual vital element be not present; and hence nothing can be more fruitless than any attempt to subjugate this world to the sway of the Eternal by any merely outward arrangements or human expedients. Christianity deals with the man—with his inmost self—and, bringing all its enlightening and renewing influence to bear on his interior nature, is satisfied with nothing short of the conquest of the heart: it is not a power playing about the man, but going into the very inmost sanctuary of his being, and claiming there the supremacy and the reign for ever.

It is now, emphatically, that the moral warfare begins. The two mightiest principles of which we can conceive now come into immediate conflict. One of them must predominate: they cannot exist in the same heart with a co-ordinate power. However severe or however protracted may be the conflict, the victory must ultimately be on the one side or the other; and it is only when Christianity has got possession of this inner and more sacred domain that it transforms everything within into its own holy and divine nature. Not only is the power of evil overcome, but there is drawn out upon the soul the image and the impression of eternal love and of unfading glory—not only does the divine element impress itself upon all within, but it changes all into itself, until all exhibits the beauties of a divine righteousness; and the man, exulting in the joys of eternal life, rises into the perfection of God. It is when the kingdom of God has seated itself upon every power and

faculty of the human soul—it is when all have taken on the most deeply delightful characters of the divine righteousness—it is when all are reflecting as from more than polished surface the pure and ineffable beauties of the divine nature—it is when these divine proofs and glorious demonstrations of the power of God become visible in the man, that we have the only irresistible evidence of the triumph of Christianity. In proportion to the power which we put forth in the conflict, and in the degree in which this force has overcome every opposing agency and influence, is the grandeur of the conquest and the glory of the victory. Grand have been the past achievements of our simple, spiritual, Christianity; and such is her predicted future triumph.

Hence it is that Christianity is essentially missionary in its genius and spirit. The platform of the primitive Church was so constructed and so raised as to lead each individual member of the ecclesiastical community to identify the fact and the claims of missions with his own personal call and introduction into the new spiritual kingdom. In becoming the subject of an inward divine life, he became the organ through which that life should be communicated to others. There is nothing contracted or selfish in Christianity—its principles and its doctrines breathe the purest and the most unconfined benevolence—its charity embraces the world, and its redeeming grace enfolds within itself the whole family of man. God is love; and the good news of life which he has sent down to this our earth are to be published to every child of sin and sorrow. For this universal publication, provision has been made in the constitution of the Christian Church. The Church is the depository of truth, and, having that truth in trust, she is bound to make it known wherever man is found. She is a centre of light, from which is to go forth all that higher and purer illumination by which the mind of man is to be informed and turned to God. She is a centre of power, from whose midst is to be developed that moral influence by which all things are to be subdued to Christ. She is a centre of goodness, and from her are to issue those streams of life and blessing which are to enrich and render for ever happy the soul of man. She has nothing which she has not received; and she has received all which she now enjoys that she may distribute it with an open and liberal hand. Little as we may think of human agencies and instrumentalities, it is through the Church that God acts upon this world, and the salvation of the world must pause in the mighty sweep and fall of events till the Church shall awake

to a deeper and more penetrating sense of her duty to her risen and glorified Head. It is true that the Saviour shall have the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession—it is true that as Lord of all he is now putting down all rule, and all authority, and all power—it is true that he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet; but it is no less true that the strength—the moral and spiritual force by which all this is to be effected—is to go out of Zion.

The resources of the Church are equal to the magnitude and the grandeur of the end. It is only needful that those resources should be consecrated without reserve to this sublime enterprise. The spirit of selfishness must give place to the spirit of self-sacrifice. No one must look upon himself as his own, but as the blood-bought property of Christ; nor must he even form the idea of living to himself, but only to him who loved him, and hath given himself for Him. Holy consecration and noble doing make sublime the humblest life, and are something better than length of days. He only lives who lives to God, and in everlasting remembrance shall his name be held.

Missions are co-eval with the Christian Church. They both sprung into existence at once. The first followers whom the Saviour drew around him were educated and trained for missionary labour. More than once during his life were they sent forth on the sublime errand of mercy; and, when he was about to return to the glory which he had with the Father before the world began, he gave them the great commission to "go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." Hence the early Christians, receiving their first religious lessons from these men of missionary enterprise, had their platform of benevolent effort, and from them "sounded out the word of the Lord into all the region round about." Theirs was an aggressive movement, and still wider became the circle of life and happiness. The conversion and call to the ministry of the apostle of the nations formed a new era in the history of the early Church, and new prospects opened upon the Gentile world. His mission embraced all lands and his message was for all people. In the prosecution of his work, he entered into no cold or selfish calculation. For him to live was Christ. The glory of the Saviour in the salvation of man absorbed his every thought and his every feeling. His soul was on fire in pursuit of its chosen object, and, ere he finished his course, the nations were rejoicing in the light of life. His spirit sur-

vived in the Church; and it was not till the genius of Christianity became overlaid with superstition and formalism that the Church lost her missionary character. The efforts of the Church of Rome to extend her limits and her empire must not be confounded with the sublime scheme of Christian missions. Her aim from the beginning has been, not the diffusion of Christianity, but the establishment of Popery. She has gone forth with wondrous zeal and almost unparalleled self-denial, not to erect the cross, but only to impose the crucifix—not to break the bands of superstition, but to exchange one form of superstition for another—not to disenfranchise the mind of man, but, in removing one fetter, to fix and rivet another still more galling and degrading. So that, were the whole world converted to-morrow to the doctrines and worship of Romanism, it would require another and separate mission to bring them over to our pure, spiritual, Protestant Christianity.

The missionary enterprise of modern times has its basis in the reformation from Popery—not that that great organic change introduced a new religion: it only carried back the mind of England and Europe to the simple Christianity of the first and apostolic age, and by so doing it revived the missionary spirit in the Church. Nor will the final triumph of the Reformation be otherwise realized than in the universal spread and prevalence of the Christian faith. Missions are the appropriate work of the Church, and successfully to carry on this work it is necessary that she should not only hold the truth, but hold it in pureness and in freedom. A Church which is neither pure, nor spiritual, nor tolerant, can never succeed in this holy enterprise; and it is just because the various Protestant Churches of this nineteenth century have, in becoming increasingly pure and spiritual, in the same degree, become tolerant and confiding, that they can now with advantage take possession of the field, and, without anything approaching to either jealousy or rivalry, prosecute their common object up to the last possible point of zeal, and energy, and Christ-like devotedness.

In this great field of missionary enterprise, one of the first and most attractive spots is India. Whether we consider its geographical extent—its yet uncouth population—its commercial resources—its intellectual and moral condition—its ancient and profound mythology—its political relations to our own land—its progress in civilization and mental culture—with the openings and the facilities which now exist for benevolent and Christian action—all go to

give it a higher importance, and to deepen its claims to our attention and our effort. Judging from the labours and the language of Ziegenbalg—who was India's first Protestant missionary and whose bosom glowed with apostolic ardour—it appears that, one hundred-and-forty years ago, he discovered symptoms of spiritual life among the benighted inhabitants of that extended and crowded continent. He says:—

“For my part, I must acknowledge, from a lively experience and an inward conviction, founded on the promises of God, that to me there is an appearance of a mighty harvest among these Pagans, and that great numbers of them might, even in our days, be gained over to a true conversion by the ministry of the word, if Christians, who have the means of salvation put into their hands, would use their best endeavour to exert that diligence, that zeal, and vigour, that is necessary for the bringing about so glorious, so desirable, an end. I have wholly devoted myself to this work, and will, by divine grace strengthening me, go on still to devote myself.

* * * * *

“If we consider the success of this mission from its first beginning, it hath not yet, indeed, been answerable to our desires. The iniquity of the times, the fewness of the labourers, the perverse lives of some Christians among us, the rudeness of the Pagans, the dignity of the employment itself, and our own want of sufficiency for it, the want still of more necessary helps, together with other impediments, have been the cause why this work hath hitherto made no greater advance. The seed of the word, sown here and there, would have seemed as dead to us, unless we had believed in hope even against hope, that after so many tempests and commotions it would in time spring up, and bring forth fruit abundantly. Almighty God, who is never wanting either to the planter or the waterer, can give that increase to us, or to those who may come after us in this arduous affair, as was hardly to be expected from so small beginnings.”

This was said when the Bible had not been translated into any language in India, and when the written word was almost unknown in that sunny land. With the commencement of the present century opened a new era. Translations and versions of the sacred volume, in whole and in part, were executed in various languages and dialects of the country; and followed one upon another in rapid and acceptable succession. The labourers in this department were confined to no one section of the Church; nor did one refuse to acknowledge the doings and the achievements of another. Their joint-work was too important and too pressing to allow them to take into account their denominational differences and mental idiosyncrasies. Each translation was looked upon as common property, and was hailed as a mighty auxiliary in promoting the end of missions. But it

was long before the influence of the Bible began to develop itself in the heart and character of the people. Nearly one hundred years after the time of Ziegenbalg, when Bishop Corrie was stationed as chaplain at Chunar in 1807, there did not exist any translation of the Scriptures which he could put into the hands of those who came to him for religious instruction. Though the Bengali Bible had then been published, there was no Hindustani or Hindui copy of either the Old or New Testament; and it was not till the word of life began to be more freely circulated that its effects became visible, or that it awakened a spirit of still deeper and wider enquiry. During the last thirty years, the heaven of God's truth has been working—as all divine agencies do work—silently and effectually in the popular mind, and producing results to be had in remembrance. We might multiply instances almost without number, but one will suffice. In the year 1830, an intelligent Parsi of Bombay, addressing the Rev. Dr. Wilson of the Scottish Mission, through a periodical which he conducted, assured him, that not even a single Parsi would become a Protestant—no—nor ever become a Christian. Scarcely had nine years elapsed from that period when “two ingenuous youths, well instructed in the knowledge and deeply impressed by the Spirit of Christ, came forward, and, before multitudes of their mistaken and exasperated countrymen, renounced the symbols of their connection with the erring Zoroaster and the erroneous Zend-avesta, and boldly but humbly put on Christ by baptism, and were admitted as his followers into his visible Church.” In 1848, the Parsi himself was ordained in the city of Bombay as a missionary of the Cross, and in the year following he penned the following interesting and beautiful letter:—

“The Bible! How sweet its name! How sure its riches! How successful its results! Sweet to every Christian heart: sure and successful to individuals and families, communities, and nations at large,..... Fourteen years ago, a copy of one of the Gospels and a couple of tracts were put into my hands, at Demann, by a missionary of the Cross, who, as I afterwards learnt, had been out in that direction on a tour towards Guzerat. Thirteen years ago, my own father, having read and re-read these books, occasionally recommended his mischievous sons to read, especially the fifth, sixth, seventh, and other chapters of the Gospel (it was the Gospel according to Matthew), and a page here and there of one or both of the tracts. Twelve years ago, a strong suspicion was manifested in my family and amongst my friends that these books, however good in themselves, might one day destroy my faith in Parseism, and prove the ruin and reproach of my father's house and nation. Eleven years ago, having purchased an

English Bible and the four Gospels in Guzerati, I often read in both those languages together, not with a view, however, to profit my soul, but simply to learn the foreign language by comparing the two translations. Nearly ten years ago, the fears of the family and friends were realized. A power from on high now convinced the hitherto blinded reader of the Bible that it was not the language or literature, but the matter and mode of divine instruction—not the mere letter, but the spirit, that was to be assiduously pursued. Since then, being first blessed, I have more or less endeavoured, in my humble way, to become a blessing to others, and to make the blessed Bible itself an ever-increasing blessing to both. And blessed be God, the once deluded wretch has recently been set apart, by the great Author of the Bible, to undeceive and enlighten his fellow-men by means of this same blessed book. Such are the wonders the Bible has done, and is still doing, mediately and immediately, amongst the countless numbers of our race. Say, then, is not the Bible a sweet name and precious in the believer's ear? Are not its riches sure and its results successful?

While not more than three millions of copies of the Scriptures have yet been published for all these teeming millions of India, which includes nearly one-sixth of the population of the globe, that which presses most heavily on the heart of the pious and the good is the want of agents. The Bible is translated—there is an inquisitive and an enquiring people—there is the broad shield of a powerful and tolerant Government to protect each man's person and property; but the difficulty is how to send the Scriptures into districts in which there are no missions, and how to send them into all parts of the districts where there are missions, but where the proportion of labourers does not probably exceed one agent to half a million of people. There is no lack of encouragement in those districts into which the truth of God has been carried; but they are only comparatively few parts of India which have yet been supplied, while the work of extension is seriously checked and impeded by the contracted character of the various missions, and the limited number of missionaries now in the field. For all the twenty millions who speak the Bengali language, there were distributed in the space of nine long years not more than five and thirty thousand copies of the inspired volume. In the district of Hooghly, which adjoins Calcutta, there are large towns which till lately had not even been visited. In the district next to that, with one million and a-half of people, there is not a single missionary. In a long series of districts in the north of Bengal, with a joint population of some six millions or more, there is the same spiritual destitution. There is not a teacher or minister of religion in any one of those divisions. Within fifty miles of Calcutta—that city of

elegance and of splendour—that capital and emporium—that seat of supreme government—the people are enveloped in the grossest darkness, and sunk to the lowest point of moral degradation. What has been done bears no proportion to what still remains to be accomplished. It is high time for the Church to awake and put on strength; and, blessed with a fresh baptism of the Spirit—the Spirit of light and love—go forth with heart and purpose to the mighty work of the world's enlightenment and salvation.

The facts now adduced, in connection with the circulation and the effects of God's word in India, lead us very naturally and very anxiously to look at Mr. Mullen's "Revised Statistics." It appears that some two or three years ago an attempt was made "to exhibit in statistical tables the present position and agency of Christian missions in India," and which, from their gratifying and unexpected results, excited considerable interest among the friends and supporters of those missions. It was afterwards found, however, that these tables were not only incomplete, but in some of their details of doubtful authority. At a Missionary Conference subsequently held in Calcutta, it was resolved that the tables should be revised, and the statistics brought down to the latest period. "The result of this second and more complete enquiry exhibits the missions as occupying a higher position, and as being blessed with larger fruits than previous researches had ever before shown, or their warmest friends had ever anticipated." At the beginning of 1852, and more than fifty years after the modern English and American Societies had begun their labours in Hindustan, we are told there were not fewer than three hundred and thirteen stations in India and Ceylon. Here the glad tidings of redemption through the blood of Christ are now proclaimed in connection with the services of four hundred and forty-three missionaries, belonging to twenty-two Missionary Societies. Of these missionaries, forty-eight are ordained natives. Assisted by six hundred and ninety-eight native preachers or catechists, they proclaim the word of God in the bazaars and markets, not only at their several stations, but in the districts around them. They have thus spread far and wide the doctrines of Christianity, and have made a considerable impression, even upon the unconverted population. They have founded three hundred and thirty-one churches, containing more than eighteen thousand members or communicants, of whom five thousand were admitted on the evidence of their being converted. These Church members form the nucleus of a native Christian community, comprising one hundred and twelve thousand indivi-

duals, who regularly enjoy the blessings of Bible instruction, both for young and old. The efforts of missionaries in the cause of education are now directed to thirteen hundred and forty-five day-schools, in which eighty-three thousand seven hundred boys are instructed through the medium of their own vernacular language; to ninety-three boarding schools, containing between two and three thousand boys, chiefly Christian, who reside upon the missionaries' premises, and are trained up under their eye; and to one hundred and twenty-eight day-schools, with fourteen thousand boys and students, receiving a sound scriptural education, through the medium of the English language. Their efforts in female education embrace three hundred and fifty-four day-schools, with eleven thousand five hundred girls; and above one hundred boarding schools, with nearly three thousand girls, taught almost exclusively in the vernacular languages.

In reference to this last mentioned subject, we find that at the late annual meeting of the North London Auxiliary to the "Society for Promoting Female Education in Africa and the East," Dr. Duff made the following observations on the influence of Hindoo mothers in instilling idolatry into their children:—

"It is not the Shasters and the Brahmins that are the great teachers of idolatry and superstition in India. No: the great pillars of idolatrous superstition are the mothers: they cannot read themselves—that is contrary to Hindoo law and practice; but they have their family priests, who worm themselves round them. They are eaten up with superstition. They have nothing else in their minds: accordingly you will find, in Bengal in particular, mothers with their children in their arms teaching them idolatry. You will see a mother pressing the family idol, with a little child that cannot yet lisp a word, holding it up and making it look at it, and then bow down its head to it, then taking up its hands and making a salaam to it. The little child does not actually know what it is doing; but it is not very astonishing that, by dint of practice and habit, when pressing the idol, it should, by a sort of mechanical agency, go through the process without the mother helping it. Thus, before the child can speak, it is trained up in idolatry. The mother is the great teacher of the child in India, and she has a catechetical way of going about it. The child, perhaps, is hungry in the morning, waiting for its breakfast: an earthen vessel is on the fire: the rice is there, and the child is wondering why its breakfast is so long coming, until, at last, the mother, looking at the child and pointing to the fire, will say, 'What is that?' 'Why it is the fire, mother.' 'Yes, but what do you know about it? What does the fire do?' 'It makes the rice boil, mother.' 'What, nothing else?' 'It makes we warm.' 'But is that all you know about it? Oh! you stupid little thing'—(that is the playful way in which the mother goes on.) 'Stop, and I will tell you.' Then she will put on

a grave face and say, 'That is a god' (giving it a name.) Then she will begin to tell stories about the fire-god, and how it is to be propitiated, and what mischief it will do if it is not; and then she will bring some little offering and throw it into the fire, and show the child how it is to be done; and she does this so often that at last the child is able to do it. Then the wind is blowing outside. 'What is that, my child?' 'The wind, mother.' 'What is the wind?' 'Just the wind, mother.' 'What else? What does it do?' 'I see it rolling about the dust, mother, and shaking the leaves.' 'Oh! you stupid thing, I'll teach you.' Then the mother will give the wind the name of the wind-god, and teach the child how that god is to be propitiated. So the mother will teach the child how the water is god—how the sun, moon, and stars are gods—and tell stories about them. For instance, the sun-god is personified in an endless number of legends. The mother tells the child, 'You see, when we worship the sun-god, we don't give the whole rice to him: we must have it ground very small.' She tells him the whole story, how that there was an assembly of gods and the sun-god was there—how he offended the other gods and how one of them knocked out his front teeth with a blow—'Therefore he cannot eat the whole rice, but must have it beaten small.' Then she may draw a moral and say, 'Don't you quarrel with other boys, lest you should be like the sun-god.' Then, perhaps, the cow is lying outside the door, and the child thinks the cow rather impudent in coming so near, and takes up a stick and tries to drive it away. If the mother sees the child doing this, she runs up to him in great alarm, and says, 'Oh! child, what are you doing?' 'Driving away the cow, mother, that's all.' 'Do you know what the cow does?' 'Gives milk, mother, that's all.' 'But don't you know what the cow is?' and the mother is in a perfect towering indignation and misery. She does not know what to do, and she tells the child the name of the cow. It is an incarnation of one of their chief goddesses, and she says the goddess will be angry. 'We must go and propitiate her;' and she goes through ceremonies to show how the cow is to be propitiated, and makes the child ask pardon of the cow. Now, these are the ways in which heathen mothers set about teaching their children idolatry and those superstitions which they have themselves learned, and which are at the root of all the abominations of India. Therefore it is that the mothers are the great teachers in India; and when one beholds these heathen mothers thus assiduous and earnest, oh! how one is led to look back to Christian Protestant Britain, and to say, 'Would to God that Christian mothers were but one-half as earnest, and one-half as assiduous, in imbuing the minds of their tender infants with the knowledge of Jesus Christ and him crucified, as those Hindoo mothers are in imbuing the minds of their infants with idolatry and superstition!'

Here we pause for a moment. No one can overrate the importance of female education in India, and it is with much pleasure we call attention to the Society for promoting it:—

"I can testify that at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and several other

old stations in India, we can get access to a much larger number than we have the means of overtaking. I recollect the case of a young man who was married, but his father did not know it. He became a Christian. One Sunday afternoon he came with his wife to my house. She had never seen a European before, and was standing wrapped in a cloth, appearing very timid. She had made up her mind to become a Christian. This being a Hindoo holiday, the house was left with only her and her husband and the servants: an idolatrous procession was passing along the streets, the servants went to look at it, and the young man and his wife seized the opportunity to escape. They were at that moment reading the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and the passage they had come to was where Christian's resolution was taken to flee from the city of destruction, and the wife said, 'Is not this our own case? Are we not in the city of destruction? Cannot we flee too?' They rose up, found the doors open, and went out into the street: they got into the first vehicle they found, and drove as fast as possible to my house. They were soon after baptized, and are now burning and shining lights as Christians."

And there is no want of willingness on the part of the people to receive instruction. The following is a vivid description of the field of work:—

"If you look at the map of India, you see along the north-east the great valley of the Ganges—the Ganges running along some 1,500 or 1,600 miles into the Bay of Bengal. Then, if you take your stand at the head of the Bay of Bengal, and look to the north-west along that immense valley, you have one of the largest plains in the whole world, and beyond all debate the most densely-populated plain upon the face of the earth. If your eye could grasp it, it could run along in a straight line for one thousand miles along a lovely plain, in breadth about three hundred miles. This is the plain of the valley of the Ganges. In that single valley you have more human beings endowed with immortal souls than you have in the whole United States and the Canadas, and Mexico, and Brazil, and the other empires of South America—in fact, more human beings than in the whole of North and South America put together; and all these British subjects are now lying prostrate at our feet, asking us what we shall make of them. The lowest range of the Himalayas run for 1,500 or 2,000 miles along the side of this immense valley. This lowest range is in height something like your own highest mountains in Great Britain. Beyond this first range, there is an immense valley running along, of which Nepaul is only a portion. Then you have the secondary range of the Himalayas before you, rising up to the height of 7,000 or 8,000 feet. From that valley they rise up very precipitously, and it is on the top of one of these crests or peaks that you have the establishment known under the name of Mussoorie.

"It may be asked, why do people assemble there? For the sake of the bracing breeze, and the healthiness of the situation. I am sorry to say that the Romanists have pre-occupied the field (of education).

I did not know this till I got to Mussoorie, but I was told there of a convent. I said, 'Can I see it?' Well, at last, by special permission, I was allowed to go and see it. Ah! but I could not see the children—they would not let me see them. They were very kind in taking me through all the rooms, and showing me the accommodation that was afforded, and the appliances they had for teaching accomplishments. I saw there a framed document. I was asked to look at it, and I found it contained the names of the subscribers for the erection of this convent, and almost all of them were nominally Protestants! Yes: it was by Protestant money chiefly that that convent was erected! Now, then, Christian friends, what is wanted is—that this Society put forth its whole energy in counteracting the deadliness of this effect of Romanism upon the summit of Mussoorie. There are numbers who go there every year in quest of health—they are resident there with their children. If they do not send them there, there is nothing for them to do but idle at home. But if you were to get up an institution there, properly conducted, we should be too glad to send our children to it. Remember, moreover, that there is but a fluctuating, migratory, population there. I have little doubt of the substantial reality of what is said in the Report. I have little doubt that, migratory though it be, yet there will be, as it were, an everlasting flux; so that if there were really a good institution founded, though it be costly at the outset, there would be every reason to believe, nay, one might venture to say, that it would be self-supporting. And what a glorious thing would that be—to have a noble Protestant Institution up there confronting that Romanizing institution! Scarcely any Romanists go there: they are almost all Protestant children that are taught in that institution; and what is done on the heights of Mussoorie is done in many places along the valley of the Ganges, down in Calcutta, and in other regions throughout India; and, if a Protestant institution were to succeed at Mussoorie, it would be a model for other places. Therefore, surely there is a loud call upon one and all to come forward to the help of the Lord in India.*

The station referred to attracts, by its refreshing and salubrious climate, numbers not only of Europeans but of Indo-Britons as they are called—a class rapidly increasing in number, wealth, and influence. It is the female children of this class which the efforts now contemplated are especially designed to benefit: they are rarely sent to Europe for education, and the country affording only the most scanty means of instruction for them, they grow up to be the prey of the evil influence around them.

If we except a few private seminaries of an exclusive and expensive character, but little is done for the education of

* This information we take from an excellent periodical called, "The Female Missionary Intelligence," published by Messrs. Seeley.

girls at Mussoorie. The Romanists, profiting by the supineness of Protestants, have established convents, in which a liberal and ornamental education is supplied on a moderate scale, and in which many of the pupils are won over to Popery; and will not those who profess a purer faith rouse themselves to action, and identify themselves with an object which must affect the posterity of India, and the many rolling ages of her future history?

But to return from this digression—into which we have been betrayed by the magnitude and importance of the subject—if zeal and energy are wanting in one department, we find fire and force in another.

The Bible has been wholly translated into ten languages and the New Testament into five others, not reckoning the Serampore versions. In these ten languages a considerable Christian literature has been produced, including from twenty to seventy tracts, suitable for distribution among the Hindu and Musselman population. The missionaries have established and now maintain twenty-five printing establishments. While preaching the Gospel regularly in the numerous tongues of India, they at the same time maintain English services in seventy chapels for the edification of our own countrymen. The total cost of this vast missionary agency amounts to one hundred and ninety thousand pounds; of which thirty-three thousand five hundred pounds are contributed, not by the native Christian community, but by Europeans resident in the country.

Attempts to Christianise India, in whole or in part, have been repeatedly made during the last three hundred years. In these efforts, the four following plans of operation have been adopted:—

“The Portuguese, backed by king John and led on by their fighting priests, endeavoured to *compel* the people of Ceylon and South India to receive their faith by bloody massacres, cruel persecutions, imprisonments, and fines. We read of no sermons preached—no distribution of the Bible effected by them; but we find that they ‘demolished, burnt, and rooted out’ the ‘pagan temples,’ sought to abolish the heathen sports, and ‘severely punished’ obstinate recusants. The Jesuits, in the same part of the country, endeavoured to accomplish the same end more thoroughly by a persevering system of the most stupendous *frauds* ever committed under the sun. They pretended to be Bramins of the highest caste: they dressed like Sanyasis; adopted the manners, dress, and food of the heathen; forged a Veda; denied that they were Europeans; and, to support their character, resorted to the most unblushing lies, during a period of many years.

“The Dutch Government next entered the field; and, in addition

to setting before the heathen the same example of dishonesty, covetousness, falsehood, licentiousness, cruelty, and intolerance, which they had seen in their predecessors the Portuguese, they sought to *bride* the Singhaiese to adopt Dutch Presbyterianism by the offer of places and situations; and to *terrify* them into it by refusing all Government employ, and even the farming of land, to all who were not baptized, and had not signed the Helvetic Confession of Faith. Each of these three plans acquired thousands upon thousands of nominal converts, but nothing more. Neither cruelty nor fraud, nor appeals to self-interest, laid the foundation of a sincere and permanent Christian community. It naturally followed, therefore, that these thousands of converts returned to the Heathenism of their fathers as soon as the efficient cause of their profession was withdrawn.

‘They melted from the field, as snow,
When streams are swollen, and south winds blow,
Dissolves in silent dew.’

“In 1802, there were 136,000 Tamil Christians in Jaffna; but in 1806, after the English conquest, Christianity was ‘*extinct*.’ Of the 340,000 in the Singhaiese district in 1801, more than half had relapsed into Buddhism by 1810, and others were fast going. The Roman Catholics of South India, the descendants of some of the Jesuits’ converts, and numbering some 40,000, are at this day scarcely distinguishable from the heathen. Their ceremonies are, to a great extent, the same—the names only of their deities differ. Such are the results of the early attempts to convert the natives of Hindustan—attempts of which two were made, not by the teachers of Christianity, but by the Governments of Europe.

“The *fourth* and last plan of missionary operations adopted in India is that employed by modern Missionary Societies. It is that of endeavouring to *convince* the Hindus of the evils of idolatry and of the truth of Christianity by preaching to the old; by teaching the young; by giving to all the Bible and Christian books in their own tongues; by endeavouring, in a word, to enlighten their understandings, to instruct their ignorance, to convince their judgments, and draw their hearts; so that they may become willing converts, and abide in the faith which they are persuaded to embrace.”

In conformity with these ideas, the Tranquebar Mission was commenced in 1706. In that year Ziegenbalg and Plutschö entered on the work of preaching the Gospel in the vernacular tongue, and for more than a century did they and their successors continue to carry it on. The number of their baptized converts amounted altogether to more than fifty thousand; and had their labours been properly sustained, and had the place of those who were removed by death been filled up, they would have done much towards bringing the whole of Southern India under Christian instruction and influence. But “the springs whence these waters came began to dry up

—German neology usurped the place of Bible truth." In 1816, only three missionaries remained, and these with one exception were supported entirely by English friends. As might have been expected, "the native churches fell away and were scattered; the schools were closed; the missions lost their distinctive character; and at length their remnants became totally absorbed in the proceedings of other and more active missionary agencies." The loss which was thus sustained is more than to be regretted: it is a catastrophe over which the whole Church of Christ should weep, and to improve which every effort should now be made.

A more interesting chapter in the history of missionary enterprise in the vast continent of India now opens before us. In the pamphlet on "Results" we are furnished with the following facts and statements:—

"The modern era of missions in India begins with the founding of the Serampore Baptist Mission in 1799. The continental Christians had retired from the work; but the Churches of England and America had awoke to their duty and were seeking to fulfil it. Within a few years, stations were established in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and began to push outward into all the Presidencies of Hindustan. The beginnings were slow, but sure. One society, then another—one missionary and then another—landed on the coast and took up their posts on the great battlefield of idolatry. The London Missionary Society sent missionaries to Chinsurah, to Travancore, to Madras, Vizagapatam and Bellary, to Surat, and lastly to Ceylon. The American Board, after some opposition from the Government, occupied Bombay. The Church Missionary Society entered first on the old missions at Madras, Tranquebar, and Palamcottah; but soon began an altogether new field among the Syrian Christians in West Travancore. They planted a station at Agra, far in the north-west, and maintained the agency which Corrie had employed at Chunar. A native preacher began the work at Meerut, while two missionaries were stationed in Calcutta. The Baptist Missionary Society soon occupied Jessore, Chittagong, Dinapore, and other places; and also began its mission in Ceylon. In the latter island the Wesleyans speedily followed them, and to them succeeded the missionaries of the American Board. North, south, east, and west, the Church of Christ was pushing forth its men and means into the land with vigour and earnestness of purpose. The Bible Society aided the missionaries in translating the inspired word; and, within a few years, it was circulated among the various nations of India, in several languages, for the first time."

For the first five-and-twenty years the agencies and the efforts were limited and few. Since 1830, the appeals made to the Churches of Britain and America have nearly trebled the agency previously employed. The sphere of operation has been greatly enlarged, and the most substantial fruits are

now being reaped. Including missionaries and native teachers, there are about one thousand men of God consecrated to the sublime work of preaching reconciliation to God through the blood of the Lamb. Efforts are being made in all parts of India to train a superior class of public instructors; and if it be made a *sine qua non* in all missions that native preachers shall be men of clearly manifested piety and of active intelligence, and that they shall receive a good education—especially in their own language—before they are designated to their sacred work, there can be no doubt that the great body of teachers will be vastly improved in character and influence during the next thirty years. The larger cities and towns have been selected as the centres of action, though there are whole districts with numerous towns, villages, and a dense population, to which no message of salvation has ever been addressed. It is true that the native churches are comparatively few in number, limited in numerical strength, and proportionately feeble in action; but there is a large body of individuals who are cut off entirely from the great communities of Hindu and Muselmans, and who, having cast off the restraints of heathenism, and placed themselves under the influence of the Gospel, are all under regular instruction; while the amount of time and labour bestowed by the missionary on the education of the young is only second to that which he devotes to the higher work of making known to the adult population the wonders of redeeming love. Though the English missionary schools are confined to those parts of the country in which there exists a strong desire for acquiring the English language, yet these institutions are very numerous; and, besides thousands on thousands of ordinary scholars, include an interesting class of young men who are fairly entitled to the name and rank of college students. In these schools—which occupy a sphere of usefulness peculiar to themselves—Biblical truth is conveyed in connection with a high degree of intellectual training. In the department of female education, the boarding-schools for orphans, and the daughters of native Christians, have been most successful. It is to these institutions that many of the most intelligent and best-behaved of the native Christian women are indebted for their training. Amid these efforts, on behalf of the heathen, enlarged provision has been made for religious services suited to the European population resident in the country; while special attention has also been given to the translation of the word of life into various languages and dialects.

We know that it is a question often put by an infidel world and a supine Church—"Does the missionary enterprise of the last fifty years exhibit results which at all correspond with the time, talent, property, and life, which have been expended in its prosecution? In other words—Have our Christian missions to the heathen been successful, or must they be looked upon as a failure? Modern missions are not and cannot be compared with apostolic and primitive doings. The two cases are not parallel." And taking up the question in relation to India we have this answer:—

"The circumstances of our Indian missions are altogether unique and peculiar. In its idolatries India resembles other lands, it is true; but in its numerous ancient and venerated Shastras—in its lordly and powerful priesthood, the monopolists of its ancient learning—in its well-bound family-system—and, above all, in its bonds of caste, it presents difficulties and obstructions to the progress of Christianity such as it has not met before. Triumph it will over all these obstacles: it has begun to triumph already; but there may, there must be delay before the complete conquest is achieved; and when it does come it will be one of the most signal and illustrious that the world has ever seen. The dam, which stands before the trickling rill and leaves its tiny waters to fall in slender strings over its grassy ridge, shakes, quivers, falls before that rill, swollen to a mountain torrent and pressing forward its pent-up waters. And thus is it with Christianity in this 'day of small things:' caste may form a barrier to its passage, but the knowledge of the Gospel is increasing and accumulating among the people whom the bonds of caste restrain. Already has it begun to shake; and its defenders, fearful of a crash, have rushed to its defence; but they cannot stay the weight and force of Christian truth. In due time their system must give way; and there will be a steady and continuous flow of Hindu families into the Church of Christ."

The accession of native converts—the wide and extensive preaching of the Gospel—the spread of Christian knowledge—the infusion of Christian ideas into native minds—the preparation of an efficient system of agency and of materials which that agency may employ—the acquisition of valuable experience—these and similar results all point forward to a future and still more rapid success. And here facts are crowded upon our view. In addition to the actual conversion of a goodly number of native Christians, the Indian missions have spread such a large amount of Christian knowledge throughout the country, and have produced such deep impressions upon the native mind, both in relation to the follies of Hinduism and the truth of the Bible, as to prepare the way for a very large accession to the Church of God.

The Hindus have learned that their system is full of errors, and have begun to lay aside some of their old notions—that the science of their Shastras is contemptible and worthless, and is replete with inconsistencies—that their worship is unworthy of reasonable beings—that their priesthood is grasping and ignorant—that their whole system stands in striking contrast to Christianity and must decay. The Brahmins are no longer so highly honoured. Thousands now approve of female education; and in the great cities the ladies of numerous families are being privately taught. The re-marriage of widows is discussed by the native papers, and its advantages fully acknowledged. Intelligence is rapidly on the increase. The Bible is revered, and public instruction is received with growing interest. In certain given districts the progress of the missions has been most positive and delightful: in the provinces of Tinnevely and Travancore their success has been most encouraging; and it is believed that, if the work of evangelization be faithfully carried on for two or three generations, the whole of the southern provinces in India will be entirely christianized. Passing over those native converts who were distinguished from their brethren by the peculiar consistency of their lives, and the triumphant hope which they enjoyed in death, there are thousands on thousands more under Christian instruction, and in many of whom spiritual life is a sublime reality. For them, and for myriads more of the population, the Bible has been translated; and this is deemed among the first and most important agencies for the conversion of India. Mission presses have been set up, and there are not fewer than twenty-five printing establishments in connection with the various missionary institutions; and missionary literature has done much to draw the attention of the Christian world to the claims of Hindustan upon their sympathies and their prayers. The missionaries maintain several English periodicals, and their press employs some of the best writers in India. During the last fifty years a steady and pleasing progress has marked their labours; and such has been their influence on the government of the country as to induce them to remove some of its most glaring and disgusting abominations, while it has gone forth in the form of a ratified act that all natives are henceforth free to hold their own conscientious opinions in religion without fear of legal penalties. Nor this only. The missionary, on landing on that distant shore, no longer finds himself in the destitute circumstances incident to the first ambassadors of the Churches—he finds grammars, dictionaries, and vocabu-

laries, to aid him in studying the native languages—Hindu students in many places able at once to receive his Christian instructions even in the English language—places of worship already erected—people prepared in spirit to understand his message—schools with all their manifold appliances—books and translations in great variety—Christian Societies among whom his halting efforts in the vernacular may be commenced, and into which converts may be introduced. In one word, all the elements of an efficient agency have been prepared—an agency suited to the country in language and in thought, and embodying the knowledge and experience of those who have spent many years of toil, and anxiety, and suffering, in devising and maturing the best scheme of action. The question is therefore renewed with deeper emphasis :—

“Have Indian missions, then, been a failure? Irreligion and fear prophesied in former days that they would be—they prophesied that the Hindus would never be converted, and that the attempt to christianize them would lead to rebellion. Such notions have long been exploded. Looking at the number of actual converts and the still larger numbers under regular Christian instruction—looking to the character of many who have died in the faith of the Gospel—looking to the vast amount of efficient agency now at work—looking to the deep and wide impression made upon the native mind at large—looking to the improvement in European society—looking to the removal of several of the most striking evils once prevalent in the land—looking to the large and valuable experience acquired by past labours and to the preparation made by those labours for future success—we must allow that missions have accomplished much during the short period in which they have been efficiently carried on.”

But urgent are the claims of India—all that has been done bears no proportion to what is still to be accomplished. Here is a continent which is found to stretch away eighteen hundred miles in extreme length, and at least thirteen hundred in extreme breadth, and which includes within its mighty boundaries all varieties of climate, scenery, and soil. The following passage is not more graphic than true :—

“The giant range of the Himalaya capped with eternal snow—the sandy deserts of Rajputana—the fertile plains of the Lower Ganges and of Tanjore—the mighty Ghats and the salubrious plateau of Mysore, alike rank among its territories. It contains at least one hundred and thirty millions of people, distributed in twenty-four provinces, and speaking thirteen polished languages. The resources with which Providence has gifted it are fitted to promote the comfort of human life in a thousand ways. It supplies the cheapest food of numerous kinds, and the warmth of its largest provinces requires but scanty clothing : it furnishes fields of coal, beds of copper, lead and

iron, and mines of salt : it has giant forests of the most useful trees—especially sal, teak, segun, and oak ; while its bamboo topes, its cocoanuts and palms, furnish the poor with the posts, roofing, and thatch of their houses, and with a variety of articles besides. Its dry plains produce in abundance varied kinds of pulse and vegetables, together with wheat, indigo, cotton, sugar, and opium : while, in vast swamps, are grown luxuriant crops of rice. The noble rivers of Bengal and the North West Provinces furnish a ready highway for trade, while the cheapness of labour brings their vast produce into the market at a low rate. Not only in the necessities of life, but in its luxuries, does the value of this mighty continent appear. It has given to the world its largest jewels and finest fabrics. The shawls of Cashmere, the Muslins of Dacca, the filagree jewellery of Cuttack, are to this day unrivalled. The might of European machinery has, in these things, yielded the palm to the taper fingers and ingenious skill of the natives of India ; while their carvings in ebony and ivory, their curious musical instruments, their rich embroidery—viewed in connection with other features of their character and occupations—prove them to be a unique and wondrous people. The population has its features of interest as well as the country. It includes the clever and cunning Brahmin, the submissive and patient Sudra, the poor outcast Paria of Madras, and the licentious Musalman : it includes the coward yet cunning Bengali, the spirited Hindustani, the martial Sikh, Rohilla, and Gurkha—the fighting Mahratta and Rajput—the mercantile Armenian—the active and honest Parsi—the busy Telugu—and the uncivilized Gonds, Khunds, Bhiils, Todawars, Garrows, Lepchas, Kassias, and the like, who now inhabit the hill forests, but who once roamed as lords over the outspread plains. The revenue paid to the Government is equal to twenty millions a-year ; and the annual trade of the three ports of India amounts to not less than forty millions of pounds sterling.”

This vast continent, with its countless population and its immense resources, has been committed to England. But for what end has that sunny land been given to her ? Not, surely, that we might pique and plume ourselves on our vast territorial possession—nor that we might boast the richest and most splendid commerce—nor that glory might sit radiant on our arms ; but for ends, the most beneficent and the most merciful:—

“ It is given to her⁴ that the blessings, which have made England great, may elevate degraded India too : that her high civilization may be shared by her dependents : that the knowledge, which has enlightened her intellect, may enlarge the minds of the Hindus : that the mental vigour of the conqueror may be imparted to the conquered : that the justice, the moral tone, the truth of England, may be infused into a people who have not known them for ages. Above all, that the BIBLE, which has made England and America the missionaries of the world, may destroy India's idolatries and caste ; raise her

people from their degradation ; purify them from the immoralities which their religion now teaches ; make them just, truthful and happy ; raise the female population ; give them joys in this life, and animate them with the hope of eternal bliss."

In addition to the vastness of the country, the numerical force of the population, and the fact of England having received this mighty possession that she may impress upon it her own pure spiritual Christianity, there are other considerations of no common weight and magnitude to be taken into account. At the present moment, there is not more than one Christian missionary to a quarter of a million of the population ; or, if we include the native agency, not more than one religious teacher to one hundred and fifty thousand souls ! While we speak in lofty terms of our missions to India, the greater part of the land is utterly unprovided with moral and spiritual instruction. The disproportion between the provision which has been made for this, and for other parts of the heathen world, is strikingly set forth in the following statement :—

"The Sandwich Islands, with 80,000 inhabitants, have thirty-one missionaries. The Navigator's Islands, with a population of 160,000, have fifteen missionaries to instruct them. New Zealand, with 100,000, has forty. The population of the South Sea Islands under instruction is 800,000, and is taught by one hundred and twenty missionaries. In the West Indies, there are not less than *three hundred and fifty* missionaries to instruct a population of *two millions and a half*. More than seventy missionaries are crowded into the 'Five ports' of China and the Island of Hong-Kong. But in India, for one hundred and thirty (or as some say two hundred) millions of people, we have but four hundred and three missionaries. Whole provinces and large towns, with thousands of inhabitants, are wholly uninstructed. In Bengal and Behar it has been reckoned that eighteen millions never hear the Gospel. Within fifty miles of Calcutta, there are towns and villages with 30,000, 20,000 and 10,000, inhabitants that never saw a missionary till the present year ; and were so unknown that no map accurately described their position and size. Delhi, with 150,000 people, much more populous than New Zealand, has no missionary at all. Midnapore, with 70,000, has none. Azimghur, Bareilly, Purneah, Mymensing, and hundreds of other important towns and districts, have none at all. Excepting two missionaries at Lahore and one in Scinde, the Punjab, Scinde, the Bhawalpore States, all Rajputana, all Oude, Bundelkund, the Nerbudda Valley, and the great State of Hyderabad, have no missionaries whatever. Even Agra, the chief seat of the North-West Provinces, has but eight missionaries, of whom one is absent ; and Benares, the 'holy city,' with a permanent population of 300,000, has but eleven. In the whole presidency of Agra, containing numerous large towns and peopled with the finest races in India, there are only *as many missignaries (fifty-seven)* as

are engaged in the small negro settlements on the West Coast of Africa."

It appears that out of the four hundred and three Protestant missionaries who were labouring in India at the close of 1850, there were not more than eighty who belonged to the Church of England! And this with the fact patent before us, that the whole country is, in the widest sense of the words, all accessible to the missionaries of the Cross: that an European, or even a native missionary, may travel into every district, and be received with courtesy if not with kindness by the people: that he might settle in any of the countless towns that are now totally unprovided and there be both safe and useful: that from Cape Comorin, almost up to Peshawur, he would find a free course for the Gospel: that in no other country in the world would he find in such combination, or to such an extent, the two elements of population and accessibility: that, while in other countries he might carry the glad tidings of Heaven's love to tens of thousands, here he may deliver his message to millions: that everywhere he would find a sphere for his peaceful, benevolent, and holy labours, while it would be given him to live in security and in happiness under the broad shield of law, where he might devote his powers and talents to the most honourable and glorious service in which man can be employed, and with the favour and blessing of God continually resting upon him. Appropriate here are the words of the good Bishop of Calcutta:—

"What can exceed the inviting prospect which India presents? The fields white for the harvest and awaiting the hand of the reaper. Nations bursting the intellectual sleep of thirty centuries. Superstitions no longer in the giant strength of youth, but doting to their fall. Britain placed at the head of the most extensive empire ever consigned to a western sceptre—that is, the only great power of Europe, professing the Protestant faith, entrusted with the thronging nations of Asia whom she alone could teach. A paternal Government, employing every year of tranquillity in elevating and blessing the people, unexpectedly thrown upon its protection. No devastating plague, as in Egypt—no intestine wars—no despotic Heathen or Muhammadan dominion prowling for its prey; but legislation going forth with her laws, science lighting her lamp, education scattering the seeds of knowledge, commerce widening her means of intercourse, the British power ever ready to throw her ægis around the pious and discreet missionary.

"Oh! where are the first propagators and professors of Christianity? Where are our martyrs and reformers? Where are the ingenious, devoted, pious sons of our universities? Where are our

younger devoted clergy? Are they studying their ease? Are they resolved on a ministry tame, ordinary, agreeable to the flesh? Are they drivelling after minute literature, poetry, fame? Do they shrink from that toil and labour which, as Augustine says, our Commander, Noster Imperator, accounts most blessed?..... Let us unite in removing misconceptions—let us join in appealing to societies—let us write to particular friends and public bodies—let us afford correct, intelligible information. Let us send specific and individual invitations; and let us pray the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth more labourers into his harvest."

Little more needs to be said on this great subject, except to indicate a few points which bear more immediately and directly on the friends and directors of Christian missions.

If the call be loud and imperative for additional labourers, those who are sent should be men of God, with heart, and soul, and purpose. They should be "humble, quiet, persevering men—men of sound, sterling talents—of decent accomplishments, and some natural aptitude to acquire a language—men of an amiable yielding temper, willing to take the lowest place, to be the least of all, the servant of all: men who enjoy much closet religion, who live near to God, and are willing to suffer all things for Christ's sake, without being proud of it. These are the men we need."

In making provision for India, care should be had to keep up all the present stations in their integrity and their vigour. If they have been well chosen, they must be worthy of the most efficient support. No man should be left to labour single-handed: he should have his associates and his colleagues; and no vacancy should occur, whether by death or removal to another sphere, without its being filled up at the very earliest convenience.

It is of the first moment that cities and large towns should be chosen as the centres of Christian effort. It is the divine method to work from within to without. It is not the country which acts upon the town; but the town, as the centre of life and activity, which sends its influence over the surrounding country. Hence the Saviour taught his disciples to begin their ministry at Jerusalem, and from thence the water of life issued in its many thousand streams to bless and to beautify a parched and desolate world. One central light is sufficient for many planets—so the moral influence of a single city is felt far and wide.

If the principle of concentration should exist anywhere, it should in the field of missions. We have so divided our strength as to have proved feeble in action—our separation and isolation have given us a larger superficial or geographical

cal territory, but in the same degree it has circumscribed and narrowed the great spiritual domain. Had the Christian Church gathered up her resources, and after having chosen some central sphere of action had brought her concentrated energies and activities to bear upon the object of her solicitude and their prayers, far different would have been the results. If the stations which are now occupied in other parts of the world must be kept up, so let them be; but do not let us attempt at the present crisis in the East to enlarge and multiply them. Let all our agencies and all our energies be henceforth devoted to India and China. The whole eastern world is in a transition state, and by a wide direction of means we may effect its subjugation to the Saviour.

We cannot but think also that the brotherhood of missionaries is in our favour. It is gratifying, in these days of angry strife and formal separation, to know that there are those in the distant fields of holy enterprise who have learned to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. "At Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the missionaries of all Societies are accustomed to meet monthly for mutual conference and united prayer. In these meetings all general questions relating to the more efficient conduct of missionary operations, to common difficulties and common success, are brought forward and discussed; while frequent occasions are furnished in private for cultivating personal friendships of the closest-kind." Such a band of holy, loving, and devoted men, multiplied some thirty or sixty-fold, would produce on the mind of India an impression which no words can express.

But, let European and American agency be what it may, nothing can take the precedence of a native ministry so trained and qualified as to take the pastoral charge of the settled congregations in the towns and villages. In the simple and intelligent words of the Bishop of Madras:—"No permanent good can be looked for till this is effected—the Societies must be relieved of the burden of supporting European teachers as settled pastors. The duty of the foreign missionary must continue to be that of an evangelist to preach Christ to the heathen, or at the utmost to take the general oversight of the pastors and flocks, and to have a limited superintendence over them; but a body of native ministers must be raised up to be the settled pastors of the flocks as they are collected." To this end all our Protestant missionary institutions must bend their energies and apply their resources. On this are dependent consequences of unpa-

ralleled magnitude and importance. It will be a work of time ; but it must be steadily kept in view, while its accomplishment will form a new era in the history of our modern missions.

The following deeply interesting instance of the superior claims of native agency is given in a recent number of an American periodical entitled "The Macedonian :"—

"A year or two since, a man from the eastern part of Burmah came to Newville, a Karen village connected with the Tavoy station, where he heard and believed the Gospel. He said that there were very many Karens where he came from ; and proposed, after he should have been taught the way of the Lord more perfectly, to go back and communicate the truth to them. Quala, a faithful and experienced Karen minister in Mergui province, was much interested, and with a younger assistant proposed to accompany him. They made the proposal at the meeting of the Tavoy association, which was held at Newville, Jan. 11 and 12. A season of thrilling interest followed, which is thus described by Mr. Thomas.

"There were difficulties. Quala is needed in the Mergui province. War is raging in Burmah, and it is also a time of special sickness. More than all, was the following letter, received from the southern Churches :—' Teachers and Brethren assembled in Newville !—Suffer us in our weakness a word while we offer a petition in respect of our brother and teacher, Quala. For our dear brother, according to his own desire, under the consent of the teachers, is about to go to a distant country, never more to return and dwell among us. But we do not consent that he should thus go. For among our people there is yet no man who understands the holy Scriptures like this man. Besides, there is no other man in this province upon whom hands have been laid. We are yet an imperfect people. We do but imperfectly. We cannot plan, we cannot accomplish, by ourselves. We do not yet understand of ourselves. During the past year, moreover, the unconverted have seemed to be generally shaken. They also are opposed to our brother's leaving us.

"'For these reasons we are anxious that teacher Quala should remain and help us. Beloved teachers—have compassion upon us, we pray, and do not give teacher Quala permission to leave us : if he leaves us, all our hearts will be sad—our tears will fall. For he has particularly instructed us in the word of God, nor have we ever once disputed with him.' Signed by every Assistant south of Tavoy, both Sgauand Pwo, and by their Churches.

"What was to be done ? Here was a man who, under various circumstances, had been under the eye of the missionaries from boyhood. He had been for a long time pastor of the most important church in his vicinity, and had frequently visited other churches in the missionaries' stead, to settle difficulties and administer the ordinances of the Lord's house ; and never had he been guilty of any thing requiring discipline. This man, for more than a year, had desired to visit a distant region—a region never yet visited by a minister of the

Gospel—there to plant the standard of the Cross. We looked at the subject carefully. We spoke, we wept, we prayed; and all—the very men who had signed the adverse memorial—arose, with tears, and voted to *approve his going*."

Noble example this!—and worthy of being both remembered and followed.

Deeply solemn is the appeal which is now made to the Church of Christ in this our land on behalf of the teeming millions of India, and equally solemn is her obligation and her duty. The commission of Christ is binding on every individual believer; nor can any power release him from that which Infinite Love has laid upon him with all the weight and the force of immutable law. While there is one single mind to be enlightened, or one single soul to be recovered and redeemed, it will be imperative on the Church, and on each individual Christian, to seek to compass the salvation of that one soul at any expenditure of time, talent, property, and life itself. But this is the day for the Church to arise and to act. The signs of the times are propitious. Events are preparing a highway for the advancing chariot of truth. The present is pregnant with interest—the future is big with promise. India is all open—China is opening—and, when India and China are evangelized, the hour of the world's redemption will soon strike on the great bell of Time, and time itself will flow into all the light and the grandeur of eternity!

Let us rise to the stand-point occupied by the great evangelical prophet when he sets forth the large increase and flourishing state of the Christian Church by the accession of the Gentile nations. Elevated above his usual majesty, he depicts the coming ages in the most glowing colours, invests every scene with divine beauty, and floods the whole earth with heavenly light. Not only does he represent the Church as radiant with the glory of her Lord, but he makes all creation breathe and pulsate in virtue of her higher life. She stands out as the brightest, truest, and most attractive object in this world of darkness and of sin, and draws within the circle of her own light and vitality the most distant nations of the earth, and lays everything within the range of this lower creation under contribution to herself. Mind and matter—things animate and things inanimate—that which is endowed with reason and that which is without reason—all that has life and whatever has not life—all that is on the earth and all that is in the sea—commerce, wealth, possession, talent, influence, he represents as laid on the altar of God and consecrated to his service. He describes the world

as purified, and converted into one great and heaven-illuminated temple, from which the voice of thanksgiving is ever rising and blending in one sublime harmony of praise: he speaks of the nations as gathering in crowding multitudes, and, like doves upon the wing, pressing towards the ark of God as it floats among the stars: he tells of the din and the discord of earth as having for ever died away, so that violence is no more heard—no sound of either strife or sorrow. All creation is soothed to rest: even the beams of day seem to fade and retire before the brightening splendours of the Church. She looks forth brighter than the light; and, basking in her purer rays, he calmly contemplates the setting of heaven's orbs. He stands, "harp in hand, singing the sun to sleep;" and, just as he beholds him laying "his head of glory on the rocking deep," does he triumph in the everlasting brightness which streams from the throne of God, and fills the Church and the world with its unsetting light.

On the introduction of Christianity the nations awoke to new life and walked forth in her higher, brighter light. The Church was no longer confined to a single nation, but embraced people of every kindred and of every tongue; the bond of union was no longer found in national peculiarities, but in the possession of an inward, spiritual element. It mattered not where the man had been born, provided only he had been born again. Life was attracted by life and fellowship was founded in love. As time advanced, this circle of renewed and loving hearts continued to widen and enlarge; nor will the sublime mission of Christianity be fulfilled till it has embraced the world and brought it into subjection to Christ. Every knee must bow to him, and every tongue must confess that he is Lord. His name is the only perfect symbol of life, and freedom, and happiness. For the universal diffusion of our common Christianity we look and wait, we pray and labour; for then only will come the world's redemption, and humanity reign amid the ecstasies of her final freedom. Nor are our hopes misplaced. The lamp of prophecy is every day shedding a brighter light upon the future. "All that has been neglected in the earlier periods and stages of Christian civilization will be made good in this true consummate regeneration of society." Then shall the prophet's brightest visions be all realized; and the earth, being as chaste in principle as it is now impure, a sunnier light than that which invested the rising world of waters which Omnipotence called from chaos and from death, shall clothe the whole creation, and for ever shall reflect the freedom and the happiness of heaven!

- ART. II.—1. *Notes and Narratives of a Six Years' Mission, Principally among the Dens of London.* By R. W. VANDERKISTE, late London City Missionary. London: Nisbet and Co. 1853.
2. *Roger Miller ; or, Heroism in Humble Life.* By G. ORME. Cash, Bishopsgate-street. 1853.
3. *Juvenile Depravity. Prize Essay.* By the Rev. HENRY WORSLEY, M.A. London: Gilpin. 1849.
4. *Juvenile Delinquents. Their Condition and Treatment.* By MARY CARPENTER. London: Cash. 1853.
5. *Crime in England : its Relation, Character, and Extent.* By THOMAS PLINT. London: Gilpin. 1851.
6. *Industrial Schools : their Origin, Rise, and Progress in Aberdeen.* By ALEXANDER THOMPSON of Banchory. Aberdeen. 1847.
7. *National Education. A Sermon on the Education of the Poor.* By the Rev. J. A. EMERTON, D.D. London: Longmans. 1853.
8. *The Results of the Census of Great Britain in 1851.* By EDWARD CHESHIRE, F.S.S. London: J. W. Parker. 1853.
9. *The Prison and the School. The Chief Ascertained Causes of Crime Considered ; with Suggestions for the Care, Relief, and Reformation of the Neglected, Destitute, and Criminal Children of the Metropolis.* By EDMUND EDWARD ANTROBUS, F.S.A., Justice of the Peace, &c. London: Staunton. 1853.

THE discussion of social topics, and the pursuit of plans thence arising, have become marked features of the present times. Model cottages, model lodging-houses, and ragged-schools, are discussed in drawing-rooms ; and we have seen a young nobleman forsake the festivities of a military mess to join a city missionary on his tour of duty through the filthy courts and fetid dens of London. The statistics of misery and crime have become fashionable, and we trust that good will ensue. We are unwilling to repress, even when we cannot altogether approve, any movement in a right direction. The offerings which come from fancy fairs, charity balls, and charity bazaars, are acceptable to the hospital and the soup-kitchen ; though a strict man might be reluctant to initiate measures which bribe frivolity to perform a serious duty.

Be these matters, however, as they may—leaving the investigation of motives—we may safely affirm, as a fact, the paramount interest now taken in all social questions. The selfish and the tender-hearted are alike put in motion by appeals on behalf of the “perishing and dangerous classes:” the former in alarm for their property—the latter by sympathy with suffering. Fifty, perhaps thirty, years ago, the books which stand at the head of this paper—and they constitute only a small detachment of the legion we could have cited—could not have been written; and certainly would not have been read with the careful curiosity which now awaits each fresh report from the quarters of struggling—each new suggestion for their relief.

There is a propensity in all men to attach an undue importance to the events in which they themselves are actors—especially to exaggerate present sufferings and to cast wistful looks back upon some former and happier age. “Sure such times never were seen!” is the exclamation uttered with marvellous concord by successive generations; and each accuses its immediate predecessor of exaggeration, until the self-sufficient begin to look down upon all with contemptuous indifference, and the sceptic exclaims, “Since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.”

Mr. Macaulay, in his “Lays of Rome,” effectively introduces an ancient Roman deploring the departure of “the good old days of Rome;” and the mocking French poet sings—

“Ce n'est donc qu'une belle fable
N'envions rien à nos ayeux :
En tout tems l'homme fut coupable,
En tout tems il fut malheureux.

But though poetry or criticism may respectively soothe the epicurean who dislikes being ruffled, or satisfy the miser who dreads any claimants upon his money-bags, neither the one nor the other, nor both united, can extinguish the appalling fact that an enormous mass of misery, dangerous as a volcano to the well-being of society, exists among us; and we would fain teach indolence and timidity that a large portion of this miserable mass is removable.

England, at present, is very much in the condition of some small orderly family, into whose home an inconvenient number of visitors has been introduced: without any avowed, or perhaps conceived, design on the part of the new comers, every old arrangement, which formerly went on so smoothly

and easily, is disturbed. To make our parallel perfect, we must suppose these visitors to be irremovable, to be permanently settled upon the family, whatever inconvenience they may occasion. It is manifest that peace and order can only be brought back by the restoration of the old ways of the house, and the assimilation of the new comers to the manners of the original family. The first mention of such a thing to the good man of the house appears a palpable absurdity—a moral, perhaps physical, impossibility; but stern necessity continues to present the alternative—restoration or ruin. Now, the family arrangements of England have been disturbed—nay, absolutely subverted—by the manufacturing system as introduced eighty years ago: her whole social system has been overthrown, and the relation of parent and child so completely reversed that we feel the words of the poet to be no longer the exaggerated expression of horror, but the precise enunciation of a fact—

“ Ἀνὰ ποταμῶν ἱερῶν
χωροῦσι παγαί,
Καὶ δίκαια πάντα πάλιν γράσσεται.”

But the current cannot be driven forcibly from the course in which Divine Providence has appointed it to flow, without entailing destruction upon the man who presumptuously arrests or diverts it. Before, however, we proceed to establish our proposition—that to the manufacturing system the present social disturbances of England are attributable—let us guard ourselves against the imputation of any design to institute an invidious comparison between agriculture and manufactures, or to contend that the one is the parent of purity and the other of crime. We have no such intention: on the contrary, we receive the opinion of Mr. Clay, the chaplain of the Preston prison, with unquestioning acquiescence; and he thinks that the factory system admits of a “far higher and better application of the means of intellectual and moral culture than any other organization of labour;” and that *multitudinous* Manchester, and not *manufacturing* Manchester, is the prolific parent of crime. And, with regard to agriculture, our own rural experience has entirely cleared our minds of any Arcadian dreams which may have visited our youth: stolid selfishness and grovelling animal appetites in the peasant, and low cunning, grasping sordid avarice, and an ingrained propensity to over-reach and oppress on the part of the farmer, are the characteristics of English rural life *en masse*.

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But we hear some one remonstrating—Has not the English yeoman been described by other than merely poetic pens as hearty, free-handed, sincere, and generous; and the English labourer as a pattern of cheerful, contented, respectful industry? These pictures have been drawn and were once faithful; but a change has come over our fields, and farm-yards, and cottages, superinduced by causes uncontrollable by either farmer or labourer. The former, deserted by his squire—having no one habitually to look up to higher and more humanized than himself—has been transformed into a churlish Nabal; while beer-shops, game-laws, the tramp system, and the arrangements of cottages and lodging-houses, have converted the once respectful, decent, industrious English labourer into the sullen, slovenly, thriftless being whom we periodically see in the docks of our criminal courts, or demanding relief from a board of Poor Law Guardians:—

“If we look back upon society (observes Mr. Worsley in his ‘Essay on Juvenile Depravity’), as it subsisted about the middle of the last century, and compare with that the present state of things, we find that a complete revolution, an entire change in the general character of ideas, in the distribution of property, and division of employment, has passed over us. Towards the close of the last century, previous to 1770, our manufactures were domestic—they were hand manufactures; and those who conducted them generally united the farmer with the manufacturer. The farms were then not generally of a very large extent, except perhaps in the North of England; and in general less profit was derived from agriculture than from the spinning-wheel and hand-loom. Besides the community of small farmers collected together here and there among the cultivated lands, there was the labourer occupying a position, in many instances, not much inferior to his employer, helping out frequently a comfortable subsistence by the same recourse to hand manufactures; and there was also the country gentleman or squire, superior to both the preceding classes, distinguished for the most part by good-breeding and ancient blood, possessed of little learning and desiring little; but not without a considerable share of traditional lore and mother wit. Such in brief description was the triple association of squire, yeoman, and labourer. The consolidation of property (continues Mr. Worsley in another place) is a badge of the present times. It is stated that about the year 1770 the lands of England were divided among no fewer than 250,000 families; but at the close of the revolutionary war in 1815 they were found to be concentrated in the hands of only 32,000. That property should gather in large masses is according to the natural tendency of things; and every obstruction and hindrance to the operation of natural causes has in recent times been removed. Not only, therefore, is the small farmer extinct, but the small handed proprietor belongs to an order which is rapidly vanishing, and has in

a great degree already disappeared. The tradesman, moreover, who has little capital, is now contending at a ruinous disadvantage with out-bidding rivals. The trade which prospers most in villages and small towns in these times is, it may be feared, the publican's. All classes are merging in one of two—the indigent or the opulent: the chasm between rich and poor has widened and is widening. England's greatest splendour and England's most abject poverty are admirably adapted as subjects for the display of the artist's skill in painting contrasts; and two such pictures well executed would present a powerful practical illustration of the poet's

“ ‘First and last—the immensely distant two.’ ”

“The labourer's hope of rising in the world is a forlorn one. There is no graduated ascent up which the hardy aspirant may toil step by step with patient drudgery. Several rounds of the ladder are broken away and gone. A farm of some hundred acres, requiring for their due cultivation a large capital, would be a day-dream too gaudy ever to mix itself with the visions of the most ambitious labourer, earning, on an average, probably less than nine shillings a-week. The agricultural workman's horizon is bounded by the high red-brick walls of the union-house: his virtual marriage-settlement can only point to such a refuge if troubles arise: his old age may there have to seek its last shelter. None can starve in England, thanks to the benevolence of our laws [*quære de hoc*]; but would we could indulge some hope of the poor labourer rising to comparative independence by thrift, industry, and a proper regard to the moral duties of his station! As his case now stands, his choice vacillates between the union and the prison.”

Our space forbids us to follow in detail Mr. Worsley's lucid narrative of the steps marking the transition of the farmer into the master-spinner, the expansion of our manufacturing system, and the congregation of the English labouring classes into great towns. The nascent germ of the change, from which a complete new system was subsequently developed, was the invention of the spinning-jenny in 1767 by James Hargreaves of Blackburn. The elaboration of a mechanical contrivance by an ingenious carpenter was the first on which the entire re-modification of society turned—the small and scarce calculable commencement from which there finally resulted a total remodelling of the political constitution, the social life, and the general tone and character of ideas in this country. It may be doubted whether any previous revolution was so entire and complete as this which we are now contemplating: none has been so sudden and rapid in its progress. The chains of the feudal system were unfastened link by link during the course of several centuries, and its eventual dissolution produced no novel arrangement in the local residences of the several classes of inhabitants. But no sooner

was Cartwright's power-loom in operation—within a short time to be itself superseded by the mightier agency of steam—than the workmen, forsaking their village homes where fathers and sons for successive generations had nestled beneath the protecting eaves of the manor-house, flocked to the thriving centres of industry: population increased, and with its denseness all concomitant vices increased also, and England became the great mart and workshop of the world. That the accumulation of vast masses of human beings, forced into the closest communication and contact with each other, should be productive of enormous evils, is obvious.

The following remarks in the report attached to the population returns are interesting:—

“The vast system of towns in which half the population lives has its peculiar dangers, which the high mortality and the recent epidemics reveal. Extensive sanitary arrangements, and all the appliances of physical as well as of social science, are necessary to preserve the natural vigour of the population, and to develop the inexhaustible resources of the English race. The crowding of the people in houses in close streets, and the consequent dissolution of families arising out of defective house-accommodation, are evils which demand attentive consideration.

“The activity of the intelligence and religious feelings of the people has led to an increased demand for instruction and for places of public worship. The extent to which this demand has been met has hitherto been imperfectly known, and is not easily determined; but we believe that, as far as the enquiry can be prosecuted in a statistical form, the returns respecting schools, literary institutions, churches, chapels, and congregations, will throw much light upon the educational institutions and the spiritual condition of the people of Great Britain.”

The peculiar circumstances, moreover, of manufacturing life stimulate moral evil, which no sufficient checks as yet exist to arrest in its progress to full development. The operative's wages are high and exceedingly fluctuating, which almost inevitably produces improvidence; for whenever money, rapidly and perhaps unexpectedly earned, is received in large lumps, we need not quote examples to prove how invariably it is squandered in gross indulgencies. Again: the excessive prolongation of factory labour induces that physical exhaustion which almost irresistibly drives the worn-out workman to the dram-shop: the comforts of a tidy home he knows not; and thus the unremitted toil of the day is but too often succeeded by a night of intoxication or debauchery. The degrading amusements, the low shows, the penny theatres of Manchester and Birmingham where the feats of *Dick Tur-*

pin or *Jack Shepherd* are exhibited to youthful admiration: the beer-shops, composing in some streets every house—the gin palaces after the London model—all the means of excitement and all the attractions of vice which wait upon the intervals of labour afforded to the operative, must be regarded as in some sort the natural and necessary growth of a physical frame, worn, and its vigour wasted, by an application to work continued beyond all reasonable limits of time. And let it not be overlooked, in our glance at manufacturing life, that not only men but women and children are thus doomed to excessive toil. In the case of “young persons and females,” Parliament has interfered and limited their hours of toil; but sufficient remain to stunt their moral and intellectual growth. Female children thus employed, from their earliest years (from five years old and upwards), can learn nothing but that branch of manufacture whereby they earn their weekly pay: they are not taught to sew, darn, or perform needlework of the simplest kind, nor indeed any household work whatever; for how can they, by mothers themselves brought up under a similar system? When they marry they can neither make nor mend their husband’s linen, cook his dinner, or even scrub his bed-room floor. Hence discomfort and untidiness at home drive the man to the beer-shop and the gin-palace, the children to the penny theatre or the halfpenny hop, and the wife to the streets. These social evils are aggravated by the early independence of the children of either sex. Parents receive the child’s wages so long as it is incapable, from very tender years, to make provision with the week’s pay for itself; but at an extremely early age the child receives his or her wages on its own account, and in a majority of cases removes from the parental roof. The precocity of such children is positively shocking. “He knows more than a man—(said a poor woman of a young convict who had been living with a bad mother in the same house with the deponent)—he knows more than a man;” and she added with a bitterness too affecting to be amusing, “he is worse than a husband.”

We need not expatiate upon the truck system, and the disaffection between employers and employed which it generates, for its manifold evils have been again and again disclosed to the public and may readily be found recorded in Parliamentary Blue-books; but we must dwell somewhat longer upon the *butty*-system, or by whatever name is designated in different localities that system under which the master’s superintending control is delegated to subordinates; for in this we con-

ceive the morals of the juvenile work-people are essentially involved. It should be borne in mind that very much the same change has more lately taken place in the manufacturing system itself which occurred in the agricultural towards the close of the last century. The small manufacturer is no more or rarely to be met with. There has grown a much greater distance between the employer and the employed. The two classes are now very seldom brought into visible contact. In the early times of manufacture, the proprietors of mills were resident upon the spot: this was a condition essential at that period to the success of the speculation; and indeed the majority, or at least a large portion of those who thus amassed wealth, rose through the several gradations of personal labour. In the present day, the case is widely altered. If the proximity of the employer in former times, owing to his indifference to the moral well-being of his *εμψυχα οργανα*, was little advantageous, his distance at the present has completed the evil. The rich proprietor flees in disgust from the smoke and din and dirt in which the operations from which his wealth is drawn are involved, and establishes his luxurious dwelling in some adorned suburb remote from the rattle of wheels and the roar of furnaces. He talks philanthropy, perhaps, at Cheltenham or more distant Brighton, and assures his auditors of his anxiety to promote the moral, spiritual, and material welfare of those in his employment; but, alas! his benevolent efforts, whatever they may be, must pass through the dense and brutifying medium of butties and overseers before they can reach the poor objects of his benevolence or bounty. These overseers have their own interests to serve, and are rarely men of any tolerable education. A Parliamentary report made in 1843 thus speaks of them:—

“In the majority of instances, the young people, while in their places of work, are under the care and control *solely* of the *adult* workmen, by whom they are mostly hired and paid, and whose servants they are; and, after their work is over, they are subjected to no kind of superintendence, but their time is entirely at their own disposal.”

Again:—

“This custom is in several ways an evil. In the first place, let the proprietors be ever so desirous to enforce good treatment of the children on the part of the men, the child is afraid to make any complaint for fear of being dismissed. Then again, instead of being and feeling himself to be the servant of a respectable firm, to whom he may look up as his employers and protectors, the child is taught to look upon as his ‘master’ a man who is perhaps a dissolute, and cer-

tainly a coarse character, from whose example or conversation he can learn nothing good."

We had marked for quotation several striking descriptions by eye-witnesses of the homes to which factory children repair after their day's labours are ended, and also of the mills in which they live and move and have their being, inhaling only an atmosphere tainted with the very miasma of vice; but we must refer our readers, who wish for more detailed information, to the numerous works upon the subject, and hasten on in our task.

The factory child knows not the charities of home, a father's instruction, or a mother's love: he seeks refuge from the discomforts of his parental roof abroad. The scenes of excitement and amusement which our manufacturing towns supply, and studiously adapt to juvenile tastes, constitute his chief means of enjoyment; and these all teach one lesson—they exhibit to his admiration noted examples of successful crime. Every traditional feat of *Turpin*, each hair-breadth escape of *Jack Sheppard*, is familiarly known by sharp-witted children who never heard—at any rate so as to understand its import—the Saviour's name:—"Has attended a Sunday school regularly for five years; does not know who Jesus Christ was, but has heard the name of it; never heard of the twelve apostles, nor Samson, nor Moses, and Aaron" (*Report, Trades and Manufactures*, 1842).

The Sunday-school furnishes the chief means of instruction in the manufacturing districts—in some parts the only means; and can the teaching of a few hours on a single day counter-balance the teaching of every day's life? Placed in such circumstances—encompassed with such a multitude of vicious examples, temptations, and seducements to sin—the eyes accustomed from infancy to the sight of dissoluteness and intemperance, the ears to hear oaths of blasphemy or the wild shouts of intoxicated revelry, but very partially instructed or wholly uninstructed in the great truths of religion—it is, indeed, possible that the special mercy of God may yet save the child from the fatal influence of vice, and turn his mind, as if by miracle, to better things. Such instances are told and may occur; but in the large mass of cases, and according to the ordinary conclusion of every day's experience, the child or youth thus environed with evil will be himself ultimately debauched and depraved—will sink deeper and deeper in the vortex of iniquity and be an early victim for the jail or the scaffold. The criminal returns show the product of this system; but how much depravity is there in such a town as

Manchester or Birmingham which never issues in the actual perpetration of what the law denominates crime? The utmost licentiousness of life and profaneness of mind may exist—there may be a total absence of all moral principle—the man may be absolutely imbruted—and yet no act may have been committed strictly within the cognizance of human law. Take the following instance, not from Manchester or Birmingham, but from our own streets:—

“Curled up under the shelter of one of the numerous dead walls to be met with in the line of the New Road, from Paddington to King’s Cross, there is to be occasionally seen a lump of unwashed and unkempt shivering juvenility and tattered raggedness. A coarse canvass suit, which would not fetch two-pence at the rag shop and which is full of holes and rents, does not more than half cover the naked limbs: the bare skin, ‘goose-fleshed’ with the wintry blast of February, looks pallidly through a dozen patchwork apertures. The owner of the miserable garments, which barely serve the purpose of decency, can boast of neither shirt, nor stockings, nor shoes. He has huddled himself up almost to the form of a crouching cur that shrinks from the assaults of the storm, and he half hides his face in his hands as he cowers ruefully from the cold. On the shin of one leg, too, a little above the ankle, there is a bad, unsightly wound. On a smooth pavement stone at his side, first industriously cleaned and polished with the palm of his hand, he has written in white chalk, shaded with a black Italian crayon, and in characters to the beauty and flourishing fluency of which the italics we are compelled to make use of have no pretensions, the following expressive appeal:—

“*I will not steal—
I must not beg—
I cannot work—
Will you allow me to starve?*”

“A crowd of gaping boys and compassionating females have gathered round him. The boys are unanimous and loud in their praise of the marvellous writing, which in a measure justifies their assertion that it is ‘better than copper-plate:’ the women, with sundry ejaculations of pity and condolence, mingled with violent indignation against the world of wealth for not stepping forth in a body to the rescue, are searching in their pockets for an alms for the suffering creature. Now and then a passing pedestrian throws him a coin and hurries on; and now, the poor women, having succeeded in extracting a few half-pence from the recesses of their pockets and clubbed them together, one of them stoops down tenderly, and with a sigh and a blessing confers upon the starving wretch their united contribution. The grateful creature turns a tearful eye to the clouds, and, impressed with a burden of thankfulness, invokes a thousand benedictions upon their charitable hearts. Sober citizens, not altogether free from suspicion, walk past quietly and take no notice of the appeal to their sympathies; while the man of the world, conversant with the whole economy of the pro-

ceeding, hurls him an admonition or a reproach instead of a coin, by which proceeding the deplorable object in all probability profits more than he would have done by their pence, through the generosity of the ignorant and the charitable, which is always stimulated by the appearance of inhumanity or oppression."

It is difficult to calculate the mischief done by indiscriminate charity to street applicants; but we must proceed with our narrative:—

"This unfortunate outcast crouches all day in the eye of the public; and, if his wants be still unsatisfied, he lights a candle so soon as it is dark, and then presents quite a picturesque object. By the light of his guttering tallow, those who pass may read his lithographic performance; and he will remain at his post till seven o'clock at least to catch the commercial gentlemen on their return home after the labours of the counting-house. So soon as that daily current has subsided, considering his business done for the day, he rises from his lair, and, treading out his ornamental inscription with his foot, limps away with the gait of a confirmed and incurable cripple from the scene of his labours—if labours they are to be called.

"The subject whom we have been rapidly contemplating is well known in certain localities as an arrant impostor. We have seen him in the exercise of his daily profession, or we should say *one* of his professions—that of 'The Deplorable Object'—in the pursuit of which he enjoys a reputation, and a profit too, equal to those of any of his tribe. It may be, as well, perhaps, to look at the other side of the picture, and see how he indemnifies himself at night for his couch of cold stones during eight or nine hours of the day. Let us follow him home. He has blown out his candle, and hidden it in a hole in the wall above his head, where he will find it again whenever it may be convenient to repeat his performance. He hobbles on painfully for a few hundred yards, when, turning suddenly southwards, he sets his face towards Westminster, and breaks into a strapping pace which will carry him thither in five-and-thirty minutes. He stops, after a smart walk of a few hundred yards, under the shadow of a door-way; and, putting his wounded foot upon the step, carefully detaches the wound—for it is merely an artificial one—from his leg, and as it costs him three-and-sixpence he folds it up for future use. He now resumes his pace, nor stops again till, after threading numberless windings and short cuts, he pulls up at a favourite wine-vault in Seven Dials. Here he compensates himself for the hardships of his peculiar craft, with libations of some favourite beverage, and afterwards dines as luxuriously as a lord and at the same hour—as he is wont to boast—at some 'ken,' as it is called, in the immediate neighbourhood, in the company of a congenial crew of impostors who, like himself, make a living by preying on the misdirected sympathies of the humane."

The mode in which the evening is spent corresponds with the employment of the day:—

"What he does with himself after dinner depends entirely upon the

state of trade during the day. On this occasion he has been rather successful, and having six or seven shillings in his pocket, after his dinner is paid for, he resolves upon a little relaxation. He walks leisurely home to his lodgings, not a very great distance from the Broadway of Westminster, where doffing his professional garb he dons one of good serviceable fustian, and, having given a peremptory order for supper at twelve o'clock, makes one in a party for some low theatre in the neighbourhood, where he makes amends for the taciturnity of his performance in the day-time by the volubility of his criticisms. After the performance is over, he and his companions resort to the populous beggars' lodging-house where they all reside, to a midnight supper, made up of the most heterogeneous materials—from charity crusts and potatoes for those who can pay for nothing better, to roast beef, or fowls, or rump steaks and oyster sauce, for those who during the day have reaped the favours of fortune. Supper over, the weary and the penniless slink off to bed; and the rest prolong the repast, in which our hero cuts a conspicuous figure, from the excellence of his voice, the vigour of his lungs, and the comic humour he brings into play, when he favours the company with a specimen of the peculiar class of minstrelsy in which they delight. The doors are closed, and no intrusive policeman presumes to interrupt their harmony, which generally endures so long as anything remains to be spent. If half of the wretched objects finish by disgusting intoxication, they are but so much the more fitted for business next day, seeing that the tremor and pallor superinduced by debauch may be looked upon as the legitimate qualifications for their line of occupation.

“The subject of our notice is really a clever fellow, and his boast, that he ‘knows a thing or two,’ is by no means void of truth; but there is one thing which he does not know, and of which at present it would be very difficult to convince him—and that is, that of all the victims of his imposture, he is himself the one most deplorably deluded.”

Here is education, indeed!

The delinquencies of youths, which figure in the calendars of our quarter sessions and assizes, are but the effervescence, the scum on the surface: the great mass of iniquity is beneath and out of sight. How many offences must pass undetected in the busy thoroughfares of trading activity! The statistics of crime cannot develope in half or a quarter of its fearful extent the general state of depravity among the lowest class in London, or one of our great manufacturing towns. Those who wish to acquire some notion of what London really is, without subjecting themselves to the pain, disgust, and danger attendant upon ocular inspection and personal visitation, will do well to peruse two of the works named at the head of this article, Vanderkiste's “Notes and Narratives,” and the “Life of Roger Miller,” both of them London City Missionaries. Most of our readers may be

aware what the London City Mission is ; but, for the benefit of those who do not, we will briefly mention that the London City Mission was originated by a philanthropist in humble life, David Nasmith ; and instituted for the purpose of carrying the knowledge of Christian truth, by visitation from house to house, to that unhappily numerous portion of the metropolitan community who never enter a place of worship, and who live in habitual and open defiance of the laws of both God and man. Its constitution is as open as possible. Churchmen and Dissenters sit side by side at its councils ; and one of the standing rules of the association is, "Every missionary must avoid controversy upon the constitution and government of Christian Churches, his great object being to teach the people in his district the way of salvation by Jesus Christ." The Society was instituted in 1835, and commenced its operations with four missionaries. Year by year the number of its friends and the amount of its funds have gone on increasing. Its receipts for 1852 were 23,053*l.*, and the number of its missionaries 245. Neither money nor missionaries, however, are half as much or many as the dreadful necessities of the heathen portion of our population require which lies beyond the pale of parochial ministration, and is scarcely tangible by ordinary teachers, as many of the anecdotes we shall proceed to quote from Mr. Vanderkiste's pages will demonstrate. From statistics very carefully collected it has been ascertained that, after deducting for infants and parties necessarily left in charge of houses and property, five-eighths or 1,410,500 of the population might and ought to attend Sunday service in our churches and chapels ; but the number of sittings being less than half that number, it follows that upwards of 700,000 persons could not attend public worship if they were willing. But the fact is that not two-thirds of that half for whom accommodation is provided attend. Missionary reports from Jamaica and the South Seas show that in Jamaica there were, in the year 1841, more communicants out of a population of 380,000 than there were in all London out of 2,103,279 ; and in three small islands in the Pacific Ocean, numbering 18,000 inhabitants, the attendance on public worship was 9,000 or one-half ; while in the parish of Islington, with a population in 1841 of 55,600, the whole of the churches and chapels were incapable of accommodating one-half the inhabitants, and yet were frequently not half filled !

Neglect of public worship is fearfully prevalent among all classes in the metropolis ; but the poor, as a class, abstain altogether. We have glanced at statistics founded on the

census for 1841: let us look ten years later, and hear Mr. Vanderkiste's evidence as to the attendance upon public worship in 1851:—

"The parish in which I have long laboured—Clerkenwell—is civilly one parish—ecclesiastically two, St. James and St. John. The population was, in 1851, 53,584 souls. In the two parish churches the average attendance of poor is about eighty in each church: many of these are pensioners, and others receive occasional relief. At the district churches and dissenting places of worship the attendance of poor is small indeed. I do not believe in the whole parish one hundred poor people could be found attending public worship who do not more or less frequently receive eleemosynary relief to induce them so to do. Thus about one person in fifty occasionally attends public worship; or, where the attendance is regular, it arises generally from a share in the distribution of weekly bequests of bread."

"Not only (observes Mr. Vanderkiste) is the extreme ignorance of the lowest classes to be deplored, but the extreme ignorance of some in high places is to be deplored also."

This simple yet sensible remark is suggestive of many reflections upon the present social phasis of London. Its amended condition is often exultingly compared with that witnessed in the last century. We are reminded that highway robberies are no longer committed in Piccadilly as they were eighty years ago, as the Old Bailey session papers of that date will show. George the Fourth and his brother the Duke of York were, when they were young men, once stopped and robbed in a hackney coach on Hay-hill, Berkeley-square. Fashionable ladies and gentlemen do not now flock in crowds to chat and gossip with a convicted felon in Newgate on a Sunday afternoon, as Horace Walpole tells us occurred in his days. In one of his letters he christens Lady Caroline Peter-sham and Miss Ashe, *Polly* and *Lucy*—the heroines of Gay's *Beggar's Opera*—on occasion of their going to weep over a handsome highwayman in the condemned cell in Newgate. Two thousand people of fashion visited this unhappy man—his name was Maclaine—in prison on the Sunday afternoon preceding his execution, and he is reported to have fainted under the pressure of his eager company. Nearly as many thronged round *Jack Sheppard*, as contemporary publications tell, to laugh at his ribald jests and listen to his adventures, robberies, and escapes, all which he narrated with a glee which showed how joyously he would have repeated them. Parties were made up to drink punch with the assassin gamester, *Major Oneby*. *Sixteen-string Jack*, the *soubriquet* of a notorious highwayman of the last century, was once tried at

the Old Bailey with a bouquet of flowers in his bosom "as large as a broom"—(we are quoting from the narrative of an eye-witness)—and "his fetters tied up with bunches of blue ribbon." And when the same worthy once appeared at Barnet races, "in a waistcoat of blue satin trimmed with silver, he was followed by hundreds of people, eager to gratify their curiosity by the sight of a man so much the subject of public conversation." But let us remind those who are ready to felicitate themselves on the present prevalence of a better taste that barely ten years have elapsed since the chapel of Newgate was crammed to suffocation by fair ladies who had hastened from their luxurious homes to gaze upon a miserable one doomed within a few hours to die an ignominious death, and the closing of this fashionably-frequented spectacle was only effected by the direct mandate of the then Home Secretary. The London merchant may now walk, or ride, or drive to his villa at Hampstead, Highgate, or Finchley, without fear of either highwayman or footpad; neither is an escort required to render an evening's walk from Chelsea to Charing-cross safe from danger or alarm, as such a journey would not have been less than fifty years ago. We are no longer offended in our streets with the sights and sounds which pained the eye and ear twenty years back. May we attribute this change to an amendment in the public morals? We fear not, for we think the policeman's truncheon has more to do with the matter than any reverence for religion or virtue. And yet hear Dr. Emerton, and let our own recollections remind us of how little the truncheon of the policeman can effect:—

"See that wretched creature, rolling along your streets, miserably clad, filthy in his habits, and almost savage in his appearance; follow him to his home, and behold him surrounded with a family, if possible, more wretched and miserable than himself, perhaps without food, almost naked, looking to him for support; whilst he, more savage than the brute, is loading them with curses, heedless alike of their misery and wretchedness; or visit that magnificent asylum in your neighbourhood, which the hand of benevolence has raised for the safety and protection of those hapless beings whom the neglect of society has too often brought to their present melancholy condition—hear that maniacal laugh which saddens your soul by its very harshness—or look for a moment on that melancholy and gloomy expression of woe in which all the miseries of humanity seem at once concentrated—or turn and regard, if you are able, that countenance of horror which all the diabolical feelings seem at once agitating; or go still farther, and penetrate the walls of that gloomy prison, where the hardened criminal is about to terminate his existence, a sacrifice to the

offended justice of his country, which has first neglected and then punished him, and you have some of the results of the neglect of those who have gone before you—of whose sins you will yourselves be partakers if you do not, to the utmost of your power, train up the men of a future generation to love the paths of virtue, and hate and abhor those of wickedness and vice" (pp. 12, 13).

The London of to-day is one vast sham—misery crouches in corners and vice withdraws from public observation; but, if the rich and well-to-do will look on the *other side of the wall*, they may see misery enough to melt the hardest heart, and vice enough to disturb the slumbers of the bravest. The proximity, without actual contact, of vice and virtue, poverty and wealth, luxury and want, pain and ease, constitutes one of the most striking and, thoughtfully considered, the most alarming characteristics of the London we live in. Could innocence sleep so serenely, were it aware what fiends are lurking to destroy on the other side of the wall? Would piety pray for distant objects only, did it know that perishing souls were passing close at hand? Would generous opulence withhold its gift, did it know that famine had fastened upon the cradle in the adjacent house; or dare the miser deny a loaf, were he aware that a strong man armed had only to take a single step to reach his cherished treasures? We think it high time that "PROXIMUS ARDET" should be inscribed in warning characters upon Security's door. We are not drawing upon our fancy for parallels or contrasts. The juxtaposition of moral and social extremes, of piety and irreligion, enlightenment and darkness, justice and criminality, in London, is a dry fact. We know of our own knowledge that some of the most squalid loathsome abodes in London, where ignorance the most brutal, misery the most pitiable, and crime the most rampant, may be found to exist in close contiguity to Lambeth Palace, the *Times* printing-office, and the Middlesex Sessions House! We are in a condition to verify our assertion by giving the numbers of the houses or huts alluded to, and the names by which many of their inmates are known; but we will proceed to hear Mr. Vanderkiste's narrative of his visits to these unknown, but alas! not remote regions. The district to which he was appointed is called the "Cow-cross District," and comprises the worst portion of Clerkenwell, the whole of which is a locality of dirt, and ignorance, and vice. In its lanes and alleys, the lowest debauch, the coarsest enjoyment, the most infuriate passions, the most unrestrained vice, roar and riot. Fetid public houses abound in which thieves and burglars hold their orgies. Jew re-

ceivers lurk in every corner: there the pickpocket has his mart: ragged brazen women, hulking unwashed men, throng its dingy avenues. In its centre was the region known in the good old days of George the Third as "Jack Ketch's Warren." What could a young clergyman, fresh from the streams of Isis or of Cam, do in such a region? What could an erudite divine accomplish with his patristic theology, refined taste, and gentle manners? Let us contemplate a few of the subjects upon whom Mr. Vanderkiste had to operate:—

"I recollect (says he) being sent for to visit an elderly man who was very ill, and who was a stranger to me, not having resided any length of time where I saw him. According to my rule, when practicable, I catechised him. He knew who made him; and now said I, 'My friend, do you know who the Lord Jesus Christ is?' 'Why, sir (said he), I have always been given to understand he was the father of our blessed God Almighty!'"

"Religious instruction (observes Mr. Vanderkiste), or, indeed, any instruction to be made intelligible to such persons, must be clothed in the simplest language. At the period when the writer first devoted his energies to the evangelization of such persons, having received a good education and mixed with parties well educated also, he spoke as in usual discourse, read a portion of a chapter, prayed, and so closed his visits, pleased in very many instances with the apparent close attention paid, the ready response to the justice of his remarks, such as 'That's true, sir;' 'Oh, yes, indeed;'; 'Certainly, your reverence;'; 'What a nice prayer,;' &c.

After conducting visitation thus for some time, a circumstance arose which occasioned some suspicion, and led to a system of catechizing, and the result so affected the writer that he almost decided upon relinquishing his charge:—

"Pursuing this system of enquiry, after reading a portion of a chapter in the New Testament, which would be listened to with the greatest attention, I would enquire, 'Do you know at all what I have been reading about?' varying the interrogation; and I found in the majority of instances that no leading idea whatever was possessed of what had been read—no leading idea of even the subject: the reply would, perhaps, be, 'About God,' 'About good,' 'telling you to do your duty'—some mere guess, no real attention had been paid. Some pleaded that they had 'such poor head-pieces'—others that they were 'no scholars.' I found this to be a general result of my enquiries, and that I must pursue a widely different course. The mass of these wholly uneducated people did not possess the mental apprehension of a second-class scholar in our Ragged Schools. Missionaries who have just entered the mission, and who have been sent to visit with me, have repeatedly been astonished. Visiting a sick man with one new missionary, I requested him to read and instruct him, which he did, detailing to him our fallen condition, our need of salvation, and

the redemption purchased for us, in a very correct manner, and then reading a portion in the Gospels in proof of what he had said. The poor man listened with every appearance of attention, and when my young friend said, 'You know, Mr. —,' or any other interrogatives, he replied, 'Certainly, sir,' or 'In course, sir.' My companion appeared pleased with the man's attention to instruction, and I thought it time to undeceive him. 'Mr. — (said I), my friend has been taking much pains to instruct you, and now I will ask you a few questions. Do you know who Jesus Christ was?' 'Well, no (said he): I should say that's werry hard to tell.' 'Do you know whether he was St. John's brother?' 'No, that I don't.' 'Can you tell me who the Trinity are?' 'No, sir.' 'Are you a sinner?' 'Oh, certainly, sir, we are all sinners.' A pause. 'Have you never done wrong?' 'Why, no, I don't consider as ever I have.' 'Did you never commit sin?' 'Why, no, I don't know as ever I did.' 'But do you think that you're a sinner?' 'Oh, certainly, sir, we're all sinners.' 'What is a sinner?' 'Well, I'm blest if I know rightly: I never had no head-piece.'"

We could multiply quotations to the same effect; but we do not think any elaborate proof of the existence of popular ignorance is requisite, for unhappily it is patent in classes far above in station those among whom Mr. Vanderkiste and Roger Miller chiefly laboured. Catechize in plain Bible history, or the narrative of the New Testament, many of our opulent tradesmen, and the greater part of them will be found as ignorant, though not so grotesque in the confession of their ignorance, as the outcasts of Clerkenwell; and yet, peradventure, those very men can talk volubly at vestry meetings, and would never hesitate to speak dogmatically on points of Church government. Some of the anecdotes of Mr. Vanderkiste's colloquies induce a suspicion that droll rogues occasionally amused themselves by mocking Mr. Vanderkiste's simplicity, as the Zingaris in Spain were wont to do with worthy George Borrow, or at any rate had some sinister design cloaked beneath this show of extreme ignorance.

Let us now take a few samples of abject poverty, and God knows they are painfully abundant in both Mr. Vanderkiste's narratives and Mr. Miller's biography:—

"On visiting one family (says Mr. Vanderkiste) in Frying-pan-alley, I found the husband, who had long been out of work, gnawing something black and enquired what it was: he appeared reluctant to explain, but upon pressing the enquiry said it was a bone he had picked off a dunghill, and charred in the fire, and was gnawing. What little fire they had consisted of cinders picked off a dust-heap on his way to the chemical works at Mile-end in search of employment, where he had worked for many years and was discharged on a reduction of hands taking place. I am not sure that my eyes did not

fill with tears. These people were *actually* starving: they had been without food for two days. I immediately gave them some money for food which was instantly procured, and on eating it the wind in both parents occasioned so much hysteric that I was really alarmed. Another poor man known to me to be in extreme distress was describing the effects of fasting for three days. 'The *first* day (said he) 'taint so werry bad if you has a bit of 'bacca; the second it's horrid, it is *sich* gnawing; the third day it aint so bad again—you feels sinkish like, and werry faintish.' This man was extremely industrious and very sober. He is a gypsey."

"Had a person entered Mrs. T.'s little dark cell in B———alley, in the corner a little pallet would have been seen, which might have been mistaken for a stump bedstead; and, as a piece of cotton over it looked tolerably clean, it might have been said, as I once did, to the poor old woman (who had a son above sixty), 'I'm glad to see you sleep pretty comfortable.' It was winter time, very keen: she looked at me with surprize, and after musing for awhile said, 'Well, you shall see; but (added she) I don't make no complaint.' On her lifting up the piece of cotton and an old gown, I saw a little straw on an old shutter, and a few bricks supported this at each end. 'My bones (said she), I'm so thin, gets very sore *a-laying* in winter, with scarcely any food, often none.' The wonder is she was not perished: as it was, there can be no question but that the distressing asthma from which she laboured was much increased for want of food. The gnawings of hunger she relieved by 'a smoke of tobacco.'"

"Those of my readers who have their clean shirts, &c., three times a week nicely aired and ready for use at their bed's-heads, may hardly know many of the difficulties in the way of cleanliness that the very poor have to encounter. One poor lad in my district, destitute of a home, lodging at a threepenny lodging-house when he could obtain the threepence, and in carts and stables or in staircases when he could not, lately pleased me much in the matter of cleanliness. He had only one shirt, but he managed to have it clean, and I was asking him how he effected this arrangement. 'Why you see, sir (said he), I goes to some bye-place, and there I whips off my shirt: well, then I runs to a blind alley up Whitecross-street, where some waste hot water runs from some works through a pipe in the wall; there I washes my shirt. Well, then, I runs to the lime-kilns the other side of Blackfriars-bridge, and there I dries my shirt and puts it on. A clean shirt for me—it makes you feel so comfortable. I can't abear no filth.'"

We would gladly quote other passages from these visits to the haunts of destitution and crime, but space forbids. To one striking conclusion, however, to which Mr. Vanderkiste's researches led him, we would earnestly invite serious attention. The preacher may, in general terms, inculcate the duty of kindness to servants; and masters and mistresses will sit patiently under the discourse, and perhaps return home to scold their household; but show them that a large, a fright-

fully large, proportion of the hapless prostitutes in our streets have been driven to it by unreasonable mistresses, and surely they will hear and forbear.

“MATRONS OF ENGLAND, MARK THIS !

“Except among pious and feeling people—the great minority of our population—domestic service is rendered a complete slavery, and ill temper is vented by the mistress and her daughters upon some unhappy servant who is converted into a kind of lightning conductor to receive the effects of their wrath and morbid feelings. I have continually met with young women who have left their situations completely worn down, some with swelled legs from running up and down stairs. [In the London hospitals a particular knee-disease is known under the designation of the *Housemaid's knee*, contracted by kneeling upon brick and stone passages and kitchens.] In addition to incessant labour, scarcely to obtain a kind word or civil expression has a brutalizing effect upon the mind, so that some have said to me, ‘I felt so miserable—I did not care what became of me. I wished I was dead.’ *Godless families drive thousands of young women on the streets*, who are destitute of vital religion : others, disgusted with service, attempt a miserable existence by needlework, and are again tempted by half-starvation to sin.”*

Ladies of England—think on these things ! Tables showing the number of criminal offenders in the year 1846, by Mr. Redgrave of the Home Office, demonstrate that the period of life to which the greatest amount of crime falls is between fifteen and twenty years of age. The sum of crime committed at that period to the sum total is 6,246 to 25,107. Its proportion, therefore, is very nearly one-fourth of the whole. The juveniles, “aged fifteen and under twenty,” form not quite one-tenth of the population, but they are guilty of nearly one-fourth of its crime. Startling statistics, indeed, but irrefutably true ! Strange that modern men of authority should thus pronounce of those young beings of whom the Saviour said, “Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven”—children !—of whom Christ declared, “Whosoever shall receive one of such in my name receiveth me.” We will extract from the records of the Middlesex Session House an example of how one of these “little ones” has been treated by his father, his divinely-appointed instructor and protector, and by the law which is presumed to stand, where needful, *in loco parentis*.

* During the late Bishop Shirley's last illness, Mrs Shirley was reading to him 1 John iv., when a female servant entered the room, whom he addressed in terms of great kindness : when she left he said, “I cannot treat servants as some people do : I could not bear to be served with fear : where there is fear there is no love. ‘Perfect love casteth out fear.’”

In November 1837 a boy of twelve years of age was sentenced at Clerkenwell to twelve month's imprisonment with hard-labour in the House of Correction, Cold-Bath-Fields. The chairman obtained the following particulars of his history. He was the son of a coiner, a boy of quick and lively parts, rather diminutive in his person, but of high courage and apparently good temper. Until he was ten years old, he was employed to watch when his father was at work, and he was then promoted to the higher office of uttering the base money his father had coined. He and his father used at night to go out together. The father would give him a base shilling, and remain at a short distance whilst the boy went into some small shop and bought a pennyworth of tobacco or some trifle. The father would then receive the change from the boy, give him another shilling, and continue the traffic seven or eight times in a night. To the chairman's question, "What used your father to give you for doing this?"—his answer was, "Plenty of victuals and a penny-a-day if I did well, and a good hiding if I did not." It is somewhere written, we believe, and we are sure that we have heard grave and reverend judges more than once enunciate, with every semblance of profound conviction, that Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land. We presume not to gainsay the sages of Westminster-Hall, and we know that the chairman of the Middlesex Sessions at the period alluded to pronounced a sentence in exact conformity with statute-law, and one which he deemed best for the juvenile criminal; but we ask, was it consistent with the eternal principles of justice—was it in conformity with the law of Christ—that the intelligent, lively, good-tempered child, who obeyed "the first commandment with promise," should be punished; and the father, who abused his natural and legal control of his son knowingly and perseveringly, to train him to break the law of both God and man, should go free? We pause for a reply. Meanwhile, presuming the law to be as promulged and acted upon at Clerkenwell, we will ask, ought it to remain so—need it remain so any longer?

That it ought not to remain so, right reason and right feeling concur in asserting; while for its necessity those purblind prosers only will contend who twaddle about forms when principles are in agitation, and cling convulsively to the "liberty of the subject," while they trample under foot or give to the winds the ordinances of God. We hesitated not to break up the frame-work of society, to scatter the family compact, to abolish parental authority in pursuit of

wealth ; and now, forsooth, we scruple about depriving a profligate parent of the custody of his child because the liberty of the subject is a matter too sacred to be touched ! Is not this straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel ? We withhold from young men and women, until they attain the age of twenty-one years, any legal right to the minutest fraction of property ; and yet, if a child of seven years takes a loaf to save itself from starving, it is held as responsible as a man of thirty-seven ! But, *longum est iter per præcepta, breve per exempla* : so let us take an example from our Assize and Sessions Courts illustrative of our position as to the inadequacy, nay, criminality, of the law itself ; and that not a recondite or unusual case to suit a special purpose, but one of so ordinary and everyday a character that it has long ceased to awaken attention ; and yet, were it presented to an intelligent stranger for the first time, would he weep or laugh ? The following scene, periodically repeated at our Assizes and Quarter Sessions, may well be paused over before a spectator can decide whether it is meet for tears or derision.

An ermined judge, preceded by trumpeters and javelin-men, proceeds in solemn pomp to the county-hall, where he meets the noblemen and great landed proprietors, the yeomanry and respectable tradesmen, of the district, all summoned from their homes, from their farm and their merchandize, to do duty either upon the grand or the petty jury, sworn "to pass between our Sovereign Lady the Queen and the prisoners on their respective trials." Suppose the grand inquest—after having been duly charged, complimented, or perhaps admonished by my lord, because his desk is too high or his seat too low—to have retired and at length to have returned some true bills. Now, our foreign visitor will see why all this show has been prepared, this solemn meeting convened. The crier of the court loudly calls upon the petty jury to come to the book to be sworn ; and the clerk of arraigns, with a voluminous roll of parchment in his hand, solemnly requests them to look upon the prisoner. They dutifully endeavour to do so in the direction to which the officer of the court points ; but the top of an uncombed head is all they can see, and a spectator directly in front of the dock can only make out a pair of anxious eyes peering over its ledge, either scintillant with malice or brimming with tears, as the case may be. A turnkey at last lifts the object in his arms and exhibits a little girl whom he places upon a high stool ; for thus only, in pursuance of the official direction,

can the prisoner be looked upon by the jury. With what emotions the jury look upon their prisoner it is impossible from their amazed and perplexed gaze to determine; but varied are the emotions of the surrounding spectators. Many wonder—some few weep—several say it was a pity its father or mother had not given it a good whipping; and others again regard it as a monster of precocious depravity. In the course of the trial, it comes out that the child got access to a drawer in which were shillings and sovereigns—that she did not know the difference between the two—and when a man asked where she got the money she directly told him. The fact of the taking is proved, and under the direction of the judge the jury return a verdict of guilty! “Mais, Messieurs (exclaims the French visitor thinking of his own code), that poor child acted *sans discernement*—you must acquit her.” “Sir (interposes the judge with a frown)—we are in an English and not a French Court of justice, and God forbid that French modes of administering law should be introduced into this free country. We do not cross-examine prisoners, as the French do: we do not drag confessions from their lips when no other evidence is forthcoming. No, no, thank God! with us every benefit is given to the prisoner. But, gentlemen of the jury (continues the judge), what *are* we to do with this poor child? I see (his lordship continues), from a paper of particulars supplied me by the excellent governor of your county prison, that this wretched little thing, young as she is, has been in prison twice already: her father has abandoned his family, and her mother is now awaiting her own trial on a distinct offence. What can I do? It is evident that her two former imprisonments have been inefficacious. It will be a wanton waste of the country’s money to sentence her to a longer imprisonment, and injurious to the child herself.” We will leave his lordship to settle this puzzling case; and suppose a culprit in the dock somewhat differently circumstanced from the poor child whose case we have drawn—not from imagination—but from the records of the Millbank Penitentiary. Let us now replace the stunted girl of ten by a brisk intelligent lad of twelve, whose father is a drunken profligate unfit to teach him a trade, and unable, with his drinking habits, to bring up his family without parochial assistance. The poor mother appeals to the judge, and implores him to transport her son as the only mode of preserving him from a lower depth of crime. The judge informs the poor mother that an Australian penal settlement is not a place whereto to consign her son, who

is far from being hopeless or irreclaimably corrupted; and unhappily English judges have no choice but transportation beyond the seas, or imprisonment in a gaol for prisoners of whatever age or whatever variety of character. The French, in this matter, are both more wise and more humane than ourselves. In article sixty-six of their Penal Code it is enacted:—

“When the accused shall be less than sixteen years of age, if it is decided that he has acted *sans discernement*, he shall be *acquitted*; but he shall be, according to circumstances, given in charge to his parents or conducted into a house of correction, to be there brought up and detained during the number of years which the sentence shall determine, which, however, shall not exceed the period when he shall have completed his twentieth year.”

A subsequent article enables the judge to deal with prisoners whom the jury may find to have acted *avec discernement*, but whose cases deserve consideration. The English judge, as we have said, has but the option of imprisonment in a gaol or simple transportation. A few years ago a valuable Society existed under the management of the late benevolent Captain Brenton, R.N., which apprenticed convict boys to the *Boer* farmers at the Cape of Good Hope. We can speak of much good having been done by this Society; but it somehow incurred the animosity of the *Times* newspaper and was fairly written down—or rather, we should say, most *unfairly*—for every subscriber thereto was represented as an accessory to kidnapping; and poor Captain Brenton was spoken of in terms only applicable to the *ανδραποδισται* of ancient Cilicia or the slave-dealers of modern Carolina. One of those *Times*’ articles of unusual venom, we verily believe, accelerated Captain Brenton’s death, he having a disease of the heart. “Cursed is he who smiteth his neighbour secretly” is a fearful warning, and ought to have a restraining influence over every writer for the public press. But to resume. We could vary the circumstances of juvenile culprits to a great extent from the records of actual cases; but that we may avoid the semblance even of concocting cases for effect, as we would put fresh slides in a magic lantern to amuse young folks on a winter’s evening, let us, in matter-of-fact form, show the inadequacy of all our existing schemes to meet the requirements of juvenile depravity. First, let us hear the sentiments of the Government Inspectors of Prisons themselves upon such cases as those to which we have just adverted. Speaking of juvenile delinquents, the inspectors say:

“When we recall to mind their pitiable condition, the haunts of

infamy in which they have been cradled—when we think of their ignorance and depravity, and how greatly they have been the victims of circumstances over which they could have had no control—when we contrast the cheerful pursuits and innocent enjoyments which ordinarily mark this season of life with that constant succession of crime and punishment which fills up the whole existence of the juvenile depredator—when we consider the rapidity with which these boys have hurried from the smaller to the greater crimes, the cruel effects of their imprisonment, by which their reformation has been not only neglected, but their vices have been more deeply rooted and confirmed—when we reflect upon their destitution on leaving prison, and the sharp stimulus with which want impels the distressed to the commission of crime—it is impossible too deeply to lament that evils so serious in their nature, and fatal in their effects, should so long have been permitted to exist.”

But have not these benevolent suggestions been acted upon—are not our prisons much improved—is not the education of juvenile prisoners attended to—and are not asylums open for their reception on leaving prison? England has done something for her children, but not always in a right direction nor judiciously. “Some broken bread and meat for the poor prisoners: for the Lord’s sake, pity the poor,” is a cry no longer heard at the doors of our gaols; while a box hung in chains is rattled to attract the passenger’s attention and excite his compassion, as a very few years ago it commonly was: prisoners are now, in a majority of cases, fed better than paupers confined for the crime of poverty within the high walls of a union house. The horrors which appalled the soul of Howard—the open cesspool, filthy strand, the crowded cell and the damp dungeon, the recollection of which, as witnessed in an English gaol, made Howard pronounce the infamous Piombi and Pozzi of Venice by no means so bad as fame had reported—these abominations are no longer seen; and horrible must have been the then condition of English prisoners, in comparison of which the scorching Leads and damp Pits of Venice were pronounced by an English philanthropist to be tolerable. The low profligacy and rascality of both prisoners and their keepers, so vividly portrayed in the descriptions of gaols by Goldsmith, Fielding, and Smollett, are not rife in the prisons of the present day. Ordinaries of Newgate do not drink punch with felons now, nor do fashionable ladies and gentlemen make the condemned cell a lounging-room on a Sunday afternoon as they were wont to do in the days of Horace Walpole. The progress of improvement has had its onward course through the prison as well as through the mine, the manufactory, and the squalid suburb;

but, as in these latter much cleansing remains to be done, many further sanitary measures are required; so prisons are not yet what they might be and what we trust they will eventually be made. But what we are especially anxious for is, not to convert our prisons into training schools for the young, but to train the young out of doors that they may escape prison contamination altogether. A prison, in its best estate, whether conducted on the silent or the separate system, produces a demoralizing effect—it weakens and incapacitates, even when it does not corrupt. We have enjoyed opportunities of studying the separate system at Pentonville—its best exposition in this country; but confess, after having paced its corridors and felt their soul-subduing silence, bent our knees in prayer in its chapel, and witnessed the demeanour of the prisoners at worship, at work, and in their cells, and noted the treatment they experienced at the hands of those set over them, we have our fears lest this system should unfit men for the rough encounter of the world. The Canary bird, accustomed to its cage, soon famishes in the fields; and so we can readily conceive the bewilderment and even anguish experienced by a man who has lived amidst the serenity of Pentonville for eighteen months, on being first placed amidst the din and tumult of a ship fitting out for sea, to be precisely such as the surgeon who accompanied the first batch of Pentonville exiles on their distant voyage has described. Those who visit Pentonville, Cold Bath-fields, and Tothill-fields Prisons, under their present administration, may suppose that few improvements are needed; but they will please to recollect that equal good management does not prevail universally, as the issuing of a commission of enquiry by the present enlightened Home Secretary demonstrates. But we frankly confess that we have no wish to see prisons divested of their punitive character, and turned into training or even reformatory establishments. They may easily lose their original character and cease to be prisons; but they can never supply the place of that family system which the gigantic scheme of money-making destroyed. That manufacturing system which altered the whole of English society, as well as those classes directly employed in manufactures, ordinarily so called, reversed the order of nature and turned children into men—it imposed upon the child the labour of a man and prematurely taught it a man's vices. If we regard a child physically, morally, and spiritually, we shall find our assertion literally true. Physically considered, every part of the child's body is immature: the muscles as well as the bones are in an incom-

plete state: they suffice for the quick and buoyant motions of the lively child, but fail in those long and violent exertions required by the labours of manhood: the brain, though it early equals in bulk that of the adult, is extremely soft, and the same difference exists in the other parts of his frame. Now, it is observable that in his growth the perfection of those organs which connect him passively with the world around him—that is, which enable him to *receive* impressions from the external world, such as the eye and the ear—much more early attain a certain maturity of organization than those which enable him to take an *active* part, such as the organs of locomotion or of labour, the legs and arms.

“Observe (says Dr. Symonds*) a child of seven years old: his senses are sufficiently acute for all ordinary purposes, although they are deficient in precision and delicacy: he has seen many attractive objects—he has heard many wonderful stories—tasted many exquisite delights: he remembers them vividly, he associates them rapidly, and often in shapes very different from those in which they were formerly combined. Desires follow which would prompt him to execute the most ridiculous and mischievous schemes; but, happily, the muscular system by which alone he could accomplish them is too immature and feeble for his puerile purposes. Here, then, is the final cause that we were in search of: the active corporeal functions of relation must not advance beyond the governing faculty of the mind.”

Thus, physiology shows us how by his Creator the child is fitted for dependence, and left for a season immature for the independent exercise of will or hard labour. He is placed in relation to another whom religion enjoins to “train him up as he should go.” Archdeacon Hare’s description of this relation is so excellent, so physiologically true and religiously sound, that we must quote it, though our allotted space is already exceeded:—

“The state and condition in which we enter into life have been so ordered and appointed that infancy and childhood must needs be to all a perpetual exercise of faith. During the first years of life we cannot do anything, we cannot know anything, we cannot learn anything—not even to speak—except through faith. A child’s soul lies in faith as in a nest. He is so fashioned, is brought into the world in such utter helplessness and dependence, that he cannot do otherwise than *put faith in the wisdom and love of all around him, especially of his parents, who in this respect chiefly stand in the stead of God to him.* When we have learned to look at childhood in its true light as a discipline and exercise of faith—when we have recognised the

* “Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology,” Art. Age.

beneficence of the ordinance that during our first years our souls should grow up wholly by breathing the air of faith—we see how rightly, in ages before men were dazzled by the glare of their own ingenuity, it was deemed the fundamental principle of a wholesome education to bring up children in full, strict, unquestioning obedience.”*

We could, did our limits allow, show by striking examples how antithetical to the laws of nature and religion alike is the bringing up of children among the “perishing and dangerous classes.” The bodily powers are prematurely taxed: the child is compelled to take an active and independent part: his *will* acquires an unnatural strength by its early exercise, unchecked by authority or reason. Is it not mockery to talk to the child of such parents as we have alluded to of putting faith “in the wisdom and love of those around him, especially of his parents?” The child of the Clerkenwell coiner, alluded to in a former part of this paper, put implicit faith in his father, and yielded him a prompt and entire obedience, and alas! he opened his eyes to that father’s real character in a felon’s dock, and thence passed into a felon’s prison!

And in that prison would the defects in that poor child’s education be repaired? Alas! no: a prison school infuses no faith in the wisdom and love of those who conduct it. The teacher may be kind and skilful; but surrounding circumstances neutralize his influence upon the minds and hearts of his hapless charge. The teaching of words—albeit they may be the words of Scripture—do not of themselves awaken the will to repel temptation and do battle in the conflict of life. The boy comes out of the best administered prison less fit for life’s struggle than when he entered it.

Mr. Antrobus, in his most valuable pamphlet, sets forth this most important truth in its clearest light:—

“A prison is erected for three objects—to punish, to deter, and to reform the offender of the laws. In some instances, doubtless, the prison may exercise a deterring and beneficial influence on the young delinquent, and on others who have not been within its walls; but this class will be found exceedingly small when compared with the vast numbers who, having been once familiarized with it, are thereby become hardened; and with others who, although for the time reformed by the enlightened system of discipline—religious, moral, and industrial training, of late years introduced and preserved—are unable to retrace their steps on leaving its portal, from the very fact that, having the prison brand on them, they are rejected and spurned by society, and unable, therefore, however desirous they may be, to obtain an honest livelihood.

“The grand object in separating an offender from society must ever

* Archbishop Hare’s “Victory of Faith.”

be to make him or her a better member of it. In sending a child of eight, ten, twelve, or fourteen years of age to prison, is this object likely to be accomplished? One brought up amid scenes of depravity, of misery, poverty, or destitution, in a state of ignorance almost amounting to barbarism, without any proper perception of right and wrong, is it likely that this unfortunate being should ultimately prove other than a confirmed criminal? Send a child to a prison! for taking an apple, an orange, a few walnuts, or a toy—even for snatching some trifling article, imprudently or culpably exposed for sale in the streets, or from having a vagrant parent—the act is monstrous, and can only tend to increase the immoral pestilence which reigns and which all deplore. Send a child to a prison, deprive it of its character in the dawn of its existence, its good name, reputation—pluck from it that which its early years and the neglect to which it has probably been subjected, it cannot rightly value—character, which throws a resplendent halo round a throne, elevates nations and senates, adorns courts of justice, gives stability to institutions, vitality to commerce, treasured by every honest man, from the peer of the realm to the peasant, from the minister of the Crown to the mechanic and artisan, without which the highest sink into oblivion, and the poor become destitute!

“Poor child! whoever has seen you in the prison cell, in the work-room, or the chapel, must have felt how little hope remained for your redemption, either in this world or the next, must have entertained some misgiving as to your being altogether responsible beings, the justice of the law which sent you there, and of the humanity of those who placed you under its influence.

“It does appear that the effect on children’s future prospects in life, dispositions, and characters, by sending them to a prison, is singularly overlooked: it is almost impossible for them afterwards to obtain employment—they become reckless, are subject to the taunts of persons who surround them, and are most frequently compelled to return to a life of crime.”

While we write thus despairingly of all gaol schools, let us not be supposed to have any mere empirical system in view, or to entertain namby-namby notions upon the efficacy of petting. Far from it: on the contrary, we would recommend none but schemes approved by experience, and do not believe in the efficacy of mere sentimental kindness; nor expect that evils, the growth of a life, can be eradicated in a month, or six months, or a year. The system we would recommend should be founded on God’s own immutable laws—the family must be its type. It should be admitted at once that to establish a teacher in a child’s mind—that is, to be looked up to with a child’s faith in a father—is no easy work; but it is feasible, for it has been accomplished. We can confidently point to the *Rauhe Haus* at Hamburg for a realization of many of the proposi-

tions we have advanced, and to the industrial schools at Aberdeen, a short account of which is given in Mr. Thompson's pamphlet on the subject, which we earnestly commend to the serious attention of those who have at heart the welfare and amelioration of the English population. We intended to have written upon the system pursued at the Rauhe Haus above-named, to the agricultural colony at Mettray, and other similar establishments on the Continent and the United States of North America; but we have already occupied so much space in this number of the *Church of England Quarterly Review* that we must defer our expanded observations on reformatory schools, and their manifold advantages, social, political, and religious, to a future opportunity.

ART. III.—*Discourses on Important Subjects.* By the Rev. ROBERT FERGUSON, LL.D. London: Ward and Co., 1853.

IT can never be too often reiterated in the ears of our youth that England owes all its commercial prosperity, all its political glory, to the Reformation. It can never be too frequently remembered and acknowledged by the mature Christian, that England's pre-eminence among the nations is owing to her being foremost in giving honour to God and his holy word; and it can never be too strongly or too repeatedly enforced from our pulpits that it is to God's favour we are indebted for this pre-eminence, and that it has brought us under a deep responsibility to Him who hath heaped such blessings upon us—that he hath thus loaded us with favour, and thus set us on high, in order that England might become a conspicuous witness for him to all the world, and be empowered to defend the truth, and afford protection to its advocates whensoever they may be assailed in any quarter of the globe.

The Reformation in England, is ascribable to the word of God in a more full and exclusive sense than can be predicated of any other country where the Reformation took effect; for it was not by a Luther or a Calvin among our clergy—it was not by Henry, or Edward, or Elizabeth upon the throne that the Reformation in England was brought about, and still less was it effected by any external or foreign agency. It was by the circulation of the Scriptures among the people that the heart of England was reached; and the Gospel, once planted there, soon made itself felt and listened to throughout

all the members of the body politic; and, having begun in the heart, the revival took that vigorous and healthy tone which is characteristic of the English institutions both civil and religious.

The theology of the Church of England being, in like manner, founded on Scripture alone, is characterised by the same manly and vigorous tone; or if it occasionally degenerated, as in the case of Laud and his followers, or in the Non-jurors and Jacobites in the time of William, these are mere exceptions; for it would be difficult to find, in any other country, such a collection of sound theology and deep doctrine as is contained in the sermons and dissertations of our older divines, who lived during the first century after the Reformation.

When men grow rich they are apt to become indolent, and this is as true of intellectual as of worldly acquisitions; and when men are born to large possessions it is not easy to induce them to take the pains necessary to understand how to use aright those treasures which they have not had the labour of acquiring. When this is the case, a fit of illness may prove a real benefit to a man by forcing him to use that regimen and exercise which are necessary to keep the body in health; or, some attempt at depriving him of his possessions, may become the stimulus to rouse him and make him apply himself to the management of his affairs.

So it has been with the Church of England, in a spiritual sense, since a morbid appetite for mere ceremonials, and a mawkish aping of obsolete usages, had crept over the indolent and sinecure portion of the Church; and disgust at this clerical foppery has produced a healthy reaction both among the clergy and the laity. The papal aggression too, which aimed at robbing us of all which we hold most dear, has roused the true-hearted men in the Church of England from their lethargic security, and our champions have buckled on again their spiritual armour and are rushing to their several posts, which are again assailed by a foe whom their forefathers had conquered, and who had lately sworn, and made them believe, that he was no longer in hostility towards them.

We hail the volume before us as a fresh contribution to that stock of sound, vigorous, manly divinity, to which we have adverted as characteristic of the best ages of the Church of England; and we desire to give it all the publicity in our power, with the hope that many more such works as this may appear, to rouse, invigorate, and arm the soldiers of Christ against the daring assaults of infidelity on the one hand and

against the insidious and stealthy machinations of Jesuits and Idolators on the other.

The volume is not controversial, and we like it all the better on that account ; for, as it is not for victory but for truth that we contend, so, when fundamental truths are brought out and clearly established, they supersede controversy by taking away all its grounds. By stating the truth broadly and positively we are following the example set by our Lord and his apostles, who never weaken their statements by guarding them from objections which a caviller might raise ; and, if a man be well indoctrinated with spiritual truth, he may safely be left to find his own weapons, if he should be called upon to contend for it.

That divinity which we call *English* is founded on Scripture alone, in conformity with the sixth article of our Church, which saith :—" Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation ; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite to salvation ;" and this gives to our divinity the solidity and certainty of truth. It serves also to keep it within the limits of what has been revealed in Scripture—thus setting bounds to speculation, which has run so wild among some writers of Germany and America, and cutting off the puerile legends of Romanism and the blasphemous pretensions of Mormonism ; and guarding us also against the profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called (1 Tim. vi.20.), against which St. Paul repeatedly warned both Timothy and Titus, and through them hath warned us.

We must give Dr. Ferguson's reasons for this publication in his own words :—

" The influence of the Christian pulpit is second to none. We acknowledge our obligations to the press, which has so largely contributed towards the culture and the enlightenment of this nineteenth century. But the pulpit has a province peculiarly its own and deals with verities for which no substitute can be found. It has the widest and the most highly-illuminated field of truth over which to travel and in which to expatiate. It comes into closer and more immediate contact with man—with his conscience and his heart—and gives the opportunity of pressing upon him the claims of the Christian revelation with a directness and earnestness not otherwise to be insured. It is not a platform for noisy and empty declamation : nor yet for the periodical iteration of common-place and universally received truisms, but for laying open the whole mind of God as it is revealed in the inspired volume, and by bringing into nearer view the realities of

another world—for rousing the dormant energies of the soul and for breathing fresh life into its benumbed affections. It is not for the babblings of ignorance, but for the utterance of manly thoughts; while nothing more is required on the part of the teachers of Christianity than that they should give themselves up to the deeper study of revealed truth, and should avail themselves of the ever-accumulating stores of human knowledge for illustration and effect to render the pulpit of the present as efficient as the pulpit of the past. . . .

“The pulpit may be reflected in the press, and hence the appearance of the present volume. The discourses are not miscellaneous, but have been selected and arranged according to the law of suggestion. The eternity of God’s being, necessarily involves the idea that he is in possession of a nature with which nothing can be compared—that in his nature, which claims a separate, distinct, and independent existence, there must be a grandeur and a glory infinitely beyond the reach of created discovery—that inapproachable as is the light in which the Divinity dwells, he condescended, in the person of Jesus Christ, so to veil his glory as that we might look upon it through the medium of humanity—that, as God manifested in the flesh, he put himself in the nearest relationship to man—that, as man, he lived and moved and acted in this world, and sought to draw the soul into communion with his own life through the power of his own revealed love—that, in the depth of this love, he offered up himself for the redemption of our race—that his cross became the foundation on which the fallen temple of humanity was to be rebuilt, and in which every veil would be so rent and drawn aside as to reveal the deepest secrets of life and immortality—that this temple should be for ever inhabited by the Divine Spirit, and be for ever filled with the divine glory—that the power of this in-dwelling Spirit in the soul should be expressed in a life of higher faith and holier obedience—that this practical piety should flow out in sympathy with the world’s woes and wants, and lead to corresponding activity to effect the world’s redemption—that this mighty enterprise should be achieved, not by any outward show and splendour, not by the din and noise so incident to human expedients, but by the meekness and gentleness of truth—that efforts on behalf of others should be in the degree of our own spiritual life, and therefore to watch against the declension of religious principle and feeling is a primary duty—that exposed as we are to the seductions and evils of this world, nothing can preserve us in the integrity of holy character but the exhaustless power and grace of the exalted Saviour—that in the midst of our integrity and activity we are still subject to suffering and to trial, that affliction is designed to promote moral perfection, and to meeten us for that great nightless world where we shall enter into everlasting repose—that these truths all rest on the authority of divine revelation, and that the evidence for the inspiration of the Bible is such as to place the book infinitely and for ever above any human writing” (*Preface*).

Such are the mighty truths brought before us in the fifteen discourses which form the bulk of the volume: it is concluded

with a pastor's wish and prayer being a new year's address, and an address to the young. We shall endeavour to give our readers as full an account of the manner in which these weighty themes are handled as our limits will allow of, hoping that not a few will be induced to read the book for themselves.

The first discourse is on "God inhabiting Eternity," from Isaiah lvii. 15 :—"Thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy. I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones." It is shown that, although the proper idea of Godhead necessarily involves incomprehensibility, yet enough is discoverable by contemplating the works of God, and by the revelation he has made of himself in Scripture, to produce the liveliest emotions of gratitude and adoration; that he has rendered us capable of knowing already as much of that which is infinite as our present state could bear; and that he has encouraged us to take it as a present earnest that our knowledge of him shall go on increasing more and more throughout all eternity; and that the more we know of God the more we shall love him, and so reflect more of the image of God for which we were created.

But God, though to be seen and admired in all the works of his hands, and chiefly in man created after his own image and likeness, is perfectly and altogether distinct from all created things, the soul and spirit of man, and the angels who are spirits, have nothing in common with God, for they are creatures and he is the Creator of all things:—"An angel cannot be said to possess the nature of God, not in the most limited degree or in the most confined sense. The Divine Essence is not divisible, and cannot, therefore, be communicated. It is not some plastic substance which can extend itself indefinitely, and which by its universal presence makes every created thing" (8).

Although, therefore, the God we worship is one in whom we live and move and have our being—who giveth us life and breath and all things—yet he is not like the First Cause of the Heathen, but has all the attributes of Personality:—

"We believe in a true personal God. We know nothing of a being whose personality is lost in an universal creation, and who in his turn is to absorb all creation in himself. His is a separate and independent existence. We say it, with a true heart-joy, that HE is ever travelling forth in the greatness of his strength and in the exuberance of his bounty among the works of his hands, and is filling the hidden

recesses of every living thing with the cheering intimacy of his presence ; but he is not to be confounded with his works. Much less must they be allowed to take his place in the thoughts and belief of man. All creation is but the embodiment of his will and the product of his power, and from that creation he is as separate and distinct as the machinist is from the machine which he has made, or the astronomer is from the instrument which he has constructed to survey the fields of light. Even the angel, who excels in strength and moral excellence, has nothing which he has not derived from God's immense and exhaustless fulness.

“ As brightest stars are but the darkest dust
Illumined from without :

so the purest and most seraphic spirit before the throne owes his light and life and love to the one eternal fountain of being and of beauty. The very sunbeam, which paints and gilds his wing, is not his own. He has nothing which he has not received ; while the source from which he is supplied rises infinitely and for ever above himself ” (9).

“ So conscious are the spirits of light of this truth that they ever turn to the throne of the Eternal with the most adoring reverence, and, veiling their faces in the presence of his ineffable brightness, cease not to worship day nor night. Filled with corresponding wonder and delight, and touched with the same holy fire, we would join in the Litany of the Church universal, and say :—‘ We praise thee, O God ! We acknowledge thee to be the Lord ! All the earth doth worship thee, the Father everlasting.....The holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge thee, THE FATHER OF AN INFINITE MAJESTY.’ But, while we acknowledge this infinite majesty, who shall describe it ? The language of earth is too poor. The mind of man is too confined. The glory of the Godhead rises into such shadeless and inconceivable grandeur as to baffle every effort at description, and challenges the most profound worship from angels and from men. This will be the grand mystery of heaven—the deep secret of everlasting ages. As in the duration past, so in the duration to come—the Holy One will claim for himself a sphere and a circle of being in which no seraph's wing has ever waved, and into which the purest spirit can find no access ” (10).

As of the nature of God, so of his existence throughout all eternity, we can form no adequate conception. We only know that the Creator of all things must have existed before all things, and must continue to exist when all things which are not upheld by him shall pass away. “ Thy years, O God, are throughout all generations. Of old hast thou laid the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure : yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment : as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed ; but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end. The children of thy

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servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before thee" (Psal. cii. 28).

The phrase, "INHABITING ETERNITY," has a deep significance; for we are not to conceive of eternity as though it were a void before the creation was called into being: the boundless and timeless space was inhabited by God. For as the universe we behold is no part of the Godhead, though made by him, so the Maker existed before that which is the work of his hands; and there was no necessity laid upon God to call the creation into being—we can only say that he willed it to be so. God was in his own being complete and perfect and he needed nothing; but it is revealed to us in Scripture that in the divine essence there is a Trinity of Persons—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—subsisting in distinct personalities from all eternity; and these distinctions imply interchange of thought, and counsel, and word, leaving no room for imagining the dreariness and gloom of a solitary existence in the Godhead. The words spoken at the creation, "Let us make man in our image," imply communion and counsel; and of the Son, impersonated as Wisdom, it is written, "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was" (Prov. viii. 23); and impersonated as the Word, he was in the beginning, and was with God, and was God. "All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men" (John i.; Heb. i.); and the Son in his last prayer saith, "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was" (John xvii. 5).

And will this God dwell, indeed, with man? Behold the heaven of heavens cannot contain him. Yes, truly! He hath promised to dwell with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, and that trembleth at his word; and the beloved disciple declares, "Truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ. And these things we write unto you, that your joy may be full" (1 John i. 4):—

"This transcendentally great and blessed Being, having brought into existence an external universe, has not so withdrawn into his own eternity and glory as no longer to take any interest in the works of his hand. Go where we may, we find a present God. Everywhere we are in the midst of the unwearied activity of his power and goodness. To this our world, fallen and lost as it is, he has made a

special revelation of himself. In the person of his Son Jesus Christ he came and tabernacled with man, and with man he still abides in the presence and communion of his Spirit. It is not a point of dogmatical belief, but a fact lying in the depth of the moral consciousness of renewed humanity, that God has a dwelling upon earth. We have only to look into the breast of the humble penitent, once stricken with a sense of sin, but delivered from its bondage and its guilt by the power of redeeming love, and all renewed and transformed by the great sanctifying and life-giving Spirit; and there we find a temple in which the Godhead has taken up his abode, and in which he manifests himself as he does not to the world. We say not that he communicates to that soul of his own eternal essence; but there is such a flowing into it of his own life, and light, and love, that it is delightfully conscious of the closest communion with the most blessed. In the spirit of true adoption, such a soul can recognise in the in-dwelling Divinity a Father and a Saviour, repose in him with the confidence of faith, and draw from his fulness the plenitude of grace and blessing" (16).

The second discourse is on the "Glory of God," which is not to be revealed, founded on the petition of Moses, "I beseech thee, show me thy glory" (Exod. xxxiii. 18). To which the Lord answered, "I will make all *my goodness* pass before thee;" and he proclaimed the name of the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth. It is shown that the glory of God ought not to be looked upon as something separate and distinct from his nature, but as that nature in the sum and fullness of its perfection; and that there is in the divine nature an interior and hidden glory which cannot be revealed, and which no created intelligence could comprehend or bear. The uncreated and eternal cannot but exceed the reach and grasp of the created and dependent. The finite can never sustain the weight of the infinite:—"The eternal power and godhead of the Creator may be most surely inferred from the things which were made; but in no created object can we find a perfect embodiment of the divine glory. Nor will eternity change the relations between the created and the Creator: for ever will there be an infinite interval. The distance will never be lost in the progress and development of derived existence" (24).

But since the Lord had promised to make all *his goodness* known to the children of men, it is shown that the most sublime manifestation of the glory of God is that which has been made in the person and work of our Lord Jesus Christ; for the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory as of the only begotten of the Father full

of grace and truth; and when Philip said, "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us," Jesus saith unto him, "Have I been so long a time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father" (John xiv. 9) —

"The deeper we penetrate into the character and work of Christ, the more we shall discover of the true nature of God—more clearly learn what he is—and what is his relation to ourselves and the universe at large. The love of the Father comes out in the very constitution of the Son as including in his own individual and mysterious person the twofold nature of God and man.....As the only Begotten who was in the bosom of the Father he came to declare him. As it was the last, so it was the highest, revelation of God to man. He was at once the light and the life.

"If God be love, then the highest manifestation of this love must be regarded as the highest revelation of his glory. Hence it is that we turn with such unspeakable interest to the Cross of his Son, and contemplate the deeper mysteries of divine grace. Magnify the grandeur and majesty of God as we may, we painfully feel that mere power or greatness would never draw our hearts back to the centre of life and blessedness. It is the infinite and ineffable benignity of the divine nature which renders its glory so engaging and attractive. Light is bleuded with love—greatness is inseparable from goodness—majesty is mellowed and modified by mercy. The Cross exhibits the only ground on which God and man can ever meet. It makes known the one only medium of divine forgiveness—constitutes the basis for everlasting reconciliation and fellowship.....If there be no access to God, and no introduction to heaven through the one accepted mediation of the Son, without human intervention, the condition of man is hopeless. If there be not sufficient virtue in the one sacrifice which he offered for sin, no created merit can ever turn the balance in our favour. Either redemption has been achieved in its magnitude and glory, or the case is shut up in the gloom of a final despair. If the divinity has never inhabited humanity, man can never rise into communion with God. If the necessary and all-effective means do not exist for impressing his image upon us while we are on the earth, we can never see his face in heaven. To behold his glory, we must partake his purity. The mercy which pardons must be followed by the grace which sanctifies, when both will be consummated in the perfection of the heavenly state" (29).

This now prepares us for the all-important practical inference, which is drawn out with great cogency, that the purer and the loftier our own spirits become, the more we become capable of entering into those revelations of the divine glory which God has made to us in the person of his well-beloved Son. For it is not by any means in proportion to the enlargement of the understanding that God becomes manifest

to any one, but in proportion to the purity of the heart; and the heart must be cleansed from the guilt of sin, through faith in the blood of Christ, before the Holy Spirit can come to take of the things of Christ and show them unto us, and thus bring us into fellowship with the Father and the Son, that our joy may be full. The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God. If any man be in Christ he is a new creature—old things are passed away: behold, all things are become new. That we should be to the praise of his glory who first trusted in Christ: in whom ye also trusted after that ye heard the word of truth, the Gospel of your salvation: in whom also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory (Eph. i. 14).

“We assert it, without fear of contradiction, that even nature herself will withhold all her higher and more glorious revelations unless there be a correspondence or likeness between her own spirit and the spirit of those who would commune with her. So in the intercourse between mind and mind—soul will never communicate with soul if there be no congenial feeling—no felt sympathy the one with the other. The heart will withdraw and retire within itself, and shutting every outlet will keep back all its deeper and richer thoughts. In like manner God never reveals himself in the depth of his glory to any man till the man has first yielded his whole nature to the purifying and transforming power of the Spirit, and has thus taken on higher degrees of moral purity and perfection. It is only the pure in heart that can see God—can perceive the glory which he is ever revealing, or be conscious of the impression of that glory on the inner man in deeper communion with his life.....Is not heaven a world of the most glorious revelation? And does not this revelation rest upon the fact that every nature there is in possession of spotless holiness? Change the moral attributes or condition of those blessed spirits, and in the same degree you unfit them for those streams of light which are ever issuing from the eternal throne. It is only as we become in our spiritual being conformed to those loftier and purer intelligences that we are justified in looking for corresponding manifestations of the divine glory. It may be that man shall take the priority in rank and place in heaven; but this will be because the Redeemer of our souls has espoused humanity, and taken it into indissoluble and everlasting union with his own divinity. This most intimate and indissoluble union bespeaks the depth and perfection of the change of which our nature is susceptible, and to what a height of sanctity it may be raised. The glory to which we shall be admitted will perfectly correspond with the elements of our moral being; and, if we shall be taken into nearer relationship to the Godhead, the revelations which he will make to us will be proportionally higher and more glorious” (30). “Not only must the man be born from above,

but his new life must ever be pressing up into clearer light and more perfect day. His regeneration must be followed by his sanctification. A progressive and ever-advancing likeness to God is an invariable concomitant of communion with God. The more frequent the intercourse the closer the assimilation; and if like will seek its like, in proportion as the soul is changed into the divine image, will it pant for God, and for deeper fellowship with the Spirit of life " (31).

This communion with God will not induce a neglect of the duties of that station of life in which God's Providence has placed us: it will only the better enable us to fulfil those duties, whether in the Church or in the world. The God of the Bible is not an abstraction, or a being that takes no interest in the things done in the Church and in the world; and Christ, whose communion was closest with his heavenly Father, went about doing good: it was his meat and drink to do the work of him that sent him, and he said, Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business. The servants of God, in whatever sphere they are placed, may not hide the talent committed to them in a napkin, or bury it in the earth, but are held responsible for using it to the glory of God; and all those that are set before us in Scripture as having the most intimate communion with God are also men distinguished by their mighty deeds; and frequently we find it to be the case that this admission to the divine presence is made the means of preparing them for the work they are commissioned to do. Thus Moses at the burning bush received his commission to deliver the children of Israel from the bondage of Egypt; and at the holy mount beheld the pattern of the tabernacle, and received the tables of the law, and was constituted the law-giver until the Messiah should come; and thus Peter and James and John were taken up to the mount of transfiguration to behold the glory of Christ, that being eye-witnesses of his majesty they might declare with all certainty his power and coming, preparing the Church for the time when the day shall dawn and the day-star arise in our hearts (2 Pet. i. 16-19).

The third discourse is on the glory which has been revealed; and it is an argument for the full, proper, and true divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. The argument is so close and consecutive that it is not capable of abridgment; and all that we can do is to commend it as most masterly to the attentive perusal of our readers. The course it follows is that of induction:—"To the seeker after truth but one path is open. As there is one great fundamental principle to guide men in all their scientific researches, so there is one great funda-

mental principle to direct us in all our religious inquiries. As in the material world, physical induction is the only right road to science, so in the spiritual world Bible induction is the only right road to divine knowledge. The operation of this principle leads us to infer general laws from particular facts. Christianity is a system of doctrines, but those doctrines are all founded on facts ; and just as in the material world, we must be content to learn the facts from those who are competent to instruct us, so in the spiritual. Christ has plainly taught us the very first principle of moral and religious inquiry in his own words when he says :—‘ We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen ; and ye receive not our witness. If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things ? And no man hath ascended up to heaven but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man, who is in heaven.’ ” (39).

As we know nothing of the nature of God, save as he hath revealed himself to us in Holy Scripture, so the same Scriptures declare that the one Godhead has subsisted in Three Persons from all eternity, and that the second Person assumed our nature to accomplish the redemption of mankind ; and that to him as the Messiah, or Christ, are ascribed all the true and proper attributes of Godhead both in the Old Testament and in the New ; and this not in a few isolated passages, but everywhere :—

“ We believe the following propositions might be put forward with the most assured confidence, and have thrown around them such a wall of lofty and well-built argument as to challenge the shaft of the most subtle foe :—

“ That the very language which the Scriptures employ to express the incarnate condition of the Saviour clearly involves the idea of previous existence and superior dignity.

“ That the same Scriptures attribute to him a perfect equality with God in essence and perfection—make him, in every sense of the word, one with and equal to the Father.

“ That, in conformity with this fact, they give to him without limit, reserve, or modification, the names and attributes of the Supreme God, not excluding even those which express, with sublime and unborrowed emphasis, the idea of eternity and self-existence.

“ That works indicative of omnipotent power and infinite wisdom are referred to his creative energy, and that the worship which is due only to a Being who includes in himself all infinitely divine perfections, he claims and accepts ” (47).

It may be objected that such arguments as these are only suited to the learned and educated classes, and that Christianity is a religion addressed to all mankind, and especially

to the poor as constituting the great majority. But we believe that the poor more frequently apprehend aright what is reiterated under various forms, as this truth is throughout all Scripture, than the educated classes do, whose faith is less simple, and who have been spoiled by philosophy and the traditions of men, and science falsely so called; and for the simple minded, *Christ's own claims* are abundantly sufficient to establish the truth of his divinity. For what (it may be asked) did the Jews crucify Christ? Manifestly for blasphemy, in making himself the Son of God (Luke xxii. 70); as they had previously sought to stone him, because that He, being as they supposed a man, made himself God (John x. 33.) If the Jews had misapprehended his claims in either of these instances, our Lord would surely have set them right. Had he been only a man, he would have disclaimed the imputation, and rejected with abhorrence the idea of making himself equal to God. But on the contrary, so far from rejecting the imputation, our Lord asserts his equality with the Father in the plainest terms. "Jesus answered them, my Father worketh hitherto and I work. Therefore, the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he had not only broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was his Father, making himself equal with God. Then answered Jesus and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. For the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him all things that himself doeth: and he will show him greater works than these, that ye may marvel. For as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will. For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son; that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son honoureth not the Father which hath sent him" (John v. 17-23).

The fourth discourse treats on the human nature which the Son of God assumed, and it shows that Christ's was a true and proper humanity—that he possessed a true human body, and true human soul, and in them exhibited every property common to the one, and every feeling common to the other—sin only excepted;—

"So much has been said and written on the subject of our Lord's supreme divinity as to have thrown the fact of his humanity into comparative distance. The consequence is that the doctrine has been very much over-looked, and has been but rarely the theme of the Christian preacher. And yet his manhood is the grandest and most

perfect medium through which the Godhead has been revealed to our race" (61).

It is probable that this comparative indifference to the subject of Christ's humanity has in part arisen from not considering the great importance of our own corporeal frame, and of the visible creation in the sight of God: that man, heading up the visible creation, was intended to be the perfect manifestation of the image and likeness of God; that this purpose has been delayed by the fall of man, but not frustrated; and that in the new creation—of which Christ at his resurrection became the first fruits—the human nature in his person was re-established in its true place, and we which have as yet received only the first fruits of the Spirit, waiting for the adoption—to wit, the redemption of the body (Rom. viii. 23), shall in our resurrection—which is the manifestation of the sons of God—lift up the whole groaning creation out of that bondage of corruption into which it was brought by the fall of man; for, as the very ground itself was cursed for the sin of man—showing that the whole visible creation was indissolubly bound to its head, whose body had been formed of the dust of the ground—so in the resurrection of the body of man the curse on the creation will be removed, and God will be seen and acknowledged in all the works of his hands.

This glorious "restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began" (Acts. iii. 21), is especially dwelt upon in the eighth chapter of Romans, and in the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, where it is said that in the dispensation of the fulness of times God shall gather together in one all things in Christ (Eph. i. 10)—that is, he shall put all things in the places for which they were originally designed by the Creator, so as to form one harmonious whole; and that Creator was Christ, as we are taught in the beginning of John's Gospel, and in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But this restitution or reconciliation began at the resurrection of Christ, as we learn from the following:—"Giving thanks unto the Father, who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son: who is the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature: for by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him and for him: and he is before all things, and by him all things consist. And he is the head of the body—the

Church: who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in all things he might have the pre-eminence; for it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell; and having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven" (Col. i. 20). "The mystery which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ, to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Eph. iii. 11).

The first step towards the restitution of all things was taken in the resurrection of Christ: the next step was the bestowal of the Holy Ghost, by which our bodies are made the temple or dwelling-place of God: and this fact is used as an argument for keeping our bodies holy. "What! know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's" (1 Cor. vi.)

But, in order that any step whatever might be taken, it was necessary that the thing which had fallen should be apprehended or laid hold of by him who undertook to restore it; and therefore it is that faith in Christ's true and proper humanity is so important an element in forming a just appreciation of the height and dignity of the Christian calling. that we may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death. "Not as though I had already attained either or were already perfect (says St. Paul); but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus" (Phil. iii.).

The conviction that Christ was truly man, and therefore finite, imposes a necessary limitation upon his personal presence as the Christ or God-man; while we acknowledge him to be truly God, and in the unity of the divine essence to be participant in all the acts of the Father and the Holy Spirit. But as we do not attribute incarnation, death, and resurrection to the Father or to the Holy Spirit, so we may not attribute the ubiquity of the Father, or the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church, to the incarnate Son; but must regard him as sitting on the throne of God in the heavens, until the second Advent and the time of the restitution of all things:—

"In whatever way God is pleased to manifest himself, the medium of manifestation must be limited and finite. His union with our humanity, as an organ of revelation, is no more inconceivable than with any other nature which is restricted and confined. He was pleased to assume our humanity as the form through which to reveal the divinity; and, had he not been conscious of a complete participation in human nature, he never would have adopted or employed the designation—SON OF MAN..... Having taken our nature, the Man Christ Jesus followed the laws of purely human development both in body and in mind. He not only represented but passed through every successive period or stage of life. In every sense he was a child—in every sense a youth—in every sense a man. It is true that the state of childhood was in him one of a pure, holy, and glorious nature—still it was childhood. With physical growth and perfection came mental development, and with both came the child's spiritual life..... Though the divine glory was inherent in him from the beginning, it was yet progressive in its outward manifestation. It was a gradual revelation, suited to the finite and imperfect condition of man; and after the last and highest manifestation, there lay in the depth of his own being a fulness and a consciousness which no human thought could reach" (64).

In tracing out the consequences of this union of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ, it is shown that while he was from first to last wholly free from sin, and a living and pure model of that conduct which is pleasing to God, yet his fellowship with humanity was emphatically a fellowship of suffering. He was touched with a fellow feeling of all our infirmities, yet without sin. Whether we be in joy or in sorrow, he can so communicate with our spirit as to give us the consciousness of divine succour and support.

The basis of all sympathy is LOVE—love coupled with *humility*. He took upon himself the form of a servant, and was found in fashion as a man, and humbled himself to the death of the cross. And closely allied to HUMILITY is *meekness* or lowliness of mind, and *gentleness* towards others, and *forbearance* under provocation, and *resignation* to the will of his heavenly Father—all which are different expressions of that love or charity which lies at the root of all the Christian graces, and are drawn forth by the social affections which enter immediately and inseparably into the very idea of our humanity. All these graces are dwelt upon severally, and are shown to have been exemplified in perfection in the history of our Lord.

The fifth discourse treats of the sweet-smelling sacrifice—"Christ hath loved us, and hath given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet-smelling savour" (Eph. v. 2); and we regard this as the most important discourse in

the volume. It begins by showing what the fall of man was to require such a sacrifice—what this sacrifice effected—and in what respect it was a sacrifice well pleasing unto his heavenly Father:—

“The schism—the deep and fearful rent which sin produced in our nature—consists in separation from God. It is not that we have lost any one power or faculty. We possess the same properties of body and of mind as man did in Paradise; but the bond which united the creature to the Creator has been sundered and broken, while to knit anew this broken bond is the object and end of Heaven’s remedial plan. Hence the Gospel comes to us as a revelation to tell us how this is effected through the redeeming life and death of Jesus Christ. It discloses the riches of divine grace for the salvation of fallen man: it points to that new, deeper, wider channel in which eternal love now flows forth to overtake the helplessness and the misery of our race—it reveals God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself—restoring the order, and harmony, and happiness of this lower creation—bringing heaven and earth into one perfect brotherhood and everlasting fellowship, and shedding over all the lustre of his own glory” (88).

It must ever be borne in mind that in the fall of man God was not taken by surprise: in the foreknowledge of God every possible contingency is provided for, yet without at all diminishing the sin of man—just as in the crucifixion of Christ, the counsel of God was accomplished through the wickedness of the Jews. “Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain: whom God hath raised up” (Acts ii. 23). Neither had Satan the power to un-create what God had created, or to disturb any of those laws which God had imposed upon matter, which we call the laws of Providence, and by which the universe is governed. But when the conscience of man became defiled by sin, it interposed a barrier between him and a pure and holy God, and also such a sense of guilt as shuns the presence of God, to whom he knows that he has given just cause of offence by his pride and rebellion; “for every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be re-proved.”

“Had man never withdrawn his dependence from the source and centre of his being, his understanding had never been clouded, nor his heart stained, nor his conscience burdened; and in the spotless whiteness of his nature he would ever have found his way into the innermost light of the innermost sanctuary, and have held unbroken fellowship with his God. But the consciousness of sin brings with it the corresponding consciousness that in his present state he stands in need of a Helper and a Saviour; and for him no Redeemer offers but that

which the Gospel reveals. Such are the limitations of all human and finite power as to render impossible the salvation of man without a higher and a mightier interposition. The Saviour of our race must be one possessed of more than human power, and having within himself more than human resources" (89).

As there was no power in man, or angel, or any creature, to effect this salvation, so the plan thereof originated in the love of God the Father, and was accomplished through the love of God the Son, *and this self-sacrificing love of Christ was not intended to produce any change in God, but rather to affect the relations and the destinies of our humanity*, for Christ came to reveal the love that already existed in the bosom of the Father. His coming was the consequence of that love, and not its producing cause. God commendeth his love towards us in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for the ungodly. Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever.

The love of God had determined the salvation of man before the time when the Father sent his Son into the world to give expression to that love; and so the work of redemption properly began at the incarnation, though it had its completion in the death and resurrection of Christ, when he ascended up on high leading captivity captive, and holding the keys of death and of hell. For the far-seeing angels at the birth of the Saviour beheld the victory as already won *when God became incarnate*, and sang triumphantly, "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good-will to men."

The redemption of the nature of man began when that nature was taken into personal union with the Son of God; for it was shown to be capable of being and doing all that its Creator required it to be and to do, without any change in its physical or creature properties. Christ passed through all the temptations and trials to which we are liable, and rose superior to them all, that he might be a perfect example to us under similar trials. Yet to his pure and holy nature the contact with a fallen creation must have been infinitely more offensive than we can have any conception of; and the work of self-sacrifice began from the mere union of the divine and human natures before he was called upon to endure any bodily suffering whatsoever. His humiliation and our recovery are both expressed where it is said that he grew in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and with man.

The fall of our first parents originated in a desire to be independent of God:—"An independent creature would be a contradiction in terms. Whatever is created is, in virtue of its nature, in a condition of dependence; and the fact of dependence carries with it the possibility of change. There is a liability to fall, otherwise sin could never have had existence in the universe.....Now, just as man put his will in antagonism with the will of God, it is only by surrendering that will, once and for ever, and living in unconditional subjection to the will of God, that his salvation becomes possible. To impress him with this one great lesson, the Saviour lived, and acted, and died. His holy perfect human will was never otherwise than in subordination to the will of his Father. In giving up this, he gave up himself" (103).

Thus it was in submitting to the conditions of humanity that the sacrifice of Christ consisted—the last of those conditions being death—death the consequence of its sin. But the sacrifice was virtually made in coming under these conditions at all, and made therefore in the act of incarnation. "Wherefore, *when he cometh into the world*, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but *a body* hast thou prepared me: in burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I come to *do thy will*, O God" (Heb. x. 7). "Jesus saith unto them, My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work" (John iv. 34). And again, "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me (vi. 38); and in the last and trying hour he said, "Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done" (Luke xxii. 42).

This abnegation of self, and submission of our own will to the will of God is the generic, and fundamental, and all-inclusive distinction of the disciples of Christ. Therefore he saith, "Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother" (Mark iii. 35); and it is made a prominent petition in the prayer taught us by our Lord—"Thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven," because, in proportion as the will of God is done, the kingdom of heaven is advanced among men.

But although "the sacrifice of Christ was made up, not of suffering, but of his own proper personality," yet his death was the great fact pointed to by all preceding sacrifices, by means of which an atonement was made for the sins of mankind, and life and immortality were brought to light. "For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the

death of his Son, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life. And not only so, but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement" (Rom. v. 11). There are three stages pointed out here in our Christian progress—reconciliation through the death of Christ—salvation by his life, which is *much more* than being reconciled; and not only so, but *also* joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement.

Unless we have a clear apprehension of these things, we shall fail in our apprehension of much of that which Christ has wrought for us, and shall stint ourselves of much of the "joy and peace in believing," which belongs to the kingdom of God, and which is "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost" (Rom. xiv. 17; xv. 13).

First—of the death of Christ, he endured in our nature, and in our stead, the death which our sins had deserved. As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Thus the death of Christ is available for the pardon of all sin.

But it by no means follows from this that all are pardoned; for God, who is true and holy, must require an acknowledgment of his truth and holiness as the conditions of pardon; and therefore a belief in, and an acknowledgment of, that propitiation which he hath provided in the sacrifice of Christ, where mercy and truth meet together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other. This is the meaning of justification by faith. We believe in Christ as the accepted sacrifice for our sins, and pleading his blood at the throne of grace are accounted just, in the sight of God, as though we had never sinned.

The sacrifice of Christ is a full, perfect, and sufficient atonement for the sins of all mankind, and by abiding faith in it we experience the peace of God which passeth all understanding; and are prepared for the joy in the Holy Ghost which is derived, not from the death of Christ, but from his resurrection, in which he became the second Adam, the beginning of the new creation, the quickening Spirit (1 Cor. xv. 45); and the head of a new, a heavenly race—head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all (Eph. i. 23).

Touching the sacrifice of Christ, we must make rather a long extract :—

“Sacrifice is no human expedient. It is an idea which could never have had its origin in the mind of man. It cannot be conceived that our first father, while his heart was still burdened with a sense of his guilt, and with the consciousness far down in his soul that he had forfeited life and favour for ever, would, as the result of his own deeper thought and reflection, have chosen an innocent and unoffending victim, and have thrown it into the agonies and the throes of death, under the impression that such an offering could be well pleasing to God. It is an act from which humanity shrinks; and the conviction must have forced itself upon him that he had no power over the life of his victim; that in putting it to death he was rather adding to his guilt; and instead of propitiating his offended God, he was rashly entrenching on the divine prerogative, and giving a keener edge to the sword which already glittered in the light of justice. On what principle, then, do we account for the institution of sacrifice? It is not even to be supposed that the ever-blessed God had any delight in the mere spectacle or the actual fact of suffering. An innocent victim in the throes of death could not in itself be anything pleasing or acceptable to him. There was a solemn truth underlying the offering for sin, which it was needful to keep alive in the heart of the sinner himself. In taking the life of his victim, he was reminded that his own life was forfeited, and in its agonies and its blood he was made to feel that, if such suffering must be inflicted and endured in the mere act of giving up the propitiatory offering, what must be the desert due to him who had transgressed! Feeling the weight of this truth, he could not fail to reach the conclusion that the evil to be removed was too great and too serious to be affected by such sacrificial presentations, and that these could only be introductory to some grand remedial scheme co-extensive with the tremendous and unchangeable necessities of the case.

“Epoch succeeded epoch, like the advancing dawn of the morning, each brighter and more apocalyptic. Amid the fumes of temple incense and the smoke of sacrificial fire, there was lit the lamp of prophecy, penetrating the future with its stronger light, and giving to every inquiring spirit more certain information of what was coming up with the birth of ages and the progress of years. It was the era of higher revelation. The sublimest disclosures were now to be made. The testimony of Jesus was the spirit of prophecy. To him the seers of God gave joyful witness. They predicted the coming of a personal Christ, of an anointed and God-filled man, possessing in himself the attributes and the resources equal to the mighty achievement of man's redemption. Believing in the doctrine of his advent, and in all the imperishable results of his life and sufferings, they swept the heart-strings of humanity, and brought out the beautiful harmony of a redeemed and renovated world. The age arrived for the appearance of the promised and predicted deliverer. He came clothed with flesh, and in the might of a meek and quiet spirit: his

was a life of saving activity, and his a death of redeeming efficacy. In the life and in the death there were moments of exquisite and incomprehensible suffering; but it was not the suffering that constituted the sacrifice for sin, though the sacrifice is inseparable from the atonement or the basis of our reconciliation with God" (102).

"While it was written of him in the book that he came to do the will of God, it is written in characters equally large and illumined that this will was to be carried into effect in a true humanity—in a body prepared for him, and in the offering up of which once for all for the sins of man all other sacrifice and offering was to be consummated and done away. With prolonged emphasis, we repeat it, in this consisted the Saviour's oblation. He was obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross. He was conformed to the last possible point to the Father's will, by the which will we are sanctified through this offering of the body of Jesus once for all—in other words, our salvation consists in giving up our individual will to the will of God. Indicative of this truth are the terms—RECONCILIATION, RECOVERY, REDEMPTION—and all the current phraseology which we employ to express the change involved in the soul's restoration to holiness and life. What is the regeneration but the subjection of man's inmost spirit to the grace and will of God? What is sanctification but the harmony of the renewed nature with infinite purity? What is heaven but the perfect correspondence between the created and the uncreated, and every finite mind ecstatic with the thought that God is all and in all? What is hell but the unsubdued enmity and opposition of those lost spirits whose heart is hate to all that is pure, and beautiful, and true? Law, regency, and supreme authority, bespeak the God—reverence, subjection, and obedience, become the creature. Tell me, ye redeemed of men, what was the first effort of your souls when quickened into the new life? Was it other than the willing and joyous surrender of your whole being to the Saviour? Tell me what was your Christian consciousness but the spirit ever exulting in the life, and light, and joy, derived from the one object of its trust? Tell me, ye glorified ones before the throne, in what consists the first and chief element of your now consummated bliss? Is it other than a still more profound submission springing from that love which is the reason of all things? Tell me, ye angels who excel in strength and moral excellence, what is it which gives your being such depth of life and fulness of joy? Can it be other than your never-changing dependence on the living and the blessed? Perfect subjection is not incompatible with perfect liberty. Every spirit in heaven reigns in the ecstasies of freedom; and just, as we become conformed to the divine will, shall we enjoy the unconfined liberty of the divine nature. God is free, and it is only needful that we should live in him to partake his freedom for ever" (106).

The sixth discourse is on the rent veil of the temple, and the seventh is on the ministration of the Spirit—subjects closely connected, since they treat on the passing away of the old dispensation and the coming in of the new; the

rent veil signifying that new and living way which Christ hath consecrated for us through the veil—that is to say, his flesh (Heb. x. 19). For by his ascension into heaven an access to the throne of grace is opened to all believers; and he from thence bestows the Holy Spirit, the other Comforter, to lead into all truth, and to enable the Church on earth to continue that witness to the world which He had borne, that the world may know that the Father hath sent the Son, and hath loved us even as the Son was loved (John xvii. 23). These subjects are of the most surpassing grandeur. They usher in a new creation far more glorious than the old: they bring in a new law, which is not of the letter, but of the Spirit: they unveil a mystery which from the beginning of the world had been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ (Eph. iii. 9); and they are treated so fully and so closely in these discourses that we must commend them to the attentive perusal of our readers, only making a few extracts to justify our commendation:—

“ In reference to our blessed Lord, the wonderful may be said to be the natural form of his ministry.....Possessed of the power from God, he could not but produce supernatural phenomena. Himself THE WONDERFUL, his most wondrous deeds were but the natural effect of his own essential being.....It is a law of nature that a dead body shall decompose. In re-animating that body there is brought into view the higher law of life, which acts above the law of decomposition and controls it; but this neither reversea, nor suspends, nor in the remotest degree impairs that law. Every miracle resolves itself into the will and the immediate act of God; and, therefore, everything supernatural and wonderful in the ministry of our Lord must be regarded as the effect of an energy inherent in himself and inseparable from his nature.

“ A life in which the prodigious and the grand came out with such heightened effect could not close without some supernatural attestation. The moment that the Incarnate One reached the cross, and was in the act of giving himself up to death, all nature felt the shock and the most unusual phenomena came into view. The sun mantled himself in darkness and refused to be a witness to the affecting scene. The solid earth did shake and tremble as if loosened from her deep foundations. The rocks, smitten by an unseen hand, were rent asunder and stood divided. Death relaxed his iron grasp, and the graves were opened and many bodies of the saints that slept arose. But whatever may be the impressions derived from the supernatural darkness, and the tremulous motion of the earth, and the cleaving of the everlasting hills, and the coming up of the dead, the rending of the veil has to us a grander significance and meaning. It proclaims with more than trumpet-tongue that the wall of partition between the divine and the human is broken down—that those mysterious folds

which had hitherto hid truth, nature and humanity, the grave and the all-bright future, from the eye of man, are now thrown back, and that the highest realities stand revealed in pure celestial light" (113).

It is shown at large that **THE VEIL IS REMOVED FROM HUMANITY**—next, that **NATURE IS UNVEILED**—then, that **TRUTH IS UNVEILED**; and, lastly, that **THE GLORIOUS FUTURE IS UNVEILED** in that fact of which *the rent veil of the temple* was the sign. "Salvation is deliverance from sin, and whatever may be the medium through which that deliverance is effected, by no other can we draw near unto God. If we will not come into the great temple through the rent veil, or the offered sacrifice of Christ, then we must stand for ever without, having not a sheen of brightness on our souls nor an assurance of love in our hearts. Nor is this all. While our access to God is conditioned by the mediation of Christ, there are certain states of mind and feeling which are indispensable to qualify us for the light of that inner sanctuary. A temple always carries with it the idea of sacredness, while everything that would violate that sacredness is looked upon as desecration."

"The heart must be so cleansed and sanctified as to free the man from the consciousness of unpardoned guilt. The conscience must be so set at liberty from the element of sin as no longer to be itself disturbed, or to cause disquietude to the inner man. The vision of the mind must be so purged from sense as no longer to disqualify it for the clear perception of the interior light. The soul must have its every sin-spot so completely washed out as to make it susceptible of the most perfect impressions of the divine glory. The Great Spirit will commune with none but the pure in heart, and with none other will he abide in the fulness of his life. A true heart is a heart not only morally sound and good in itself, but which is in supreme love with the good and the true. As worshippers in the great spiritual temple, we must assume no false character; we must take no unreal posture. God requires truth in the inward part. We must be sincere to the inmost heart of the heart. Our faith will then take on the character of a most confiding trust, and our trust will rise into full assurance. In drawing near to God not the shadow of a doubt will rest on our mind. We shall repose unbounded confidence in his character and promises, and as we bend low at his feet he will manifest himself unto us as he doth not unto the world. In the light which streams from his presence shall we see light. Deep will be our insight into the spiritual world. We shall see heaven open, and our souls will become flooded with the glory of that higher state" (134).

The ministration of the Spirit is shown to be the gathering

up and completion of all preceding revelations, and so full that nothing further is to be expected, or can be added, without breaking up and destroying the unity of the Church as the one body of Christ. For the Church, as a whole, is spoken of both in the twelfth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians and in the fourth chapter of the epistle to the Ephesians: the Church of all generations—the Church of our age as well as that of the apostles' age. There is but one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling: one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all:—

“When man had sinned, and his relations to the whole moral universe were thus changed, the first promise burst upon the world like a sun without a dawn. Nor from that day has God ever withdrawn from this our world. Revelation succeeded revelation till He came who was to overtake every want and every woe of our nature by thoroughly penetrating and pervading it with a new principle of life. The Son of God took up in himself all that had gone before of revelation and development. He came not to destroy, but to complete and to perfect. There was nothing of the beautiful and the true, of the spiritual and the divine, belonging to the preceding dispensations which did not re-appear in him. Nothing that had in it the essence of reality was rejected or left out. All had its seat and centre in him, as the only one who was to develop and communicate all life from within himself. The Christian book not only supplements, but also completes, the revelation of God to man. We forget not that those germs of truth which God deposited in his Church were to have ages on ages for their full growth, and that with the progress of years there would be greater and grander unfoldings of this truth till time should be no more. It does not follow, however, that theology is a progressive science. All science is founded on facts; and, in addition to the facts which lie within the compass of the book, no others are to be expected. So, let the unfoldings of truth be what they may, they will be but as the buds and blossoms of some hidden seed—the growth of a root which terminates in Him who is truth itself.”

Now, it is a recorded fact in the history and ministry of our Lord that, as his course of instruction drew to a close, and as the hour approached for his separation and departure from his disciples, he began to fix their thoughts more intensely and exclusively on the mission and work of the Spirit. They had long enjoyed his personal presence; had been permitted the most familiar and uninterrupted intercourse; and by a gradual process of mental illumination and moral training had been lifted up to a higher point of spiritual life and consciousness; but their Master was about to be withdrawn, and

the simple disclosure of this fact filled their hearts with sorrow. To assuage their grief, the Saviour gave them the promise of another Comforter—even the Spirit of Truth—who should not only be *with* them as a Teacher to guide them into all truth, but should be *in* them as a new and still higher principle of life, inter-penetrating their whole nature, and taking up his abode in the innermost centre of their being. For the fulfilment of this promise, they were to wait till after his ascension. On the day of Pentecost the Spirit was given in all the plentitude of his light, and life, and power; nor has he ever been withdrawn from the Church or the world. It is as true as it is startling that the apostles and the early Church, believing in his actual presence, never subsequently to that day offered up any prayer for his mission or descent—that as Christ was once offered for all, so the Spirit was given to remain with the Church for ever—that this is emphatically the dispensation of the Spirit—that he is the last and highest manifestation of the Godhead—that while the Son came to reveal, the Spirit came to dwell—that as the Spirit of Truth, he only imparts the truth in that he imparts himself—that his indwelling involves the true idea of life; for as the Spirit is not something distinct and separate from the truth, but truth itself, so the truth is life itself. It is the Spirit that quickeneth—the flesh profiteth nothing. Life comes not by any external relation or connection, but simply and alone by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost (142).

“And here comes in the supreme glory of the new economy. Let us heighten the splendour connected with the giving of the law as we may—let us conceive of the cloud which encircled the mount as dark and dread at the outskirts, but bright, burning, and inapproachable in the centre—let us conceive of the great I AM as descending upon that mount, and the lustre of his Godhead bursting through the veil with which he was clothed, till it converted the whole scene into one flood of living fire; yet all this was outward and transitory. It lingered not even as the last lingering rays of light on the mountain summit before the setting of some great central orb. The scene of grandeur suddenly closed. The Holy One withdrew amid the symbols of the same majesty as that in which he had come. Even the lustre of his servant's face finally disappeared, and nothing was left but the law in all its hardest and sharpest outlines. But how opposed to all this was the scene connected with the introduction of Christianity? The Saviour is seen standing on the banks of the Jordan. The heavens open with calm and impressive serenity. All the invisible and the heavenly is revealed to his mental and spiritual vision. A voice is heard from the Excellent Glory—soft and subduing as the love which it proclaims—saying, **THIS IS MY BELOVED SON, HEAR YE HIM.** And

then the Spirit descended and abode upon him. The spiritual and heavenly world flowed into his earthly nature. It was thus that the Spirit was given to him without measure, and that he was filled up to the last possible degree of his human capacity" (147).

"We have not to pray for the Spirit as if he had never been given. This was a suitable exercise for a Jew; but in the Christian dispensation it is superseded by the fact that, from the day of Pentecost up to the present moment, the Spirit has never been withdrawn. Nor will he ever retire from our world till his last economy has come to its glorious consummation. All that we have to do is to believe in an ever-present Spirit, and open wide our hearts for his admission. As in the case of the disciples, he may be said to be *with* us rather than to be *in* us. We may be conscious of his incipient workings—may recognise him in his operations—may have a certain kind and degree of enjoyment in spiritual service and sanctified communion, and yet our hearts not be possessed by the Spirit. Till we yield up our whole nature to his energy and influence, the life of God in our souls can show but few symptoms of health and vigour. If it be true that the Spirit only imparts truth so far as he imparts himself, and that the reception of the Spirit must precede our deepest forms of knowledge, then, till we yield our hearts to his possession and rule, our perception and apprehension of truth must be indistinct and feeble—our inward sanctification and moral purity but partial and of slow growth; and, as a consequence, our character can never present that assimilation to the man Christ so as to entitle us to the designation of Christ-like men" (156).

And here, by our prescribed limits, we are obliged to pause and may with propriety conclude; for, in the seven discourses which we have examined, the foundations of doctrine are laid, on which the practical deductions and moral duties, which occupy the ten remaining discourses of the volume, are all grounded; and these scarcely admit of abridgment or partial extract; and, if we have succeeded in imparting any of the interest which we feel to our readers, they will not be satisfied without consulting the work for themselves.

It may seem to need an apology that we have departed from the usual practice both in the number and the length of our extracts; but we think that our readers will agree with us in thinking that the quality of those extracts carries with them a sufficient vindication of the liberty we have taken; and for ourselves we may say that we were unwilling to weaken the force or lessen the beauty of the arguments and illustrations of our author by endeavouring to clothe his ideas in any other language than his own.

These discourses were primarily intended for the pulpit, but they are also well calculated for the press—that is,

pulpit discourses are meant to produce a lively sensation, but that this is often transient and leaves no very permanent effects; whereas, that which is printed being read deliberately, is pondered over and well considered, and truth thus received makes a deeper and more lasting impression. Dr. Ferguson has the happy art of clothing the most solemn truths of theology in the most attractive dress; and we know not which to admire most—whether the profound thought embodied in these discourses, or the eloquence of the language in which it is expressed.

We believe that the true explanation of this will be found in our author having himself practised that which he recommends to other teachers of Christianity—namely, “that they should give themselves up to *the deeper study of revealed truth.*” It is not by straining after originality on the one hand, or by imitating those who have gone before him on the other hand, that this happy art has been acquired; but by continual meditation of holy Scripture, “given by inspiration of God, and profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.” All saving truth is to be found in the Bible, and the more we study its contents the more profound and original we become in thought, and the more simple and appropriate will our language also be; for eloquence is the appropriate language of elevated thoughts: it is only out of place when the thought is mean.

Nor is there any more conclusive proof of the Bible being the word of God than this universal adaptation of its contents to the wants and to the instruction of all mankind. It is suited to every nation in every stage of civilization, and to childhood, youth, and manhood. The peasant finds in this book enough within his comprehension to satisfy his intellectual wants and spiritual cravings; while the studious and the learned find it to be an exhaustless mine, becoming the richer the more deeply it is explored.

It is thus that the providence of God and the word of God are seen to be in harmony: for, as it is by the providence of God that men have been set in the different stations they occupy, and God is alike to be worshipped—alike to be found by the peasant in his cottage and by the king upon his throne—so the Bible, in the hand of each, teaches all alike the duties of their several stations, and how they may best discharge their obligations to God and man in that rank of life where the Bible finds them.

Man only learns his true dignity from the word of God, and from the life and death of the Son of God which forms its continual theme. When He became the Son of Man, he came not in high estate, or in any outward splendour, to which men attach the ideas of dignity; and, himself of low estate, he chose his disciples among the humbler classes to disabuse the world of the idea that divine truth was to be attained through learning or philosophy; and then he laid down his life for all men to show that all men needed such a sacrifice, and that the souls of all are equally precious in the sight of God. He taught us also to disregard the present distinctions of this life which are only temporary, and to set our hearts on things above and on those distinctions which moral excellence prepare us for in the world to come, which distinctions are eternal.

The only moral excellence which shall be then acknowledged will be that which is the result of conformity to the example of Christ; and this can only be attained by continual meditation of the Christian volume in which the words and acts of our Lord are written for our instruction. Nor is it without intention that the Incarnate Son is called the *WORD* in the Gospel of St. John. It shows us that the *Word* is the chief instrument employed by God for making known his will to man; and as in the personal Word, or the Word made flesh, there was life, and the life was the light of men, so in the written word there is both life and light, which the Spirit uses for renewing the soul after the image of Christ, and more and more conforming the heart to his example. "Of his own will, begat he us with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures. But be ye doers of the word and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves." "Seeing that ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently. Being born again, not of corruptible seed but of incorruptible, by the word of God which liveth and abideth for ever: for all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth and the flower thereof falleth away; but the word of the Lord endureth for ever. And this is the word which by the Gospel is preached unto you" (1 Pet. i. 22-25).

- ART. IV.—1. *La Dame aux Camelias*. A. DUMAS.
 2. *La Mare D'Auteuil*. PAUL DE KOCK.
 3. *Mont Revêche*. GEORGE SAND.
 4. *Marguerite : ou Deux Amours*. MME. EMILE GIRARDIN.
 5. *La Vie à Rebours*. LOUIS REYBEAUD.

COULD any one, à la Rip van Winkle, wake up, after a twenty years' nap, in the streets of London, they would find, among many strange things, three sorts of shops entirely new to them; but now occurring in every great and lesser thoroughfare for the disposal of merchandise at present recognised as a pressing want by a considerable part of the community. The first of these is for the sale of what may be termed the "coxcombry" of the Church; and may be known by a great deal of black letter and red and blue paint, as well as by an immense stock in trade of all the *trinketry* of the dark ages mixed with the tinsel of the present. The second novelty is shown by large handsome shops for the exclusive sale of tobacco of every variety and quality; where such names as Columbias, Regalias, Woodvilles, Havannahs, Cabanas, Lopez, and Latakia, and a hundred others, make one smile to think of the little humble snuff-shop of the past century watched over by the dusky *statuette* of a stout Highlander, and not professing a much greater variety of the weed than black rappee or "shag." The third of these new commercial creations, thrown up like some coral-formed island by the wants and workings of multiplying and multitudinous creatures, are shops for the sale or hire of the literature of other countries, French novels forming the staple commodity of the thriving trade. Who cannot perceive by these repositories that our poor islanders have got into bad habits; that they are treating their souls, bodies, and minds with unwholesome stimulants; and are thereby incurring the deadly penalty of reaction? However, our business is not with ecclesiastical playthings, or with those revived condiments of mediævalism which pamper the fancy while inducing a fatal atrophy of soul; neither have we to do with the baneful varieties of the herb Nicotian, or with its stupifying effects on Englishmen, who never do anything by halves, and who, exceeding both German and Turk in their use of it, may expect with it to imbibe their characteristic heaviness; but it is of the importation of foreign literature, wholesale and retail, that we have now to treat. It has been said that, as a feather and not a stone must be

thrown up to ascertain which way the wind blows, so, on the same principle, the fictions and not the learned works of a country must be taken to gain an insight into its domestic and social character. It is with these light fictions we have now to deal—publications, alas! which are like the filthy little ephemera hatched by the sun from wayside corruption, who yet take a place in creation as well as respectable bees and silkworms. Is it, then, to such that we are to look for the manners of fair, sunny, vine-growing France? Is it in the vicious pages of Dumas, Sue, Sand, Kock, and such depraved writers, that we are to look for her ancient chivalry or the high-hearted refinement of more modern times? Are we to look for a transcript of a people's ways in works which, even when less ostensibly impure, have for the mainspring of all their wit, their fun, or their pathos, the endless varieties of contraband love? It is a fact difficult to be comprehended; as is also the paradox that works, treating solely of conjugal infidelity or single licentiousness, are now openly sold and read in modest, prudish England; and, what is worse, by English women! Surely the Legislature which makes suicide felony, and can empower policemen to collar silly boys who venture upon ice placarded as unsafe, might see to that vast *felo de se* of British purity involved by our women's perusal of the French novelists.

An experienced novel-writer is exactly in the position of the composer of popular ballads. Both know the key of the public ear: both know the concords which touch, the discords which awaken, and the subtle influence of a minor third; and on these principles "La Dame aux Camélias" has been apparently got up. It is the story of one of a class ignored by English delicacy; or, if forced upon the attention of those whose duty it is to see to the disorders of society, looked upon as cholera, typhus, mendicity, or such like evils; and for which senates vainly enact laws in a world where the malaria of vice and destitution prevails. The title of the book is taken from the bouquet of camélias usually adorning the "young person" whose love for the flower is recognised by its being made the decoration for her grave. The tale begins precisely at its end, which, enigmatic as it may sound, is managed by a machinery known to experienced hands; and, after an introduction designed to whet the fancy, the hero is made to tell his own story; by which we learn the passionate and enduring love of a young law student in Paris for a beautiful courtesan. Even the *ἐπισήμια* of this love is described; the first sight of Marguerite Gautier producing an effect which one of his

friends, occupied in occult sciences, names as "*l'affinité des fluides*." At the *Opera Comique*, a few evenings after this, Armand Duval, as he is called, is taken to her box and presented to Marguerite, of whom the manners, conversation, and love for sugar plums, are exactly what might be conjectured as the habits of the species. Illness now obliges two years' retreat from the theatres, which it is her pleasure, as well as *metier*, to attend; but she again appears on the scene, though now under the protection of an old duke, who supplies her extravagance, and braves the scandal, solely for the pleasure which her likeness to a dead daughter makes him take in her society—a singular reason for the adoption of such a person, even for a Frenchman; and rather at issue with M. Dumas' announcement, that a novelist cannot create *des personnages* until he has made mankind his study. Perhaps, we may refer it to the author's emergency to give to the young lady a protector who should not be a lover. The course of the history now runs on in a manner to prove that M. Dumas has at least made the females of a certain class his peculiar study; and a more offensive record can scarcely be imagined from beginning to end; while this riddle is always waiting to be solved—For what purpose has the author brought forward all this vice and infamy?—what to prove?—what to teach? Without one redeeming point of delicacy or lingering virtue on the part of the heroine, who drinks champagne and devours cold chicken with consistent coarseness—without one palliative for a love which

"..... erubescendis adurit
Ignibus".....

Armand resigns himself to a *liaison* of which each moment makes him feel the horrible anomaly. This odious result of "*l'affinités des fluides*" continues until a separation is effected by the father of Armand; who, after a remonstrance with his son, in which it appears the duration and publicity, not the fact, of the intrigue is to be deplored, in a private interview with Marguerite acts so upon some good feeling that she consents to quit his son, not for penitence and seclusion, but for another lover! The old duke has long withdrawn his protection, having been disgusted by the ribald impertinence of some of Marguerite's friends. A good deal of wretchedness ensues from the separation; and it is here the author shows some talent for description, as well as a facility in dialogue, where simplicity gives enormous power and reality. Armand goes to Egypt; and in his absence the consumption, which, like the camelias,

has been the attendant of Marguerite throughout the book, at last kills her. Her death-scene in its worldly details might, perhaps, be a lesson to females of her class; but, if they resist the convictions which the end of nine-tenths of their compeers might enforce, neither would the pages of Dumas produce them. Men, too, might gather a moral from the tale; though this would be a decided repetition of the cock's task of scratching a diamond out of a dung-hill. Moreover, it is questionable whether the irrelevant licentiousness introduced does not smother every good to be extracted; particularly when it is perceptible from the every-day-aspect which habit has given to vice, that M. Dumas is guiltless of all secondary motives, as far as morality and virtue go, in so profusely depicting it.

Though wanting in that acumen with which Dickens can "point a moral," Dumas shares with our English novelist the graphic powers which "adorn a tale;" and, like him, knows exactly the salient points which a sketch should seize. We subjoin a specimen. It relates to the desire which the lover has once more to see his dead mistress; to effect which he gets permission from the relations of Marguerite to disinter her; the pretext being his wish to place the body in ground purchased in *perpetuum*, instead of that which it appears it could only occupy for five years. The transaction is recounted by a friend who *assisted* at this spectacle:—

"At nine the next day I entered his apartment. He was horribly pale, but he appeared calm. In half an hour we arrived at Père-La-Chaise: the commissary was waiting for us. We walked slowly in the direction of Marguerite's grave. The commissary walked first. Armand and I followed him at a short distance. From time to time I felt the arm of my companion shudder convulsively as if a sudden shivering fit had seized him. At those times I looked at him: he understood my glances and smiled; but we had not exchanged a word since we had left his house. Before we reached the grave Armand stopped and wiped his face, which was bathed with large drops of sweat. I profited by this halt to take breath, for my heart seemed compressed, as in a vice. When we arrived at the grave the gardener had removed all the flower-pots; the iron treillage had been withdrawn; and two men with pickaxes were moving the ground. Armand leaned against a tree and looked on. All of a sudden one of the pickaxes grated against a stone. At this sound Armand started as with an electric shock, and grasped my hand with a force which hurt me. A grave-digger took a large shovel and emptied by little and little the grave. Then, when there was nothing more but the stones which covered the coffin, he threw them out one by one. I

watched Armand, for I feared that this terrible concentration of feeling would destroy him; but he continued his observation, though with the fixed and staring eyes of a madman—a slight twitching in the lips and cheeks alone betraying the violent nervous crisis which he was suffering. As for myself, I can only say that I much regretted having come. When the coffin was quite uncovered, the commissary said to the grave-diggers, ‘Open it.’ The men obeyed, as though it were the simplest thing in the world. The coffin was of oak, and they began to unscrew the upper part which formed the lid. The humidity of the ground had rusted the screws, and it was not without effort that the coffin was opened. An odour of corruption issued from it in spite of the aromatic herbs which had been strewed within it. ‘Oh! my God, my God,’ murmured Armand, becoming still paler, and holding his nostrils as it were in spite of himself. The grave-diggers themselves recoiled. A large white winding-sheet covered the corpse, of which it disclosed some undulating outlines. This winding-sheet was nearly completely eaten at one of its ends, and suffered one of the feet of the corpse to protrude. I was nearly fainting, and at the hour when I write these few lines the remembrance of this scene occurs to me in all its appalling reality. ‘Let us make haste,’ said the commissary. One of the men then reached out his hand and began to unsew the winding-sheet; and, taking it by one end, he suddenly uncovered the face of Marguerite. It was terrible to see: it is terrible to describe. There was no longer anything of the eyes but two holes; the lips had disappeared, and the white teeth were clenched against each other. The long black hair was stuck to the temples and a little veiled the green cavities of the cheeks; and, notwithstanding all this, I recognised in this face the fair, rosy, joyous face I had seen so often. Armand, without the power of withdrawing his eyes from this spectacle, gnawed the handkerchief which he held to his mouth. As for me, a band of iron seemed pressed tightly round my head—a mist covered my eyes: there was a buzzing in my ears; and all that I could do was to open a smelling bottle I had brought, and inhale the salts it contained. In the middle of this dizziness I heard the commissary ask of M. Duval, ‘Do you recognise her?’ ‘Yes,’ the young man replied in a hollow voice. ‘Close up, then, and carry away,’ said the commissary. The grave-diggers threw the winding-sheet over the face of the corpse, closed the coffin, took each an end of it, and proceeded to the place which had been pointed out to them. Armand did not stir. His eyes were rivetted on the empty grave, and he was as pale as the corpse which we had just seen. One would have thought him turned to stone. I approached the commissary. ‘Is the presence of this gentleman any longer necessary?’ I asked, pointing to Armand. ‘No! (he replied), and I should advise you to take him away: he appears very ill.’ ‘Come,’ I then said to Armand, taking his arm. ‘What!’ said he, looking at me as if he did not recognise me. ‘It is all over (I added). You must come away,

my friend: you are pale and cold: you will kill yourself by these emotions.' 'You are right, let us go,' he replied mechanically, but without moving a step. I then held his arm and drew him away. He allowed himself to be led like a child, only murmuring from time to time, 'Did you see the eyes?'

A brain fever, that approved *drop-scene* of novelists, closes over the anguish of the wretched Armand; and we must leave to the judgment of the admirers of this style of literature the taste which can thus rifle the graveyard for subjects of excitement. With a certain simplicity at the end of a book, exceeding in licentiousness, the author announces that he is not "*l'Apôtre du vice*." It is a startling combination of terms; but we believe him to this extent, that his life has been passed among associates so utterly corrupt that he has not a clear understanding of what is meant by vice. His ideas of religion are equally obfuscated; and the account which a female friend gives of the last hours of Marguerite offers a strange *aperçu* of the religion administered to the Parisians. The doctor advises a priest, and on his entrance the friend goes to the door to receive him:—

"When he knew with whom he was, he appeared to fear that he should be badly received. 'Enter boldly, Father,' I said. He remained a short time in the sick chamber, and then went out, saying, 'She has lived as a sinner, but she will die as a Christian.' Some minutes after he returned, accompanied by *un enfant de chœur* who carried a crucifix; and a sacristan who walked before them, ringing a bell to announce that God was approaching the dying woman. They all three entered the bed-room, which heretofore had resounded with such strange words, but now had become a holy tabernacle. The priest anointed with sacred oil the feet, the hands, and the forehead of the dying one, repeated a short prayer, and Marguerite found herself ready for the heaven, where doubtless she will go if God has seen the trials of her life and the holiness of her death!"

This inclination on the part of the French novelists and dramatists to introduce these *avatars* of the Deity in profane places was never more glaringly displayed than at the representation of "*Les Contes de la Reine*" last season at the St. James's Theatre. A statue of the Virgin and Child is there introduced, when any other statue would have served as well the purpose for which it is required; and there was the sacred figure, as well got up as for its niche in a Romish chapel, presiding over all the intrigue of a French comedy! But worse than this: a peep behind the scenes after the play showed the holy group huddled together with the rest of the painted rubbish and tinsel properties of the theatre! What

is to teach the young Romanist the different degrees of sanctity to be ascribed to those representations of the Deity? And what stronger commentary could be given on the wisdom of that commandment, the observance of which would at least preserve from the desecration of a theatre the semblance of that which the Christian holds most sacred?

From "La Dame aux Camelias" to "Le Mare d'Auteuil" is a step still deeper in the mire of French fictions; and where not a single merit occurs to serve—at least for the English reader—as a stepping-stone amidst its abounding filth. Formed on the model of Sue's "Mysteres de Paris," it has all the dullness of a copy: and, like its pattern, adopts for its male personages a most disorderly class, somewhere between the gentle and the simple of Parisian life; while the heroines are notorious as artificial flower-makers, sempstresses, and exceedingly misbehaved married ladies. With much effort at mirth, it is an exposition of that most ghastly sadness which forced buffoonery involves. Of story there is but little; it being, instead of a connected history, rather a series of revolting scenes, in which, as it were, the same *dramatis personæ* pass through a magic lanthorn.

Knowing the iniquity of some of our cheap popular publications in England, with their coarse woodcuts, high-sounding names, and villainous paper, one might suppose that books—such as this of Paul de Kock—were, like them, designed for the dregs of the people; and that they might form the delight of bargemen, fishwives, hackney-coachmen, shoe-blacks, and such like. But the good style in which these French works are published offers a contradiction, while the fact of their being read in England implies a darker riddle. Librarians do not import French novels for foreign valets, fiddlers, cooks, or hairdressers, who may be sojourning in England; and, yet, the reading French at all implies for an Englishman the education of a gentleman. Are, there, then of our countrymen, taking that rank, those who tolerate the *saletés* of Paul de Kock? We have, elsewhere, hazarded the idea that these base publications partake of the nature of the vile insects which owe their birth to corruption and decay; but we go still further with this author; and, finding his likeness also in the insect world, must class him with the *Blaps Mortisaga*.

The taking up "Mont Revêche," by George Sand, after "Le Mare d'Auteuil," affords the same notion of relief as a passenger by train might be supposed to experience who leaves a third class carriage to enter the first. We may still

meet improper people; but they are better dressed—better conducted; and, such is the frailty of human opinion, we are less disposed to attribute evil where the gloss of refinement prevails than when it stands forth in naked baseness. To the talents of George Sand all bear testimony: while, from the warmth of her imagination or the acuteness of her reason, none would detract; and though from the vicious tendency of her writings many have turned with a shudder, as they would from the beautiful and glittering snake gliding in the grass at their feet, none have contested the fact of her great genius as a novelist. In “Mont Revêche,” as well as in some other of her later works, a more respectable tone has been adopted. As far as relates to the story all is irreproachable; still there are passages which would be severely reprehended in an English fiction, and which slip in so entirely as matters of course that we can but look on them as results of the evil habits of thought, and the tone of the author’s grade of society rather than wilful licentiousness. Perhaps the line quoted by St. Paul from Menander, and rendered in our translation of his epistles, “Evil communications corrupt good manners,” explains at once the incapacity which George Sand, Madame de Girardin, and other female writers, show for that correctness which could alone fit these novels for the perusal of young English women. The story of “Mont Revêche” is simple. Flavien de Saulges, a young noble, and his friend Jules Thierrey—one who has won his place in the aristocracy of literature—proceed together to an old chateau in the Nivernois, left to the count by a great aunt and *chanoinesse*. The count has decided on parting with this property to a Monsieur Dutertre to whose estates it is contiguous, and the sale is arranged by a most refined trust in the honour of the buyer and seller—the one agreeing to give exactly what the other values it at (unless indeed he deceives himself by underrating it); while the count, not to be outdone, insists on sending on the morrow to Dutertre a power which gives the estate to him at whatever price he likes to fix. This chivalrous honour goes no further, however, with the count than in money matters; and, owing to an illusion, he scruples not to make violent love to his neighbour’s wife.

The family of M. Dutertre—who is described as a member of the Chamber of Deputies, a rich proprietor, a good father, a good husband—in short, the model of a French country gentleman—consists of his second wife, a beautiful Italian, aged twenty-four; and his three daughters, the eldest of whom is twenty, and whose jealousy of her mother-in-law is

the means of at last poisoning all the domestic happiness of Dutertre. The daughters are handsome and accomplished: the two eldest are mutually accused by each other of aping—the one, Scott's Diana Vernon; and the other, our Queen Elizabeth; while the character of Cinderella is given by accord to the youngest. Eveline, the Diana Vernon, is the heroine of the book; and, though a coquette and a *lionne*, is on the whole an attractive personage: so much so that Thierray, the popular poet and the *exquisite* of the Parisian circles, inclines to fall in love with her. Eveline is stirred up to the whim of making a conquest of him by the insinuations of Nathalie, the elder sister, that he is already enamoured of their beautiful mother-in-law, and that she herself has failed to please him. Their second meeting is at Puy-Verdon, the place of M. Dutertre, the two Parisians having been invited to breakfast. We will now take the author's recital:—

“Olympe and *Benjamine*—a pet name for the youngest daughter—were dressed alike in pink; the mother-in-law having been obliged to cede to the child's wish, who thought by this to honour the return of her father; and whose passion was to copy the dresses of Olympe with as much care as her sisters took to be different. Thus Nathalie entered in a costume of pale azure, very beautiful, but very sad; and Eveline, who was the last, wore a dress of printed muslin of flowers of every colour, and covered with variously tinted ribbons. With her, profusion and fancy did not exclude good taste; and she was most brilliantly dressed, with the air of having thus adorned herself by chance and in haste. This toilette puzzled Thierray. ‘Is she always thus’—he thought—‘or is some of this attention to her dress directed to me?’ She had taken the vacant place by his side; and he had not remained five minutes near her before he found means to prove by his expressions that he appreciated her science in dress and approved its exquisiteness. There were many other guests at table who had come to welcome the return of Dutertre; and, owing to the movements of the servants, the infectious gaiety of the master, the reverberation of the large wainscotted dining-room, and the perpetual motion of *Benjamine*, the breakfast was a most noisy one. Thanks to these circumstances, Thierray was soon enabled to engage in an animated conversation with his neighbour. At first she received with mockery the compliments paid to her toilette. ‘How is this (she said)?—‘Do you really take notice of our finery? We were told that you were a very grave gentleman.’ ‘Who could thus calumniate me?’ asked Thierray. ‘But you will allow that the instant the mind is occupied by dress, it loses all pretensions to gravity?’ replied Eveline. ‘Not at all. There are two sorts of gravity, as there are two sorts of toilette. To look only into the splendour or costliness of dress is to be frivolous; but to be able to appreciate the choice, the

arrangements, and the keeping to be observed in it, is to make an art of the toilette. I should pronounce that you were a very great artist.' 'Your approbation ought to flatter me (said Eveline); an author ought to understand all this to describe his characters. Let me see. To what style of person would you ascribe my costume in one of your novels? Would my finery indicate a nature fanciful or profound—courageous or timid?' 'There would be something of all that (replied Thierray): piquant contrasts, and strange enigmas; the solution of which one would give perhaps one's life to know.' 'Hush, hush (said Eveline, in a whisper to Nathalie, who spoke to her), I am about to hear a declaration. Explain yourself better (she said to Thierray, turning again towards him); and do not be too learned and literary with a poor country girl. Tell me simply what I am—and what I think?' 'Up to this day you have never loved.' 'Oh! indeed I have—my horse.' 'You then agree with me—nothing but your horse?' 'Oh! my relations and family, as a matter of course.' 'But you love yourself still better.' 'Now you are saying rude things to me; and I warn you that I only like compliments.' 'I am not able to pay you any. You may have a dreadful mind—a detestable character.' 'Do you call that a declaration? (whispered Nathalie to Eveline, who bursting into a fit of laughter, and looking Thierray in the face, said)—'Do you know I find you delightfully entertaining. Pray go on.' 'That this amuses you, is quite in rule. You know that you have the power of inflicting suffering; and you will cause much suffering.' 'To whom, pray? To those foolish enough to love me?'—'Or to those foolish enough to tell you they do?' replied Thierray, compressing his lips in a significant manner. 'You must confess that he has a beautiful smile' said Eveline in a low voice to Nathalie, while Thierray was speaking to his neighbour on the left hand. 'Come (said Nathalie, shrugging her shoulders): you are already captivated by a simpleton or by a *roué*.' 'Or by a *roué* (replied Eveline). If he falls in love with me at first sight, he must be in the first category; if he is in love with my mother-in-law, and wishes to make use of me as a screen, he is in the second. However, we shall soon see."

After an interruption, the *tête à tête* between Thierray and Eveline still continues; a present from the young Count to the ladies at Puy-Verdon having been the subject of general discussion:—

"Oh! the power and the magic of riches! (said Thierray softly to Eveline). Even when they are not seductions, they are still great charms.' 'Are you rich?' Eveline asked with a freedom of interrogation which confounded Thierray. 'I have no fortune, and probably never shall have,' he replied with a haughty earnestness. 'Ah!—well—so much the better'—she answered giddily. 'Would you have the excessive kindness to explain your words?' 'Ah you know that I am a living enigma—you said so yourself.' 'Shall

I attempt to divine the sphinx?' 'There is pretension in believing that you so soon could do so.' Coffee and cigars were now served. Madame Dutertre lighted the end of a straw cigarette, and affected to smoke to give example to her guests. All the men profitted by the permission; and, while Olympe coughed away her three puffs of hospitable etiquette, Eveline took a large cigar and smoked in Thierray's face like a boy, with the evident intention of trying the effect of her eccentricity upon him. He was at first shocked, and did not refrain from telling her it was dreadful. She immediately threw away her cigar: amused herself half a minute at the unaffected trouble which her sudden concession caused him; and then went to get another cigar, saying—'You were right, that one was horrible. But do you not smoke?' 'Oh! yes (he replied, lighting his cigar at the one she had just lighted, and which she held familiarly towards him), I smoke unceasingly.' 'You are very wrong.' 'Why?' 'Oh! if I explain all my words, when is it that you will begin to guess my thoughts?' M. Dutertre passed near Eveline; and, taking her cigar smilingly, he threw it far from her, in spite of her remonstrances, leaving her still to converse with Thierray."

What with the charming coquetry of Eveline, and the picturesque beauties of the old chateau of Mont Revêche, which was reserved in the sale of all the lands belonging to it, Thierray is so satisfied with his abode that he declares to his friend, the Count, that he could gladly pass there the rest of his days. Flavien generously presses upon him a possession which he proves has no actual value, or begs him at least to make it his abode as long as he desires it. To add to the interest of the antique chateau, it is supposed to be haunted by the ghost of a certain Dame Hélyette, who died there in the year 1665. Guided by the old housekeeper, the young men obtain her portrait from the lumber-room of the chateau. It is described as dressed in a riding-habit of the time of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, a beaver hat and green feather, and a *justau corps* of chamois leather confined by a scarf. The hair, which is light, curls naturally: the neck, the chin, and the hands appear young: the lips vermillion and smooth: a black mask hides all the rest. The picture is pinned to the wall, with pins taken from the cushion of the old *chanoinesse*, and seems much valued by the discoverers of the treasure. The flirtation of Eveline and of Thierray goes on for some-time smoothly enough; but there is a blight and misery thrown over the domestic happiness of the excellent Dutertre by the machinations and cruel revelations of his daughter Nathalie. De Saulges leaves Mont Revêche suddenly: it is almost thought that his exit is owing to a visit from the Dame Hélyette; but at the end of the book we find it is

caused by the repulse to his love-making by the virtuous Olympe. The loves also of Thierray and Eveline, as the book proceeds, from divers causes, suffer interruption; and, feigning a sprained ancle, he abstains for sometime visiting at Puy-Verdon, occupying himself with writing poetry. One night, fatigued with his studies, he rests his elbows on the table, his forehead on his hands, and, listening mechanically to the cricket who sings in the chimney, he falls insensibly into that state which is neither sleeping nor waking. We will now let the author take up the narrative:—

“Thierray, in the midst of that half slumber which is not without its charms, fancied that at different times he heard an unusual noise in the house. He disquieted himself but little about it at first. There was no house-dog at Mont Revêche; but the house, from its particular construction, was so well enclosed, that there were no openings from it but into the interior court; while the wall which united the three façades was so solid and high, opening with so massy a door, that it was almost impossible for any one to enter either secretly or by main force. Gervais and Manette, guardians and servants of the place, had never gone to sleep a single night for thirty years without locking this door, and fixing with care the iron bar which went across; above all, making the sign of the cross, which was to preserve them, as well from a visit from Madame Hélyette, as from that of robbers. The servant, whom Flavien had left with Thierray, slept in a lower room adjoining the stable. This servant's name was Forget; and he was faithful, quiet, and did not believe in ghosts. Thierray believed neither in ghosts nor robbers: he maintained that he had never had enough imagination to conjure up the one, or sufficient money to tempt the other. Nevertheless, a sort of rustling which he fancied he heard for the second time in the corridors, and a vague noise of opening doors, which, though it might still only be a blind shaken by the wind, now, however, quite awakened Thierray, and made him think of the hundred bank-notes of a thousand francs each at present in his charge, and that for the first time in his life he could not laugh in the face of a disappointed thief. He raised his head, and, rubbing his eyes, found that he was in partial darkness. While he had dozed, his lamp had burnt out the oil and was extinguished; and the fire in the chimney, of which the flame was exhausted, gave out but a red and dubious light from the embers on the objects nearest the hearth. Thierray arose and groped for some allumettes; but finding none, he went to the fire-place, determined, as soon as he had got a light, to explore the house. He had just stooped down to the hearth when he heard three distinct knocks at the door, and which seemed to be made by the metal end of a riding whip or a light cane. ‘It is Flavien who is come,’ he thought; and, without giving himself time to consider whether this idea was more probable than another, he called out instinctively, and with a steady voice, ‘Come in,’ continuing still

his attempts to light the wax light he had taken from the mantelpiece. The door opened, and some one entered without speaking and with a kind of caution. Thierray, at last furnished with a light which the damp had made it difficult to illumine, raised himself up, saying, 'Who is there?' No one answered; and Thierray—who, at the moment upright, his waxlight in his hand, about to turn, yet from a certain pride averse to be quick in his movements, feeling in spite of himself a sensation, if not of fear, at least one of surprise—found himself opposite the chimney glass. Instinctively he turned his eyes towards it, and saw behind him, towards the middle of the room, a strange and indistinct figure; but which, in the tarnished and dimly lighted mirror, seemed like the portrait of Madame Hélyette taken down from the wall. 'Oh! oh!' thought Thierray, almost pleased with the uneasiness which he experienced, 'this is hallucination. I shall at last learn what that is.' He placed the waxlight on the mantelpiece, observing the apparition still in the mirror, which appeared less vague; and, convinced that he was the sport of some phenomenon of the imagination or of the eye-sight—a curious fact that he could test by his own experience—he had the coolness to light the other candle, which he placed at the other end of the chimney-piece, and turned slowly round with apparent calmness. Madame Hélyette was upright and motionless before him at the distance of about six paces. 'It is really so,' Thierry said aloud, also motionless, and his legs as it were paralysed, but still perfectly master of himself, though unconsciously speaking. 'There is the riding-habit, the hat, the feather, the mask, the riding whip. There is the beautiful light hair like Eveline's; the young chin, the graceful throat. Yes: I see it all—I still see it—it does not disappear.' At this moment Thierray found that he was speaking aloud; and the sound of his own voice alarmed him. 'This makes one more uncomfortable than one could have thought (he said, making an effort not to articulate with his lips). Perhaps it might drive one mad? I have had enough of it.' He closed his eyes for an instant; considering that, when he re-opened them, the phantom would have vanished. Depriving himself thus of eye-sight, he thought of what he would do if it continued visible; and regained courage. 'No: I am not mad (he said to himself). I could describe perfectly a phenomenon of which I have much heard, and that I have always wished to experience myself, although I have never believed it possible; but now, that I have this experience, it would be a matter of regret not to make it as complete as possible.' Thus armed against his own prejudices, he re-opened his eyes. The lady with the mask was still there; only she had retreated a little towards the bottom of the room, and was thus removed further from the light. 'It is about to vanish (thought Thierray). Come, let us approach it.' He tried, but his legs refused their office; and, in the same proportion that his brain seemed clear and strong, did his frame appear stiff and powerless. 'I should not like to faint (thought Thierray). I should no longer be able to see into this. Let me see. Perhaps, I have at least my tongue at liberty. I will

invoke my own phantasy by my own will.' He then called to the phantom, 'Come near. I command you to do so, and to take off your mask. I wish to see you.' The spectre made a sign of denial. Whether it was that this exertion of will had increased his courage uncommonly, or that the gesture of the phantom had given it a surprising appearance of reality, Thierray felt his feet unfasten from the marble of the hearth; and he strode to the bottom of the drawing-room, saying in almost a tone of merriment, 'Very well, then: I will tear off your mask.' The spectre retreated, and with lightness made the tour of the room pursued by Thierray, whose limbs were not quite free, but whose will seemed to strengthen in seeing the apparition about to escape. These movements awoke the old parrot, who called out with a voice more distinct and appalling than usual, 'My good friends, I am going to die.' A scream of terror burst from the throat of Madame Hélyette; and she sunk as if fainting into a chair.

"Thierray, who was then convinced that he had been mystified by a living person, sprang towards her and seized her by the arm. He no longer believed that he had to deal with a phantom, the creation of his own brain; but such however had been the struggle with himself, that if, instead of a tangible being, he had clasped but vacancy, he might have fallen in a swoon—perhaps dead. A burst of laughter answered him, and the mask fell. It was Eveline, clad in a costume resembling exactly that in the portrait of Hélyette; her head dressed in the same style, and looking exquisitely beautiful in this apparel, which seemed to have been invented expressly for her.

" 'I am quite pleased with you, brave knight,' she said, extending her hand to him with an effort of assurance, betraying at the same time no little agitation. 'It quite belongs to you thus to brave supernatural things, and you may now defy the real lady with the mask to make you shrink a step. If I had been you, I could not have so well faced her; for it only required your frightful parrot, though I know his monomania so well, to terrify me to the degree of making me forget my part.' 'Before I reply to your agreeable mirth (said Thierray, whose forehead was still bathed with a cold perspiration, and who felt much more disposed to be cross than to be merry), will you permit me to ask you, Mademoiselle, how it is that you are here?' 'What is that to you? (Eveline replied, piqued by his chilling manner). I am here; but that concerns only myself.' 'Pardon me, it concerns me much also. I do not wish to be answerable to public opinion, or to your parents, for the consequences of so extraordinary a step on your part.'—'Do not alarm yourself, sir (said Eveline, altogether hurt); your reputation will not be compromised by my visit; and it will be known by no one.'

" 'Except by your groom who accompanied you here, and by whichever of the servants of Mont Revêche it was who opened the door to you.' 'Forget, who is now in your service, was formerly in mine. He knows the purity of my intentions: he is devoted to

me, and is incorruptible. As for the groom, he is a boy who sees no more harm than I do in a joke, and whose silence I am rich enough to buy. Are you satisfied?'—'Not in the least. In eight days all the country will know that, for the strange amusement of frightening M. Thierray, under the form of the Lady of the Mask, Mademoiselle Eveline Dutertre came alone to his house in the middle of the night.' 'You dream! No one will know it. The groom may be a gossip when he risks nothing; but, when it concerns his interests to be silent, the torture would not make him speak. Besides, I should deny it boldly, and so I hope would you; my parents would never believe it, and the groom would pass for a madman. And now, will you be so obliging as to make a little fire. I am perished with cold and fright.' It was impossible for Thierray to refuse the attentions of hospitality to his beautiful visitor. He made up the fire, drew an arm-chair towards it in which Eveline seated herself; and he on his knees before the hearth, stirring up the embers, examining in spite of himself the pretty foot she stretched out to the andirons, continued to school and question her. 'Why do you say that you have been frightened—you who push courage even to extravagance?'

Eveline then describes how her visit and entrance has been effected, and that her fear was of the real ghost, whose costume she had had made some months' back. Thierray still shows displeasure at her frolic; and she is about to depart when they find that it is raining violently:—

"'You see now (said Thierray) that you are obliged to remain here until your departure is more possible or the night be ended. I warn you that it will be at least three hours; and now, behold you have to swallow the cup of danger and imprudence which you have filled. This is no fault of mine. If any one happens to hear of it, I will fight for you; but I will swear on my honour to your father that I have not the least idea why you have placed me in this agreeable situation.' In saying this, Thierray turned the lock of the drawing-room door. 'What are you doing there?' asked Eveline, much disconcerted. 'I do not wish to expose you to the risk of being surprised here by those of my servants who are not already in your confidence; and if your parents, discovering your absence, come to seek you here, I should like to be able to have a parley with them before I give you up to their just indignation.' Eveline turned pale and became seriously alarmed. 'Oh! no, no, you must keep me hidden,' she cried. 'No, I should go out to meet them; and you should appear before them protected by me, and bearing the title of my affianced wife.' 'Really! would the results of my indiscreet enterprise be so serious? (said Eveline blushing, half-pleased, and half-bashful). Now I can understand why you are so alarmed for the consequences of my frolic.' And she cast a timid yet tender glance towards Thierray, which threatened the *sang froid* with which he had armed himself. 'Yes, I am alarmed

(he said, avoiding this dangerous look), I know to what the care of my honour would make me decide without hesitation, rather than pass as having led a young girl into harm without offering her honourable reparation. But, in giving you my name, I should take a mortal hate to your riches, and perhaps to you, who had made me accept them in spite of myself; and who had not left me a choice between my inclinations, my liberty, or the shame of playing a culpable or a ridiculous part.' Eveline, terrified by these words, felt herself overcome. She fell back in the fauteuil, and burst into tears, crying—'Ah! you have never loved me, and now I inspire you with hatred!' Thierray was conquered: his love returned to his heart. He was not strong enough to stand such trials."

After a long but discreet *tête-à-tête*, in which all misunderstandings are explained, and their liking to each other fully revealed—after Eveline, who gets hungry, is furnished by her lover with the remains of a supper found in the dining-room—the morning dawns and she is conducted to her groom, who has been waiting with her horses the whole night in a wood, and so the adventurous damsel gets safe home! The story does not end so well as it commenced. There is much that is improbable, like the incident we have transcribed. Eveline and her lover are married; but poor Olympe dies, the victim of the continued unkindness of her daughter-in-law, who, unknown to the father—whose occupations have taken him much from home—has destroyed by degrees the gentle Italian. Her end is touchingly described after all the agitations and troubles which Nathalie had caused her—

"She saw not her end approaching. A delicate and wise solicitude had spared her the awful apprehension of death. She went to sleep like a young bird, who feels the cold and the hunger of his forsaken nest, who murmurs feebly its sufferings, but who knows not that it is about to die."

Though, perhaps, failing as a fiction, "Mont Reveche" is written with an acuteness and a perfect knowledge of human nature, above all French nature, which gives an interest to every page. Even on the matter of horsemanship the author shows a *ver*, which in a French woman is remarkable. Eveline tells Thierray that he is graceful—that he shows off his riding; but that he has a bad seat, and that some fine day he will break his neck. Relating this to the Count, Thierray goes on to say, while regretting the fact:—

"To be a good horseman one must have taken to riding from childhood. One ought to be born on horseback, as it were, like the children of people of family and of grooms—like young noblemen, and the boys on a farm. As for us, descendants from

a race devoted to commerce, to law, to the fine arts, or to trades, all our strength, all our suppleness, all our aptness, is in the brains or in the hands. We are born and grow in the dust of offices, counting-houses, or the workshop. Our muscles there become weak, our blood impoverished. We no longer live but by our nerves. Later in life, if the seductions of leisure take possession of us, we are sufficiently adroit and persevering to imitate the men of leisure in our tastes, our manners, and our habits. But to an experienced eye, we are never but a counterfeit of the aristocracy. Women are never deceived by it, or ourselves either, when we look at ourselves candidly."

Who would not say but that a view in Hyde-park on a Sunday had suggested this insight into equitation? We subjoin one more passage, which, speaking of the broken union of a family, would do credit to the first of our English moralists :—

"It was the first time in his life that Dutertre under his own roof had retired for the night without having pressed his three daughters to his heart ; and for the first time he did not call back the rebel child to calm her, and to bring her to a sense of her duties towards him. At that solemn hour of midnight which terminates a day of our short life to open for us another, but of which none of us can be assured of seeing the close, it is something terrible and appalling to separate from the members of one's family without having been able to bless and to pardon them."

With this we leave George Sand, retaining the impression that the sorrow of her matured age will be the licentious publications of her youth.

"Marguerite, ou Deux Amours," by Madame Emile de Gerardin, is the production of a much-thinking, much-seeing, much-feeling mind ; and goes to confirm an oft-occurring idea that romance-writing in all its varieties belongs rather to the department of the female pen than to that of the male. A man with sufficient education or talent to write at all ought to look far above the pretty pastime of making story-books. Whatever the moral conveyed, the principles set forth, the knowledge imparted by his tales, he is but one of the variety of that class of which the old Arab story-teller of the Eastern caravan, and our old Scotch story-teller, Walter Scott, may be considered the Alpha and the Omega. Now, although the admission may seem a vile heresy and show a forgetfulness and ingratitude for past favours and pleasures, we have always regretted that Scott should ever have taken to what may be called the floricultural part of literature. The labour employed in digging and raking, seed-sowing and watering to make a *mignonette* or a ver-

bona-beda, would plant an oak; and it must ever be a subject of grief to all, that the taste, the learning, the research, the talent, and the industry of Walter Scott, does not now rest on our library shelves in the shape of five or six substantial volumes of a work bearing on the past history and habits of our country, rather than it should have been diluted into that legion of pretty books known by the name of the "Waverley Novels." We find this same fault with all male writers of talent, and who, nevertheless, still persist in growing annuals instead of oaks. Whether this prostitution of the powers of mind be owing to an impatience to see its labours perfected, or whether it be owing to the deleterious philtre dealt out by liberal publishers, it is equally to be deplored that talent, powers of observation, and energy, should be suffered thus to run to blossoms scarcely worth the harvesting in the barns or store-houses of old Time. Nothing of this applies to women. If they will write novels, who would attempt to prevent them? And whether the feminine fancy seeks development in elaborate needlework, or whether imagination, sensibility, and delicacy of perception, leads to the composition of light fictions, all we have to do, either with needlework or novels, is to approve and amuse ourselves if the workmanship is good; or to cast it aside if the merit we look for be absent. With the work before us we must be satisfied. There is in it at once good sense, good breeding, and good feeling. Still the construction is French; and matters, which we English people keep behind the scenes, are occasionally brought forward in its pages; so that we would counsel young women against perusing them. The book thus commences:—

"How sweet it is to be loved! Every one has said this—every one has thought it; and yet, if every one were candid, each would avow that all the anxiety, all the storms, all the tears, all the anguish, all the remorse of this life, have sprung from this sweet happiness. To inspire a sincere, pure, noble, delicate, and exclusive love, is the favourite dream, the ideal felicity, of a chaste and generous soul. This life commences but with the day one is first loved: it is from this bright moment that we date our best memories; and glory is sought, fortune is aspired to, beauty is desired, but that we may be loved. To be loved is to be understood, to be blessed, to be consoled, to be happy. It is to walk with a protecting guide in the perilous paths of this world—a guide who turns the thorns far from you; who assists you to cross rivers, to climb mountains; who finds you a shelter from the tempest, an asylum for repose: it is to have an adviser full of prudence, who knows your qualities and appreciates them; a disin-

interested judge, severe from pride, but indulgent from tenderness ; who dreams that you are perfect, and yet cherishes you for your faults ; it is to have a friend to whom one dare say everything, because one suffers him to divine everything. To be loved, in short, is to live in confidence, affection, and delight : it is to have found perfect happiness. How false ! It is to have lost happiness for ever ! To be loved is to be cursed—to be bound to sorrow without appeal. As soon as you are loved, misfortune and death come near and force you to choose between them : those jealous spirits watch without ceasing at our door : they listen to our thoughts—they retain all the cherished names that our voices have whispered ; and we must decide, in spite of ourselves, between a fatal and desperate passion which will suffer one to live, and a love sublime and religiously shared which dooms our death. A noble and pure love excites more envy than all the honours, all the riches, all the powers of the earth. To be loved is of all successes the one least likely to be forgiven. True love attracts the storms of this world, as the high rocks attract the tempests of the heavens. Two beings who love each other are as two parias, but they are parias who are envied. The whole of society is in league against them. Men and women in pointing to them repeat in anger, 'They love each other !' which is the same as saying, 'They despise us ; we are as nothing in their eyes. They love each other !'—that is to say, they pass before us without observing us. Of the riches which have cost us so much to acquire they take no account ; they covet not those pompous titles for which we have sacrificed youth and feeling ; they have a higher pride than our pride ; they possess a more precious treasure than our treasures ; they have their love ! They know nothing of us but our faults, and together smile at them. In fact, their constancy is an outrage ; and these two beings who suffice to themselves, who live isolated in the crowd, are rebels who must be punished ; and there is an understanding with the whole of society to bring them to justice for their insolent felicity. It is then that a tacit conspiracy is organised against them by the world. Low grumbings announce that the ground trembles beneath their feet. They hold each other's hand ; they look with confidence at each other, and each declares that they will never part. But soon enemies, both masculine and feminine, bear down on them from every part. A man who is beloved seems always so charming ; and what woman is sufficiently generous to disdain the conquest of a man whom she knows to be adored ? And what man, what relation even, is sufficiently noble not to speak lightly before a woman of the man whom she loves, even when she loves legitimately ? A fearful struggle ensues, and happiness is for ever destroyed. But even, if by chance this love resists so much violence—even if it is to that degree devoted and exclusive that nothing can change it—it is then that fate itself pursues you with its strokes. The most cruel reverses overwhelm you ; exile, ruin, or a fatal duty violently separate you. At last, if your coura-

geous love braves still these shocks—if it faces exile, ruin, even duty—if the heart's flame is thus ardent that nothing can extinguish it—it is then death, jealous death, who undertakes to smother it. Love can only live by suffering. It ceases with happiness; for happy love is the perfection of the most beautiful dream, and everything perfect and accomplished draw near its end. Oh! love itself has an instinctive knowledge of its period of duration. It knows that it must be nourished by torments, and it ingeniously creates for itself new aliment. It knows that torments are the guarantees for its duration, and it invents a thousand pangs in order to live a longer time. It knows that in the eyes of fate its exquisite joys are unjust privileges, and, to be forgiven them, it hastens to expiate them by self-imposed tortures. It calls up artificial sufferings to turn away the real misfortunes which it dreads. It indulges in jealousy without cause, from the fear of having good reason for the feeling. It disquiets itself foolishly before imaginary perils to keep distant the frightful moment of real danger. It delights in causing useless tears, and which a word can stop, to dry the bitter tears of absence and desertion. Often alas! it proceeds even to betraying the love it would save in thus profaning it. Now behold the truth—the contrary is invention. To be loved is to live in torments. It is to wander in a boundless desert with the blind for a guide. It is to tremble at each step, and to tremble for those you love. It is to have a weak and evil-minded judge whose selfish counsels mislead you; who knows neither your faults nor his own; and who upbraids you for your virtues, as it is by them that he is made to suffer. It is to have a perfidious enemy who has the secret of your weakness; who reproaches you for your most noble actions as though they were crimes; and who, in his factitious hatred, arms himself against you with your own disclosures and avowals. It is to have a traitor for an ally—an implacable adversary who unceasingly struggles secretly against you and is the spy of all your thoughts. It is to establish in one's abode the most fearful species of *espionage*—that of a rebellious slave. Doubtless, during the first days of love, the pride is flattered, the heart is touched; and the woman who is beloved feels more beautiful, and has more confidence in her powers. But soon this confidence vanishes, for the enemy thinks but of suppressing it. By degrees he takes forcible possession of every idea: he absorbs every feeling: he clears away and turns out every remembrance: he establishes his mastery in the soul; and the more he feels dominion the more absolute he becomes. A proud hostility commences between him and her he loves so well—rather her he loves too much. War is involuntarily declared. Love! it is the height of injustice—a preference is always an injustice—but how dearly is this preference paid for! What reproaches, what crabbedness, what inexhaustible malice, what a frivolous and worrying jealousy! It is strange and incomprehensible. All in this woman pleases him; and yet all that is done, all that is said by her, displeases him. Has he to

complain of her? No! Why, then, unceasingly torment her? Because he loves her?"

This litany of love's despite continues for three more pages, and thus concludes:—

"Behold how a fair existence can be upset by one love! What then would it be to be a prey to *two loves*?"

We should find it difficult to answer all the paradoxes and antitheses of this introduction to Madame de Girardin's book—suggestive and in many cases accurate as they are—except by parodying a very homely adage regarding fire. Love, like fire, is a very good servant but a very bad master; and in France, it would appear, they have failed to maintain its serfdom. In England, where morals and religion prevail, and—God be praised—they are both still in vogue among us, love is found to excite to the highest duties, and to soothe the lowliest sorrow. With us, love is the sanctifying blessing that furthers man's progress to heaven, even while adorning the rugged pathways of this life. There may be those who find it the evil genius described by Madame de Girardin; but, we would ask, is there any passion of the soul to which the perfect resignation of ourselves would not produce consequences as disastrous? There is not a feeling in the human breast which, like the good servant in our stove and steam engine, would not play "old gooseberry" with us, if suffered to gain the mastery.

The story of "*Marguerite, ou les Deux Amours*," extends only over a few months of the life of a young widow. She is about to be married to her cousin Etienne D'Arzac, whom she loves tenderly, and whose attachment for her began before her first marriage. The first chapter relates to the preservation of Marguerite's child from the attack of a rabid wolf by an unknown sportsman. There is a great deal of interest excited in the mother's bosom by this circumstance, and by the backwardness of the hero of the exploit declaring himself; and who is suspected to be one of a party of sportsmen visiting at a neighbouring chateau, among whom is a Robert de la Fresnaye, the most exquisite of Parisian *exquisites*.

During the necessary absence of her lover at a neighbouring town, Marguerite is induced by her mother to pay a morning visit to a Duchesse de Bellegarde, renowned as the most beautiful woman in Paris, and whose beauty she wishes to criticise; expecting, in fact, that morning to find her quite ugly, on account, as she expresses it, of the ravages caused by "*une grande passion*." Marguerite enquires who is the subject of this "*grande passion*," and learns it is Robert de

la Fresnaye. "This name was magical: it explains the most singular anomalies, the most inconceivable changes: it was the same as it would have been to have said of a woman in the time of Louis the Fourteenth—"She loves the king."

Marguerite, who has but just recovered from a serious illness, on arriving at the Chateau de Bellegarde, nearly falls in descending from her carriage; and on learning that the duchesse is in the theatre, which is being newly built at the other extremity of the chateau, feels too languid to accompany her mother to seek her there, and is, therefore, left alone in the drawing-room:—

"This salon was immense, and by the manner in which the furniture was arranged it was as comfortable and informal as a boudoir. Each corner of the room was, in fact, a little room of itself, independent of the others, and adorned with its appropriate belongings: Would you read?—in one corner was seen a large table, surrounded by easy chairs, and covered by a crowd of newspapers, reviews, miscellanies, books of science, poetry, politics, and even agriculture: it was a perfect library. In another corner was a magnificent piano, encompassed by a regular fortification of small sofas, and flanked by two elegant music-stands containing all the best compositions of the old or of modern masters: it was the music room. In another corner was a drawing table, embroidery frames, work-boxes for industrious ladies, vases filled with bouquets artistically arranged to tempt the flower-painters—all near a window of which the light was carefully arranged, and forming a work-room for amateur artists. At the end of the room was what the *Duc* laughingly called the dormitory. The light there was still more softened. There was nothing but couches and lounging chairs of every description, with an endless variety of cushions and ottomans; furnished, in short, entirely for the lazy. It was there that on the morrow of a ball, of a hunt, or after theatricals or gipsy parties, people took refuge and reclined idly on the sofas. It was there that the friends of the house and the inmates passed soft hours in recalling the ceremonies or the pleasures of the past night; or in ridiculing, with an edifying emulation, those of the party already gone, and who during three or four days in this delightful abode had exhibited so pompously their weaknesses, their follies, and their manias. When Marguerite felt herself somewhat rested, she thought that her bonnet must be entirely displaced on her head, which had struck against the head of the carriage in her awkward descent from it. She looked at herself in a glass, and smiled on seeing that her bonnet was bent entirely out of shape. She took it off quickly to restore it to its proper form; but in so doing loosened her comb, and her heavy hair fell in wavy masses over her shoulders. She could not restrain a movement of impatience at finding that she must arrange her hair entirely afresh. To gather it up, it was necessary to take off her mantle: it was almost having to make her toilet again; and she hurried, that it might be completed before the

Duchesse entered. As she was standing before the chimney-piece, collecting with difficulty her thick tresses in her little hand, she stopped suddenly and uttered a scream. She had perceived in the glass two large eyes watching her. She turned, alarmed, but saw no one in the drawing-room. How was the mystery to be explained? Opposite the chimney-glass was a corresponding one, but without quicksilver at the back, and which looked into the billiard-room. Without doubt, some one had crossed this room and looked at Marguerite in passing. It was, perhaps, the Duc de Bellegarde, she thought; but no! he would have joined me; and, besides this, the Duc has not eyes like those. A few minutes after this, the Duchesse entered with Madame D'Arzac. Marguerite had had the time to replace her bonnet and gloves; but she was still in trouble about the mysterious apparition—the idea that some person had seen her dressing her hair so tranquilly vexed her. She desired much to know who could thus have watched her, and yet she feared to learn it. A vague remembrance seemed to tell her that it was not the look of one indifferent. When the Duchesse came, Marguerite's thoughts were only of her; and it was amusing to see the mixture of envy and admiration with which she observed this queenly beauty. The Duchesse had taken her accustomed seat on a small couch surrounded by a screen of flowers. A slight trellis of golden wire was entwined with dark-leaved plants, and with bunches of flowers of every colour, forming a charming and appropriate back-ground to that proud and beautiful face beaming with youth and health. The duchesse had placed her feet on a *pouff* of crimson velvet: she was half sitting, half reclining, her elbow resting on the couch, and her cheek leaning on her hand. Nothing could be more graceful than this attitude of refined nonchalance in a woman of such a majestic appearance. Her looks expressed joy and confidence, an affable assurance, a benevolent pride which gave at once a favourable impression; and she seemed to say by this gentle arrogance—'You can believe that, with all my advantages, I can feel no ill humour? Who can compare with me?—who can compete with me? There can be no combat with me—no indifference towards me.' If any one fled from her empire, it was rather from despair than rebellion; if any one seemed occupied by another woman, it was from modesty or hopelessness. This deep faith in her own powers rendered her kind, generous, and charming. She was encompassed by attentions; she lived on homage; and, as she had always been nourished by incense, she was not intoxicated by its vapour; for the incense of flattery is a poison to which one can become accustomed as well as to others. There is humility in showing intoxication from its perfume: it is confessing to one's flatterers that one breathes it for the first time. Madame D'Arzac might well seek points for criticism: she could find none. The duchesse took off her gloves. Ah! now let us see her hands, thought the mother, who began to understand her daughter's envy. A woman who has not a pretty hand is not a woman to admire, and she prepared herself to behold an imperfection. Vain hope!

The duchesse had the hand of a statue. It was necessary still to admire. Madame D'Arzac was out of patience for another reason. She had hoped to have seen M. de La Fresnaye, and M. de La Fresnaye did not appear. 'You have had a good many sportsmen with you lately? Are you now alone?' 'Almost alone (replied the duchesse): I have no one here but one of my relations, and M. Baudoin whom you have just seen.' 'A man of taste (replied Madame D'Arzac): the new building will do him much credit: it is a perfect theatre.'

"'Oh! M. Baudoin is the architect (thought Marguerite). Is it he who saw me? Oh! no: those eyes were not the eyes of an architect. A painter's, a poet's, they might be; but an architect has a more reasonable look. An architect who had those eyes could never scramble over roofs.' 'Really, you are quite alone (Madame D'Arzac remarked with an air of incredulity)—And your Parisians?' 'Are all gone,' replied the duchesse. At the very moment M. de La Fresnaye entered the drawing-room. 'Or are going (she added a little confused). M. de La Fresnaye leaves us this evening to return to Paris.' Madame D'Arzac did not remark the embarrassed air of the duchesse, though she had come to observe her. How was it that she thus forgot the part of a severe scrutinizer? It happened that Marguerite herself was pale, trembling, and disconcerted at the sight of M. de La Fresnaye; and her mother could now think of no one but her. Full of anxiety, she tried to guess the cause of this emotion. It was this. Marguerite had recognised the two eyes which had gazed on her in the glass; but more than this, she had recognised in Robert de La Fresnaye the mysterious young man who a year back had followed her on horseback in the Bois de Boulogne with a manner so romantic and so strange a regularity. She had at first taken him for an adventurer, looking after rich widows and heiresses; and who depended on his handsome face for making a conquest, and on his audacity and perseverance for gaining a wife. Marguerite, who was then in mourning, always went to the Bois de Boulogne at an early hour, and drove in the most retired walks. How could she, then, imagine that M. de La Fresnaye, this *élégant à grandes prétentions*, could come, like her, to the Bois de Boulogne at the same hour with old men and invalids? But she could not now deceive herself—it was really he; and it was a startling thing to discover that it was him. What! for a year Robert de La Fresnaye had thought of her. This mysterious person who had pursued her with mute attentions, with looks at once indiscreet and timid, was Robert de La Fresnaye! This unknown was the most celebrated of all the 'fine gentlemen' in Paris. Her silent adorer was the successful suitor, the man of fashion, the idol of the day! What a discovery! It would have required superior fortitude to have sustained without emotion this sudden and alarming light; and Madame de Meuilles was not sufficiently habituated to such trials to dissimulate with prudence the impression which it made. Madame D'Arzac regarded her daughter with a stunned and angry look. The Duchesse regarded Marguerite with a look of

astonishment and anxiety. Robert regarded Madame de Meulles with a proud and almost happy look; and the poor young woman felt as though this triple glance cast without pity at her paleness would kill her. The situation was unbearable; and the Duchesse, as the mistress of the house, kindly attempted to put an end to it. 'If you have any commissions for Paris (she said), M. de La Fresnaye will take charge of them; and M. de Bellegarde, who will return in eight days, will bring back what you have ordered.' 'Thank you (replied Madame D'Arzac); we go ourselves to Paris at the end of the month.' 'Indeed (interrupted the Duchesse): will not the wedding take place at Ville Berthier?' 'No: I should greatly have preferred it; but the father of my nephew wishes much to be present at the ceremony, and he is too great a sufferer from gout to undertake so long a journey.' Marguerite could not understand her own feelings; but she felt angry with the Duchesse for having spoken of her marriage—it appeared to her malicious. In fact, the most noble-minded women have an instinctive vengeance in spite of themselves. Madame de Bellegarde had apparently no reason to complain of M. de La Fresnaye; and yet she had a vague feeling of being offended, and had chosen, as by design, a subject of discourse the most likely to displease him. At this news of the approaching marriage of Marguerite with her cousin, the countenance of M. de La Fresnaye took an expression of such violent anger, and betrayed such strange indignation, that Madame D'Arzac and Marguerite were amazed. He looked at Marguerite with incredible audacity, and reproach and contempt broke forth in the look. It seemed to say—'Foolish, imprudent woman: she who was born for me, to unite herself with another!' Marguerite comprehended this language; but Madame D'Arzac, disgusted with so much impertinence, saw only in this rage the spite of an envious man. She thought that M. de La Fresnaye detested Etienne D'Arzac; that he was jealous to see him make so good a marriage; and angry with her daughter for having chosen him. The Duchesse felt an oppression at her heart, without being able to divine the cause of her fear. An agitated silence reigned in this singular *réunion*."

The entrance of a little dog causes a welcome interruption; and after some conversation of dogs in general, and of this one in particular—which is a gift from the Duke of Devonshire!—the Duchesse says to La Fresnaye:—

"'Apropos—is that which I have been just told true, that you have had one of your sporting dogs killed, the handsome pointer?' 'No, Madame la Duchesse (Robert replied); I have not committed such a sin: who accuses me?' 'It was not a crime, if the dog had been bitten.' This was too much. Marguerite shuddered; but Robert soon destroyed the suspicion. 'Oh! I see what you mean (he replied): they have confounded me with a friend of Georges de Pignau, who has had a frightful adventure with a wolf. I have no complaint against wild beasts.' 'I breathe (thought Madame D'Arzac), it is not him.' 'He tells a falsehood,

thought Marguerite; and she dared to raise her eyes to M. de La Fresnaye to read the truth in his looks; but Robert was impossible, or he told truth, or he was well grounded in this lie."

The acquaintance, thus begun, continues. In Paris, Marguerite again meets De La Fresnaye, who declares himself her lover; and then, to use a sporting phrase, goes neck and neck with Etienne, who is at last distanced. The little boy who was saved from the rabid wolf is the great link of De La Fresnaye with Marguerite; who in loving him, however, maintains her affection for her affianced husband. Etienne shoots himself with a fowling-piece, on learning that she has decided for Robert; and she, with health impaired by the difficulties of her position, dies at the marriage altar, and so ends her "*Deux Amours*." With all the improbability of the story, there is much clever writing; and, beyond this, it affords an accurate peep into Parisian life. The character and manners of De La Fresnaye are most powerfully described; and we feel that a living model has sat for the portrait. He is painted as a benevolent Don Juan—a generous Lovelace—one who has solved for the first time that problem, that a man can be loved and not cursed. We learn that he has made victims, but not dupes; and that he has continued the pride, the sweet memory, the cherished regret, of those he has loved. With regard to constancy, that he considered the affair of the woman beloved—it was for her to see that he remained faithful. We will add one more extract on the subject of this *Robert le Diable*:—

"In common with all dissipated men, M. De La Fresnaye was strict in his ideas. In general, we find among *mauvais sujets* much austerity of principle; they recognise only absolute virtues. For them there are but two descriptions of women—the courtesan or the Roman matron, the Cleopatras or the Octavias—that is to say, the women who love every body, or those who love no one; the women of whom every one talks, or those of whom none ever speak. For those who have once loved and once been talked of they have no indulgence: they can see no extenuating circumstances: weakness, passion, and fatality do not count as such. There is one thing for which they never forgive a mistress—it is that of becoming their mistress, whatever may be her remorse or her fidelity. Towards their sisters, they show severity and a savage susceptibility: they watch over them, they become spies to them and would willingly seclude them; and in the sermons they address to them, to point out the misconduct of women of the world, they use expressions of contempt and opprobrium which a popular preacher might envy them. A *roué* is an old accomplice become your judge, and a most inexorable one. He

recognises no palliating excuses. No one should confide a weakness to him, not even the dream of a weakness. He is a strict confessor: one whose austerity tends to make desperate, and who believes neither in remorse nor penitence."

"La Vie à Rebours," by Louis Reybaud, scarcely deserves mention after the piquant novel of Madame de Girardin; and is exactly the book one should expect to find under the apron of one of a circle of *modistes*: read by stealth, and, at length discovered, thrown into the street by the aggrieved employer. All that we can say of "La Vie à Rebours" is that it would not be worth the picking up. Less licentious than Dumas or Kock, like them, Louis Reybaud takes the worst phases of society for his scenes, just sprinkling them with a little of the *chloruret* of decency. Moreover, he tries to interest his readers in a splendid example of virtue in the person of the wife of the profligate hero of the book, but fails.

Though it may be useless to raise the parrot-cry against those fictions which, whether dull or amusing, gross or refined, true to nature or full of improbabilities, take for the foundation of their story the evasions or flagrant transgressions of the seventh commandment, we must conclude this article with deploring the fact that such books find entrance into English homes. A sanguinary chronicle from the diggings—developing and analysing murder in all its forms and degrees, describing with sickening minuteness the ghastly terrors of each deed of blood, the temptations which led to it, the violence which consummated it—however well written, would, of course, fill us with disgust and dismay. Is there, then, a favouring clause which makes the violation of the seventh commandment less cruel in perpetration, less disastrous in effect, less offensive to the Almighty God, than the sixth? To a believer and a Christian, they must be alike sacred; and, until the solemn restriction of laws, uttered at the beginning of recorded history, be fully recognised, now, at the ending of time, France may vainly rejoice in her pleasant land, her graceful and light-hearted people: there is a stain of sin and shame above it all. It must be a matter of rejoicing—it may be a matter of glory—that, notwithstanding our close vicinage and long consociation, the English share not with the French their criminal forgetfulness of the sanctity of the marriage vow. It may be owing to our insular position, or it may arise from the difference of our religion; but, to whatever cause it is attributable, in everything there is a distinction between the two nations; never more amusingly betrayed than by those unstudied expositions of French cha-

racter furnished by their novels. We can detect but one point of resemblance between Englishmen and Frenchmen; and this is made obvious by a chance passage of Madame de Girardin's book, who undesignedly enables one to trace their affinity. We give it in the words of the author, whose style loses much by translation :—

“L'usage, dans les clubs, c'est de garder son chapeau toujours ; cela signifie : je suis ici chez moi, je me suis tenu à avoir de politesse pour personne. Garder son chapeau est un des droits auxquels on tient le plus dans ces sortes d'associations ; avec une migraine atroce, on garde son chapeau sur sa tête ; si, par hasard, on est seul un moment, on l'ôte ; mais dès qu'il entre quelqu'un, vite ou le remet : c'est un droit, et il ne faut pas, même pour une seconde, renoncer à exercer un droit. Ce principe est élémentaire.”

What Englishman cannot see in this picture himself and his club-room ?

ART V.—*Mount Lebanon : a Ten Years' Residence, from 1842 to 1852, describing the Manners, Customs, and Religion of its Inhabitants, with a Full and Correct Account of the Druse Religion ; and Containing Historical Records of the Mountain Tribes, from Personal Intercourse with their Chiefs, and other Authentic Sources.* In Three Vols. By COLONEL CHURCHILL, Staff-Officer of the British Expedition to Syria.

THE glory of Lebanon has long since departed. Still there is no spot on the terrestrial globe more interesting to the Christian traveller or the Christian reader. The poet cannot tread any part of its soil which may not be called “hallowed ground ;” nor can the eye rest on any part of its magnificent scenery which has not some peculiar charm. It is a field for wonder, admiration, and contemplation. Despoiled as the heights of Lebanon are, scenes of absorbing interest meet the pilgrim traveller's view. They are rich in classical as well as scriptural associations. Down those rugged declivities, Sennacherib's hosts rushed to the battle with Israel, but met their death in one night by the hand of a destroying angel. Here the Grecian phalanx once marched laden with the spoils of Issus ; and there the legions of Rome pitched their tents. Here also did the Crusaders, warriors of Europe, pass on their way to the rescue of Jerusalem from the hand of the infidel. Finally, in

the words of Colonel Churchill, "Yonder azure mountains, which blend so softly with the ethereal skies around them, enclose the scenes of His career whose weapons were the words of peace—whose doctrines fell on the hearts of his followers like the gentle dew of heaven, with ever fresh and invigorating influence, summoning them to patience, humility, and endurance, as the ensigns of their warfare and the leaders of their triumphs; and who consigned to them the mission, sacred and lasting as the world itself, of inviting together the great family of mankind in one common bond of faith, charity, and love." Blessed land, which possesses such rich associations and memories as these; and yet, how art thou fallen from thy pride and thy glory! Its inhabitants are no longer "blessed of the Lord"—its glory has, indeed, departed.

Our readers will call to memory the sages, warriors, prophets, and kings, who figured in this once highly favoured country. Let him compare them with the present inhabitants. Colonel Churchill writes:—

"At the present day, in many instances, the first object that salutes the eye is a dilapidated ruin, the porch tenantless, and the meedan a solitude—the Emir either vegetating obscurely in some private tenement belonging to his vassals, or, if at home, avoiding an interview. Should he at length appear, he will be seen accompanied by a solitary domestic holding his pipe, and in an under-tone giving orders to some passer-by to forage amongst the villagers for beds, mattresses, and other articles necessary for the passing exigencies of the unexpected arrival.

"Nature and the influence of events have combined to make Mount Lebanon what it has long been—and must always continue to be—the rampart and fortress of religious liberty in the East. Some of its inhabitants were amongst the earliest converts to the labours and preaching of the Apostle James. Though all traces of apostolic simplicity and evangelical truth have long been lost among the Christians who now possess it, the Lebanon was ever a sure and ready resort for the fugitives of that denomination who fled from before the great Mahommedan invasion; and, at a later period, for those sectarians who were opposed to the fury and persecution of the dominant faith and doctrine of Constantinople. There, if not free from molestation, they were at least enabled to show a bold and imposing front, and to foil the attacks of their adversaries. Even of late years, the Armenian Catholics, oppressed and aggrieved by the Turkish authorities, fled to Lebanon, and found amidst the rocky precipices of the Kesronan a sure and inviolable asylum."

Here is a graphic picture of another class of people now resident in Lebanon:—

"The condition of the working classes in Lebanon is on the whole encouraging to labour. There are no paupers, unless exception be made of those who, singular as it may sound, make pauperism a trade. But it must be stated that this class is to be found among the Maronites alone.

"A Beyrout merchant once happened to alight at Mustala, and was looking about for a night's lodging when he was accosted by a respectable-looking and well-dressed individual, who kindly invited him to his house. The general appearance of the apartments into which he was ushered, and the prompt and well-trained attendance of the domestics, gave assurance of the ease, and even affluence, of their proprietor; and the traveller congratulated himself on his good fortune in having made so desirable an acquaintance. At the close of the evening, the Maronite quickly asked his guest if he had not already recognised him—a question which naturally excited feelings of surprise and curiosity, and which were not quelled until the traveller found, upon a minute examination of features, that his worthy host was the very identical mendicant to whom he had constantly been in the habit of giving a trifling relief, and whose greasy wallet he had often filled with the crusts and leavings of his kitchen. The wealthy beggar, not in the least abashed, but rather glorying in his own voluntary exposure, asked his friend to step with him to an adjoining apartment, which, on being opened, was found to contain nearly one hundred bales of the finest silk."

What is most remarkable is that these Maronite mendicants excuse their gross imposture on the public on the score of religion. They hold that they should not be putting the seal and confirmation to their faith unless they in this manner followed the example of our Lord, who went about from place to place, depending for his means of existence on voluntary contributions!

Colonel Churchill, in a subsequent page, enters more fully into the condition of the working classes in the Lebanon. He says:—

"The price of labour is eight-pence a day. His wife gets a little by spinning. On the whole, a peasant in the Lebanon manages to sustain himself and a moderate family on 1*l*. 10*s*. a month, or about a shilling a day. Their food is bread and olives, onions, boiled grits, with oil, raisins, figs, &c., and lebban or buttermilk, the produce of his cows, of which he usually keeps two or three, in value from 2*l*. to 5*l*. each. At Christmas and Easter the villagers kill a cow, on which occasion they have the privilege of eating meat."

The principal source of revenue throughout the mountains of Lebanon arise from the silk crop, but considerable attention is paid to the growth of corn and the cultivation of the vineyard and fig plantations;—

"The wine of the Lebanon (says Colonel Churchill) has ever been famous. It was much sought after by the Roman epicures, and, indeed, some of its wines to this day can hardly be surpassed for richness of colour and delicacy of flavour; nor is this surprising when it is considered that there are upwards of thirty distinct species of grapes flourishing in its mountains. The rocky nature of the soil, and the extreme purity of the air, no doubt tend to bring this delicious fruit to a perfection not even attainable in the south of Europe."

The Maronite inhabitants of the Lebanon are, from our author's testimony, the most superstitious people in the world. Living in a land from whence issued a pure stream of light to enlighten the understanding of the whole race of mankind, they, nevertheless remain in gross darkness. After enumerating several remarkable proofs of their credulity, Colonel Churchill writes:—

"The blind superstitions of the Maronites even exceed these instances of folly and credulity. But to say that the Christians of the Lebanon believe in the most rhapsodical stories about the marvellous interference of the whole company of saints in worldly affairs; that they burn lamps night and day and offer up incense before their pictures, both in the public churches and in their private habitations; that they sacrifice an unlimited quantity of their hard-wrought earnings in votive and propitiatory presents and offerings to the various chapels and convents which the saints are supposed more especially to patronize; that they are, in fact, the unresisting dupes of priests, who are themselves dupes to the system of Christio-Paganism which prevails over the mountain; is but to say, in other words, that they are still under the yoke of a system of fraud and deception, which as widely estranges them from the true consolations of the religion which they profess as it robs Christianity itself of that moral influence which the sublime simplicity, and the noble and elevating tendency of her doctrine, if fairly put forth in all their heavenly purity, could not fail of commanding even amongst populations to whom the Cross is still a stumbling-block and its 'preaching foolishness.'"

In the eyes of the Maronites every authority, civil or religious, is merged in the authority of the priest; and the priesthood, with lynx-eyed vigilance, watch every movement which may tend to menace their long-established dominion. Hence the spirit of persecution reigns dominant even on the heights of Lebanon. Here is a touching story of Assaad Shidiak, who fell a victim to the truth as it is in Jesus:—

"Born of a respectable family in the vicinity of Beyrout, he had been led by the accidental falling of a Bible into his hand to compare the doctrines of the Gospel with the creed and belief in which he had been brought up. He prayed, he reflected, he judged for

himself. Patience and investigation brought conviction. With a pardonable though not discreet zeal, he would fain impart his convictions to others. In every circle or meeting, on all occasions, he loudly denounced the errors and superstitions of his sect; inviting his hearers to draw from the same source as himself. Such a phenomenon was a rarity in the Maronite world. His own brothers entreated, cajoled, threatened: priests were sent to warn and reclaim—all to no purpose. The new proselyte still felt it his duty to proselytize others. At length his conduct was brought to the notice of the patriarch, by whom he was sent for to be argued with. Unreluctant—nay, rejoicing in the occasion—Assaad proceeded to the convent of Kanobin. Meeting at first with a courteous reception—due, indeed, to the respectability of his family—he and the patriarch had several controversial meetings, without, however, being attended with such results as the latter would have wished. In vain the patriarch quoted tradition. Assaad Shidiak took his stand on the Bible. This was his impregnable position. Chagrined by failure and roused into resentment, the patriarch resolved to try other and more stringent measures for bringing back the recusant within the pale of orthodoxy. The room where he had been treated as a guest was exchanged for a dark and dismal vault, where he was treated as a prisoner. The viands which he had hitherto been served from his host's own table were replaced by a crust of bread and a jug of water. Weeks thus rolled on, and no one cared to ask after the condition of the unfortunate inmate of Kanobin. He had been silenced—that was enough. But one night, one dark and tempestuous night, he contrived to make his escape. After scrambling over rocks and precipices, and tearing his flesh to pieces, he found himself in a wild forest, not knowing which way to proceed. At length he met a goatherd, who, surprised at his garb and demeanour, asked him from whence he came. He replied in the simplicity of his heart that he had been so fortunate as to make his escape from the patriarch's prison at Kanobin. The goatherd immediately arrested him and took him back. Precautions were redoubled. Privations were aggravated. Persecution assumed its hideous garb. Deprived of light, scarcely allowed sustenance, chained as a lunatic, the grave delayed not long to demand its victim, while heaven received into its bosom the spirit of the saint and martyr."

This leads us to notice the constitution of the Maronite Church in the East, and we cannot do this more effectually than by an extract from the valuable work before us. Our author writes:—

"Though joining the communion of the Church of Rome, towards the close of the twelfth century, it was not until the fifteenth century that the Maronite clergy consented to acknowledge its supremacy in matters of ecclesiastical discipline. That spirit of independence, which they had displayed when existing as a separate sect, they carried into their communications with the sovereign pontiff; and for three centuries there existed a Christian Church in the Lebanon, Popish in all its forms and doctrines, saving the cardinal

point of submission to the Pope. This point appears to have been carried during the pontificate of Eugenius IV.; and in the year 1439 the Patriarch of the Maronites was invited to attend at a general council held in Florence, to which all the Greek and Roman bishops in Christendom were summoned A patriarch and twelve bishops preside over the Maronite Church in the East; but of the latter, four are titular, or *in rebus partibus*. The patriarch is chosen by the bishops in secret conclave and by ballot. A sheik, generally from the house of Habashe, stands as a sentinel at the door of the room in which the conclave is sitting, to prevent all communication from without. The debates actually last for many days, and even weeks: at last, when the choice is made, the bishops present kneel down, and kiss the new patriarch's hands: the patriarch immediately writes letters to all the chief nobles of the Mountain informing them of his nomination. The latter lose no time in assembling to pay him their respects and make their obeisance. A pelisse of honour shortly after arrives for the patriarch from the Governor of Lebanon. Fires, and rejoicing, and illuminations extend throughout the whole range of the Maronite districts. A petition is then drawn up, to be sent to the Pope, praying him to confirm the choice which has just been made, and signed by the principal chiefs of the Maronite houses of Shehaab, Bilemma, Mraad, Haazin, Habase, and Dahdah."

Of course, the sovereign pontiff never fails at once to confirm a selection which has the support of the feudal aristocracy and principal clergy of the Lebanon. The Patriarch of the Maronites is styled the Patriarch of Antioch, and he usually takes the name of Peter—a puerile affectation and presumptuous inference, intended to denote an official descent from the Apostle Peter. His power is despotic. From his decision there is no appeal, either in temporal or spiritual matters. His income is about 5,000*l.* a-year, derived principally from lands set apart exclusively for the office. He also obtains a sixth part of the revenue of the bishops.

There are four other patriarchs resident in Mount Lebanon who acknowledge the Papal jurisdiction. These are the Armenian Catholic, Syriac Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Chaldean Catholic. But these sects are insignificant compared with the Maronite. All these sects retain the prayer and feast-days of their former Church, with such additional doctrines and tenets as are necessarily entailed upon them by their allegiance to the Pope. The priesthood amongst the Maronites rule supreme in worldly, family, and spiritual matters. Colonel Churchill says of them:—

"Constantly prowling about from house to house, not an incident, however trivial, escapes his vigilance; while the constant and ever recurring instrumentality of the confessional satisfies the ut-

most cravings of a curiosity that is only appetized by indulgence. No Maronite peasant dares to marry without getting the consent of the priest. Nor, indeed, is this submission to the priest astonishing: custom and ancient usage have made it hereditary throughout the entire population; and, lest education might in the least degree dissipate the prestige which time has so thoroughly implanted in the breasts of these simple people, the very school-books which are placed in the hands of their children are carefully compiled, so as to increase the natural awe with which they regard their spiritual guides. In a Maronite catechism, the following queries and answers occur:—

“Q. If you were to see an angel and a priest walking together, which should you adore the most?”

“A. The priest.

“Q. And how would you show your adoration for the priest?”

“A. By falling down and kissing the ground on which he is walking.

“Q. Why is the priest to be adored more than the angel?”

“A. Because he is so vastly superior to the angel.

“Q. Why so?”

“A. Because the angel is a minister and servant of God, whereas the priest can command God to descend from heaven, as in the Mass!!!”

“The Maronite priests also sell localities in heaven to their parishioners by the yard; and many a superstitious Maronite in the Lebanon has, at some period or other of his life, paid a round sum to his priest for a yard or a few yards in the celestial regions, in the full belief that his right is thus secured to him for ever.”

The conventual system is more flourishing in the Lebanon than in any other part of the world. It has been thus for ages. The rocky and precipitous sides of the valley of Kadish seem to have been thickly studded with these solitary and abstracted aspirants after angelic perfection. In this holy valley now stands the convent of Kanobin. But—

“Monkery, in the present day, has abandoned the dismal caves and holes in the rocks where the sun scarcely penetrated, and where the human voice rarely broke upon the gloomy solitude of their occupants. It has become more social and gregarious—more awake to the charms and attractions of nature—and amply recompenses itself for its exclusion from the busy scenes of life by the perseverance and assiduity with which it cultivates the means and opportunities of enjoyment so peculiarly within its reach. Accordingly, the Maronite convents are seen to occupy the most delightful sites in the Lebanon; while, from their airy eminences, the eye rests upon extensive and enchanting property, embracing the most picturesque and romantic scenery. The grounds in their immediate vicinity are generally laid out in large plantations of the mulberry, the olive, the vine, and the fig, the exclusive pro-

perty of the monks. Their principal occupation is to cultivate, or at least to superintend, the cultivation of the fertile compartments and terraced gardens into which their lands are divided. Their dress is simple and coarse, and well adapted to the rudest labours of the field. It consists of a black frock coat and reaches to the knees, confined around the waist by a leathern girdle, and surmounted by a hood which can be drawn over the head. This attire is called a 'cacooly.' It is of Gaulish origin, and was adopted by the Romans with whom it passed into the East. Juvenal alludes to it in his English satire, where the etymology of the word 'cacooly' is plainly seen:—

Si nocturnus adulta

Tempora sautonico velas adopena cucullo."

These Maronite monks seem to be more alive to their worldly interests than to heaven; for Colonel Churchill states that the greater part of the estates of the Maronite Emirs and Sheiks has gradually passed into their hands; these chiefs having been induced to exchange the worthless tenure of earthly possessions for that of heavenly habitations, which they believe are secured to them by the prayers and masses poured forth on their behalf by their monastic confessors. Indeed, the monks of Lebanon are but the counterparts of the monks of Europe, whose one grand aim is to enrich themselves at the expense of their flocks. Not content with what they have, they even send their agents from village to village to beg the most trifling contributions from the poorest peasant. Colonel Churchill thus describes these monkish mendicants:—

"The monk enters the cottage with the air and assurance of being its proprietor rather than a visitor, and as if he were going to confer, not to receive, charity. The inmates rise on his entrance and kiss his hand, while greetings of welcome—not indeed very sincere, and somewhat constrained in tone and manner—salute his ear. With the most pompous and mysterious gestures, the holy father, ere he condescends to be seated, pulls forth from his bosom a small square wooden case about the dimensions of the largest size of miniature, and, unclasping it, exposes to the gaze of his nearest neighbour, in the family circle, the picture of some saint, generally St. Anthony, or St. George and the Dragon, consisting of a few brilliant patches of red and blue paint, with a gilt collar and bracelets stuck on; or of the Virgin Mary, with her usual look of tenderness and submission, and wearing a very gorgeous-looking gilt circlet round her head. Whatever it may be, the surface of the sacred tableau is black and greasy from the thousands of kisses which have been fervently expended upon it by its superstitious admirers. The most abject obeisance, with sundry crossings and genuflexions, is now offered to the daub. The process of kissing it goes round the room, and after a few moments only—for time is urgent and money must be made—the monk takes his

departure, with additions to his pecuniary resources proportionate to the means of those whom he has been honouring by his presence. The credulous enthusiasm displayed on these occasions is almost inconceivable: women will sometimes strip themselves of their most valuable silver ornaments, to load these privileged purveyors of the saints, in the hopes of obtaining their protection. And, indeed, the description of monastic life circulated amongst the people is such as to arouse their warmest admiration and excite their liveliest sympathies. Within those spacious buildings which meet their gaze, on the most delightful summits of the Lebanon, exists a sacred, holy brotherhood, whose chief employment is prayer—prayers for themselves—prayers for all—but especially prayers for those who will let them have their money!”

The lucid and ample details concerning the Maronite and other sects of Mount Lebanon, which the book before us contains, adds a peculiar value to it; but it is no less valuable for the information which it gives of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the Lebanon. We will now proceed to glean a few extracts from this section of its pages; after which we will notice some of the characteristics of the Druse religion, on which Colonel Churchill writes at considerable length, and with remarkable clearness of language. Here is a description of sport in the Lebanon:—

“The grounds about Kaferslewan are a game preserve for the Emir Heider, the only place in the whole Lebanon where such a privilege is tolerated. The red-legged partridge is here found in abundance, but the manner of sport is far different from that in Europe. Here the Emirs have little or no idea of the healthy and invigorating exercise of pursuing their game from mountain to mountain, of marking down the birds, and putting them up before firing. The keepers precede them about a fortnight or three weeks, during which period a portion of each day is employed in sprinkling barley on certain longitudinal pieces of board, placed in different parts of the range. A small hut, made of loose stones, sufficient to contain a single individual in a crouching position, and covered with furze, is constructed at the end of each board, with a loop-hole pointing directly upon it. The partridges gradually get accustomed to their feeding-places, and at the expiration of the time may be seen, morning and evening, luxuriating in flocks on their delicious and abundant fare. The noble sportsman now enters his ground with perfect certainty of success. Long ere break of day he proceeds to his little hut, singly and unattended: there he squeezes himself in, and in breathless silence awaits the arrival of his game. Hour after hour passes away: at length the birds gradually drop in—they thicken, they accumulate, the board is full. The utmost caution is now requisite—the slightest rustle will put them all to flight. Slowly and gradually the muzzle is adjusted in the loop-hole. Point blank aim is taken—the piece is discharged—and at one fell swoop five, ten, and fifteen

brace are bagged. Congratulations pour in from all sides on the glorious result of the day's sport, which is renewed day after day for nearly a month, with varying success, until the year's coveys are all but annihilated. The awkward sportsman is not he who misses his fire (that would be impossible); but he who by his agitation and excitement in the hut makes the birds get up without being fired at at all."

The period appropriated to the celebration of marriages in the Lebanon is from the end of September to the beginning of November, there being then a cessation from agricultural pursuits. With regard to the choice of brides, the noble and the peasant are alike bound to one custom:—

"No young man can marry out of the immediate range of his relations, so long as there are any single girls in the family; and a deviation from this rule is so fiercely resented that it is scarcely ever heard of. On the other hand, should a young girl dare to fix her affections on any young man not her cousin, the whole of her male relations rise up in arms; and, after having made for her what they consider a fit and appropriate choice from amongst themselves, if argument and persuasion fail in bringing her to a sense of her impropriety, bring her to the altar by force. Such an occurrence to be sure is rare, but the exception proves the rule. The consequence of this custom is, that there are families of one name in the Lebanon so numerous as to amount to clans, and who boast of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty, and even two hundred men bearing arms, which is a source of immense pride and gratification, and confers influence and importance. A few days before the marriage takes place the peasant takes a propitiatory present of fowls, coffee, or sugar, to his landlord, or feudal chief, and asks permission to perform the ceremony. A week is spent in rejoicings at his own house by the bridegroom, who all this time wears a pelisse of honour sent him by his landlord—by the bride, in preparations for her nuptials. On the day fixed—usually on a Sunday—the bridegroom's relations come for the bride, when all her connexions make presents, varying from one to five shillings each, which are collected in a purse and given to the bride before she leaves the paternal roof. She takes her farewell by kissing the hands of all the male members of her family in succession."

The historical portions of Colonel Churchill's volumes are very valuable, inasmuch as they describe clearly the various changes which the Lebanon has undergone in respect to its population and condition for many centuries. We must refer our readers to the volumes themselves for these interesting details, and pass on to notice the Druse inhabitants of the Lebanon; for hitherto we have confined ourselves to that portion of the work which treats of the Maronites, or the

Christian population. Before we proceed, however, to speak of the Druses in particular, we would notice that they are a people who, though they dwell in the Lebanon, are antagonistic to the Maronites. On several occasions, indeed, there have been war between the Maronites and the Druses. The Maronite soldiers are the more numerous, but the Druses can muster 6,000 as sturdy warriors as ever took the field; and they have this advantage over their opponents, that they are united and even obedient to their Sheikh rulers.

We now proceed to notice the Druse religion. The founder of the religion of the Druses was Hamze. Its followers are called Unitarians. The religious era of the Druses begins with the Mohammedan year 408, synonymous with the Christian year 1020; for it was in this year, according to Hamze, that Hakem first made known his divinity. The chief points of belief laid down in the Druse religion are these—to acknowledge one only God without endeavouring to penetrate the nature of his being and attributes—to confess that he can neither be comprehended by the senses nor described by language—to believe that the divinity has manifested itself to man in the human form without partaking of human weakness; that the divinity appeared for the last time in the fifth century of the Hegira of Mohammed; that Hakem disappeared in the year 411 of the Hegira, to prove the faith of his servants; that he will re-appear in glory and majesty, and triumph over all his enemies, to extend his empire over all the earth, and to give the kingdom to his faithful worshippers—to believe that the Universal Intelligence is the first of God's creations; that he has appeared on earth simultaneously with each manifestation of the Deity; that it is by his ministry and agency all things have been produced; that it is he who communicates, directly or indirectly, to other ministers and to simple believers, the grace which he receives from the Divinity, and of which he is the sole medium; that he alone has direct access to the Deity, standing as Mediator between the supreme Being and mankind; that he it is to whom Hakem will entrust his sword in the last day to smite his adversaries and reward his followers, to confess that all souls were created by the Universal Intelligence; that the number of human beings is always the same; that souls pass from one body to another, and become perfected in excellence, or lost and degraded, according to their love and attachment to truth, or neglect and disregard of it; to practice the seven commandments which Hamze or Universal Intelligence imposes on his followers, especially those which inculcate a regard to truth, charity towards brethren, en-

ture renunciation of former modes of belief, and unreserved submission to the will of God ; and, finally, to confess that all preceding religions were but types of the only true religion, and that the revelation of the true religion necessarily abrogates all anterior ones.

The Druses are as far removed from being Mohammedans, whatever they may outwardly profess, as the Christians. This is clearly seen in the following extract :—

“ Our Lord (says Hamze) entered by one gate and went out at another, figuring thereby the abolition and destruction of the law ; then he went round the garden of Hedjaz. To do this is to reach the manifestation where religion is seen without a veil. The mosque of Reidan is the figure of the Hodja, of the manifestation, Hamze, who holds in his hand the sword of vengeance, and who invites men to the confession of the unity. There was no other mosque than that of Reidan, whose dome fell in and menaced it with utter ruin. Our Lord gave orders that the dome should be rebuilt, and be enlarged in length, breadth, and height. That is an emblem of the destruction of the exterior law by the hand of his servant who inhabits this mosque ; and of the establishment, plainly and without disguise, of the pure doctrine of the unity of the Lord in the same mosque.

“ Our Lord dismounted from his donkey and mounted another in front of the gate of this mosque. That marked the changing of the law, the establishment of the dogma of the unity, and the manifestation of the spiritual law by the ministry of his servant Hamze, the son of Ali, the son of Achmed, his slave, the director of the faithful, who executes vengeance on unbelievers by the sword of our Lord, and by the force of the sole power of the one Being who is without comparison. He stopped, or at least appeared to stop—(for it must not be supposed he stops or advances, sits down, sleeps, or wakes)—he stopped near a milestone. This milestone is the figure of the divine inspiration ; for the milestone helps to find the road, in the same way as the divine inspiration comes from the adorable Being towards his servant.

“ He dismounted opposite the gate of the mosque. By that he designated his servant, who is the door of the veils which hide him from his creatures, and who, with his aid and by his orders, calls men to him ; for the divine inspiration is the sublime commandment which makes itself heard without any human or carnal means. In the public place of Raschida there are three mosques, differing the one from the other in beauty and construction. The loftiest, the most beautiful and magnificent, is the one in the middle where the great prayer is made on Friday, and where the five prayers are made every day. It is the emblem of the unity of our Lord and of the establishment of the five principal ministers of his religion.

“ This mosque is also the emblem of the manifestation. Hamze, and the two other mosques, which differ in size the one from the other, are the figures of the Natah and Asas ; for the Natah and

Asas, in like manner, differ from one another. In front of this mosque is a height difficult of ascent for those who pass over it, and there is no other road to go to Karafa. This is an emblem of the entire separation from the authors of the law, who have only an outward appearance and a false beauty, and it is only by removing them entirely that one can be saved.

“In the same manner, the road which passes over this mountain is hard and rough; yet, at the same time, it is there where the captives are set at liberty, which indicates the deliverance of the two religions exterior and interior—that is to say, the liberty which the Unitarians obtain in shaking off the yoke of Tenzil and Tawill.”

The Druse religion (says Colonel Churchill,) stands distinct and apart from the creation of Hamze; and if, in the days of their seeking proselytes, the Druse teachers made use of, and drew testimony from the Koran, it was only to cover their advances in their attacks on the two great parties into which the Mohammedan world was divided; in the same manner as they made use of the New Testament to shake the faith of the Christians they were desirous of bringing over to their sect. In the year Hakem openly countenanced the belief in his divinity, he granted universal toleration to all religious sects. The skill with which he encouraged all to believe in his divinity is eminently characteristic. Here is an extract from one of his ordinances:—

“Relieve your minds from all fear; drive away terror and alarm; know that the Emir of the Faithful has placed you in a situation where you can exercise perfect freedom of opinion, disembarassed of the trouble of maintaining secrecy; so that henceforward, each of you may act sincerely and conformably to his belief, having no pretext or obstacle in your path for not conforming to the principles to which you are attached, and to the religion which you have adopted. The Emir of the Faithful has overthrown all excuses on the part of every individual in granting all the objects of their wishes. He stimulates each person to declare his belief publicly, without fearing that any one shall molest him, being sheltered under a protection which guarantees the most perfect security. Let him who is present at the reading of this ordinance inform him who is absent that the knowledge of the law may reach all, and become a subject for meditation, and that its wisdom may subsist for ever.”

Then follows the commentary on this passage:—

“Meditate deeply on these words, O! ye to whom I address myself; and understand their full import. When he says, ‘he stimulates each person to declare his belief publicly,’ what do you suppose that expression signifies? Is it that he stimulates each person to make a public profession of truth and justice; or to make a profession of lying and folly? He adds, that the knowledge of

this law may reach all, and that its wisdom may subsist far ever.' What do you think he means by these words? Is it not to make known and give publicity to his wishes? Or does all the passage signify nothing? God forbid one should so think of him! When he says, 'that the wisdom of this decree may last for ever,' do you imagine that by this wisdom subsisting is intended the manifestation of his commandment (Hamze), or a public profession of attachment for Abou-Becz or Omar? When he states, that each of you may act sincerely and agreeably to his belief, leaving no pretext or obstacle in your path, for not conforming to the principles to which you are attached, and to the religion which you have adopted, what does he ordain by that? Is it not to make an open and public profession of Unitarianism, or of the doctrines of Polytheism?

"Observe again this passage. The Emir of the Faithful has overthrown all excuses on the part of every individual in granting to all the object of their wishes. Can you suppose that he means by this that he has overthrown all excuses, and according to each man what he wishes to deceive and lead him into error by this order which he has given, or is all this nothing but rhodomontade? You must admit either one or the other of these last interpretations, or you must hold by the only good and true version. May God soften the unteachable heart and straiten the days of the unfaithful!"

It appears that, for some time even after the disappearance of Hakem, the Druses exercised their religion without constraint, and were even active in gaining proselytes. They did not, however, enjoy long security. Hamze himself was obliged to flee from Cairo and conceal himself. Subsequently, in the reign of Hakem's son Ali or Daher, the Unitarians were much persecuted. Moktana Bohaadeen, the chief apostle of Hamze and who is the principal compiler of the Druse writings, treats of this distinctly in a letter entitled "Reprimands and Reproaches." Indeed, the time of the absence of Hakem is emphatically called "the time of trial." At first, Hamze taught his disciples to believe that this absence would be short—not exceeding seven years. He says:—

"Brethren, be ye ever ready: do not look upon your present condition as an evil: on the contrary, it is a great good. Yet a little while and ye shall see the wives of your enemies made widows, and they themselves overwhelmed with disgrace and misfortune, stripped of their goods and territories, and delivered over into the hands of the Lord. He will reward them according to their evil deeds, and according to the wrong they have done you. As for you, ye will be named kings and princes: ye will be styled shereeffs or nobles."

Hakem was to appear in Egypt with great power and might to perform all this; but, when the seven years had passed, and

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Hakem did *not* appear, the Druse writers did not like to hazard naming any future fixed period for his return. On the contrary, Moktana Bohaadeen in his writings shows that the Druses were led to believe that the ultimate triumph of their religion would be at the day of resurrection. Their belief is that they will share the kingdom with him at the second advent. This would show that Moktana Bohaadeen drew largely from the inspired writings; and some believe that he was an apostate Christian. Indeed, it is remarkable that at the present day the Druse Ockals are very generally acquainted with the four Gospels, and most of them declare that, were they induced to change their religion, it would be for that of the New Testament.

The future triumphant and temporal reign of Hakem is thus described:—

“Watch, for the hour is at hand when the cry of the last judgment and the resurrection shall be heard—when the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall come forth living from their graves. Brother saints, profit by the time which is left, by the delay which is accorded you, ere the books be closed and the seals be set. In that great and terrible day, the winds of death and desolation shall blow upon the enemies of the Lord. Tempests and earthquakes shall overturn them. In that day the veil shall be removed which conceals Hamze, and all mankind shall be confounded by the manifestations of the emblems contained in the sacred books, which he explained at the period of his first coming: they shall seek for refuge and shall not find it. When the sharp and glittering sword shall be drawn from its scabbard—when the earth on every side shall throw out sparks and flames, and dark clouds shall envelop the heavens as sackcloth—then the partisans of defection and apostacy shall be affrighted at the noise of the sword falling on them like thunder—at the fall and destruction of the focus of incredulity—I mean of Mecca and all its inhabitants.

“Then, in that moment, the unbelievers will be cast off in every region of the earth, the hour fixed by the divine decrees for their ruin will have arrived, the powers of this vile and abject world will be destroyed. The darkness of ignorance will be dissipated, disclosing the glorious Aurora of truth and righteousness. The sun of religion and the full moon of perfection will mount the horizon, and justice will stand forth, uncovered and revealed by the apparition of the Kaim and the Director (Hamze), who will arise to distribute retribution to the souls and spirits which confess the unity, exempt from every attribute of the sovereign majesty of the Lord God, true and holy, Hakem.”

The Druses believe that Hakem will re-appear to commence his triumphant career in China. Hence, in the late war between England and China, they were constant in their en-

quiries respecting that country, and especially in regard to the religion of the Chinese. This belief is founded on a letter entitled "Warning and Instruction," wherein Moktana says :—

"Whither will ye flee, rebels and prevaricators, when the glittering and well-tempered blade shall flash in the East, when he who was veiled and hidden shall appear to purify the earth, to change laws, to transfer empires, and to exterminate false religions? Ah! what vengeance he will execute in the places where he once bestowed great benefits. Then the Director, the Kaine (Hamze), will strike the impious with the edge of the sword."

The Druses are taught to believe that God has appeared in the human form nine different times in as many different names. Indeed, their idea is that the Lord's humanity is coeval with his Deity; and, though for a time it was *clothed upon* with the flesh, its incomprehensible and ineffable essence remained ever the same. Thus, if a Druse Ockal be asked whether he believes that God became flesh, he repudiates the idea as impious and absurd. In his mind, indeed, he draws this nice distinction—that God did not *become* flesh, but *assumed the veil of the flesh*, in the same way as a man putting on a robe does not become the robe. Here is an illustration from one of their books, in which Ismael, the second minister, thus expresses himself :—

"Praise be to him who is external from all eternity—who has manifested himself, without its being possible to fit any limits to the antiquity of his existence, or to attribute to him any beginning. He is worthy of all praise and glory, and far above all ideas which we can form of him. He drew near unto us by taking upon him our form and fashion. He walked amongst us, acting as we act, in order that our understandings might comprehend him. But we must not say that this human figure which he assumed was himself, for this would be making him subject to the limits of space. He is far too exalted in glory for that, and infinitely superior to such an idea. We can only say that he is that figure, inasmuch as he concealed himself under that semblance in order that he might approach unto, and become familiar with us, but without attributing to him either limits, or resemblance, or any relations of conformity. It is the same with regard to that figure as of a misty vapour on the surface of the earth, which sometimes has the appearance of water, but when one approaches it, it is found to be nothing. In like manner, when you perceive this figure, with the eyes of the body, you take it to be a figure like your own; but when you approach it with the eye of faith, you no longer find a figure, but the Deity, in it. This exterior figure which we have seen may be compared to that which happens when a man looks at himself in a mirror. He sees a figure resembling his own, without however being able to touch it, to understand how it exists, or

define what it is. If he seeks to touch it, he touches but the shadow of his own figure ; if he alters the position of his figure that also appears to change. If, on the contrary, anything affects his sight, he no longer beholds his figure aright. In the same way, those who regard the human figure of the Lord see it differently according to their degree of understanding, and of the knowledge they have of the truth."

Much further extract might be given relative to this interesting subject, but we must refer our readers to the work itself, and proceed to notice other tenets in the Druse religion.

It is not sufficient (says Colonel Churchill), in order to be a good Unitarian, to know and to confess the dogma of the unity of God, that of his manifestation under the human figure, known as Hakem, and to recognise in him a real and sensible existence, abstracted of every attribute ; it is necessary also to know the ministers of the religion, and to yield the respect and obedience due to the rank which they occupy :—

"If any one amongst you should say (writes Hamze), I have confessed the unity of our Lord, I never cease to make profession of it, and I have no need of a Mediator, the path of truth is closed to such a woman. Have you not heard in your meetings, in the meetings of wisdom, what is said of a candle which, in its complete state, represents the Unitarian religion ; but, when the different parts which compose it are separated, it no longer forms a perfect candle. One may call the wax, the wick, the flame, the candlestick, by their different names, but one can no longer employ the word *candle* : on the contrary, when all these parts are united, then a complete candle is formed. Learn, Society of female Unitarians, why this allegory has been proposed to you. It is to teach you that you cannot possess the knowledge of the religion of the unity but in knowing all the ministers of religion."

These ministers of religion, according to the Druse writings, are five in number ; and they may be considered as purely spiritual beings, or as united to a soul and body, and becoming actual personages :—

"The first of all these ministers—the only one whose creature is the immediate work of the Divinity—is the *Universal Intelligence*. He contains in himself all the dogmas and all the truths of religion, which he holds direct from the Divinity. All those truths which the other ministers and believers possess are but emanations from the *Intelligence*—impressions produced by his action and influence.

"The second minister is called the *Universal Soul*. The soul proceeds from the *Intelligence* by a sort of emanation. She holds the rank of a female in relation to the *Intelligence*, but the rank of male with respect to the inferior ministers. The other ministers hold their existence from her by the prolific operation of the *In-*

telligence. Inferior alone to the *Intelligence*, she is far elevated above all other created beings.

"The third minister is the *Word* produced from the *Soul* by the *Intelligence*.

"The fourth minister is the *Preceding* produced out of the *Word* by the operation of the *Soul*.

"The fifth minister is the *Following* produced by the *Preceding*, and holding from him all his powers, for the production of the inferior ministers."

These five form the hierarchy of the superior ministers in the Druse religion. In the time of Hakem they were impersonated in the following individuals, the same as the divinity was impersonated in Hakem:—

The *Intelligence*, Hamze.

The *Soul*, Ismael, son of Mohammed Teememi.

The *Word*, Mohammed, son of Waheb.

The *Preceding*, Salama, son of Abd-al-Wahab.

The *Following*, Ali, son of Ahmed, surnamed Bohaedeem, who was the principal of the Druse theological writers after Hamze.

The figurative expressions under which the prime ministers are designated in the Druse books are very numerous. They are called "the Suns of Righteousness," the "Gates of Wisdom," the Fountains of Living Waters," the "Vessels of Salvation," the "Doors of Truth," the "Stars of the Resurrection," &c. Indeed, no term is spared to exalt their excellence and grandeur. Hamze himself is called the "Sun of Suns." All these ministers are believed to be now standing as archangels in the presence of the Lord, waiting to be manifested and to attend him in his second glorious advent to judge the world.

The properties and functions of these ministers will be further illustrated in the following extract from the true revelation in which Hamze treats of the creation of man:—

"Sectarians of the vain doctrines of the Natells—i. e., the prophets—and those who follow the teaching of external laws and observances, and the deceitful illusions of polytheism, maintain that the Creator, who is worthy of all praise, created Adam out of the dust of the earth. They quote in proof of this assertion the Koran and the Pentateuch. But that is an account which is wholly unreasonable and inadmissible.....God forbid that the Creator, who is worthy of all praise and adoration, should have formed his vicar and elect out of the dust of the earth! But even supposing that we adopt this version, and admit that the Creator formed man out of an earthly substance, stones are purer than earth, water is purer than earth, because it cleans everything, and cannot itself be

cleansed; and, if we judge according to probabilities, it seems much more likely that God would have formed his elect out of the most precious substances, such as diamonds, jacinths, and emeralds. Since, therefore, earth is only alluded to, it must be clear that there must be something allegorical in this account of the formation of man, far different from what is known or understood. There are three Adams—Adam Alsafa, Adam the Rebellious, and Adam the Forgetful With regard to the second Adam, of whom it is said in the Koran that he revolted against his master, it is Enoch the Hodja of Adam Alsafa—(i.e., the Universal Intelligence); and with regard to Adam, of whom it is said that he forgot, and that God found not constancy in him, it is Seth. Shatneel (another name for Adam Alsafa) selected both one and the other to replace himself in the ministry of preaching. Each bore the surname of Adam, because he established them both as fathers of the Unitarians, and Imams of those who were under them. It was he who placed them in the garden. Enoch held the rank of male and Seth of female. Adam (the Intelligence) then gave his commands to Enoch and Seth with his own mouth, and took from both of them an oath that they would adore no other God but the Lord God, Most High, the one Sovereign and all-wise Creator; that they would ever be obedient to Shatneel the *Intelligence*, who was the Mediator between them and Albar; for at that time our Lord—may his peace and mercy rest upon us—appeared externally in his humanity, and in his relations with man under the figure and name of Albar. Our Lord Albar then said to Enoch, ‘Dwell in and inhabit the garden, you and your wife Seth—that is, be faithful to the ministry I have confided to you; for the garden means the preaching of the Unitarian doctrine, and eat of all the fruit thereof freely—that is, enjoy the pre-eminence over all things. But approach not the tree of knowledge of good and evil, lest you should fall and become sinners—that is, do not aspire to the excellence and perfection of Shatneel, for by so doing you will break your oath. But Satan made them go out of the garden by seducing them from their obedience, and they lost the rank which they held near Shatneel. Satan is not Elbees—(that is, the devil)—but a madhoom, who was commissioned by Elbees, who hated Shatneel.

“Satan found Enoch and fell before him and worshipped him. Enoch said to him, ‘Hast thou repented of thine impiety, and of the revolt against the Imam, and abandoned thy relations with Elbees and his evil ones.’ Satan replied, ‘I swear by thee and by Albar that I have only come to give you and Seth, both of you, a piece of good advice; and that on account of the zeal and interest I take in you, and of the great injustice which you are suffering at the hands of Shatneel. I have heard the Lord Albar say that the Imamatus belongs of right to Enoch, and that Seth ought to be his vicar in the ministry of preaching.’ Enoch shrunk with astonishment, asked Satan if what he said was really true, who swore that it was nothing but the truth, and that he was acting in the

most perfect sincerity. The appetite of his passion got the ascendancy, and Enoch was seduced to his fall. Seth also forgot the oath which she had taken. They both ate of the tree by their revolt against Adam Alsafa. Enoch aspired to a rank to which he had no right, and began to teach strange doctrines. But afterwards the eyes of both were opened, and they saw their nakedness, which means the vain doctrine of legal observance, of which Enoch and Seth were the authors.

"Then they began to make themselves aprons of the leaves of the garden—that is, when they began to perceive the trap which had been laid for them, they endeavoured to hide their external doctrines amongst the Unitarians. But all was no use to them. It was loudly proclaimed amongst the believers, Enoch has revolted against Adam his Imam. Satan has seduced him, and both Enoch and Seth were driven from the garden—that is, degraded from a rank which they held. They wept and repented of their sin for a long time, until at length Shatneel had compassion on them, stood as Mediator between them and Albar, interceding on their behalf. In the end they were restored to their rank and admitted into favour."

Every reader of Scripture must perceive that all this is but a parody of the creation and fall of man as taught in the Bible. We dwell not on the impotency of the parody, for that must be plain to every intelligent Christian. At the same time there is a subtlety in the Druse writings which show that their authors, whoever they might be, were not only acquainted with the sacred Scriptures, but were men of considerable skill and talent. Their acquaintance with Scripture is everywhere observable in their writings. Thus, in the writings of Bohaedeem, which endeavours to prove that Hamze and the Messiah are one and the same, there are whole sentences in the very words of Scripture. In a letter addressed to the Emperor Constantine VIII. the following observations occur:—

"Jesus answered and said to the Jews, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will build it up. Then said the Jews, Forty and-six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days? But he spoke of the temple of his body. Then his disciples remembered that he had said this unto them, and they believed the Scriptures and the word which Jesus had said. These three days of the absence of the Messiah, signify, firstly, the epoch of the preaching of the word, preparing men's mind for the reception of the Unitarian doctrine, and instructing them that the Creator would again manifest himself in the likeness of man. Secondly, the epoch of the mission of the Paraclete, which is Mohammed. Thirdly, the epoch of the preaching of the Mehdi, who called on men to abandon the literal sense of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Koran; and to attach themselves to the allegorical and

spiritual meaning, so as, by this means, to advance a degree nearer to the pure doctrine of the Unitarian religion. To these three days succeeds the last day—that is, the day of the apparition of the Messiah or Hamze; that the last day is but the perfection and completion of the first day is clear from these words:—‘His brethren, therefore, said to him, Depart hence and go into Judea, that thy disciples also may see thy works that thou doest. For there is no man that doeth anything in secret. If thou doest these things, show thyself to the world; for neither did his brethren believe on him.’ Then Jesus said unto them, ‘My time is not yet come, but your time is always ready,’ intending thereby, to say, that his day was not yet accomplished; but that it would be when, as he said, he should come again. By these words ‘Your time is always ready,’ must be understood that the time of those who know not the doctrine of the Unitarian religion is always ready. The last day is that in which the Messiah will be revealed with great power, as he said to the Jews—‘I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me. And this is the will of Him who sent me, that of all which he hath given me, I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day. And this is the will of Him that sent me, that every one that seeth the Son and believeth in him may have everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day.’ These are the promises which the Lord, the Messiah, made to those who had a pure faith. Already has he accomplished his promise in showing himself to the disciples of the Unitarian religion, whom he sent forth on the last day.”

Bohaadeen proceeds to prove that all the events which Jesus Christ predicted to his apostles had been accomplished in their days; and that Hamze is the Messiah of the Christians in his second advent. In order to prove this, he adduces several passages of Scripture; but we must refer the reader to the volumes for illustrations, and for further information on the subject of the Druse religion. Like the founders of most religions, he wrought upon that most ready and pliant of all, the springs of action which agitate the human breast—the spirit of hope. Incorporating into his doctrines that belief which had given such force to consistency, and triumphant endurance to Christianity, he presented his followers with the principles of a Messiah, who, at some future indefinite period, would return to earth to judge the world, and render the Unitarian religion dominant. They were to be a chosen and peculiar people—the elect of the Lord and the favoured depositaries of the only true religion. Persecution was to be a test of their faith—constancy their passport to a rich reward. This is the tendency of all his later writings, and, like all his other lucubrations, were

manifestly drawn from the divine source of the Christian religion.

The ablest promoter of the Druse religion was Moktana Bo-haadeen. He was the guardian of its interests—the distributor of its dioceses and churches. To have confided such principles of religion as these, contained in the system of Hamze, to the commonality, would, indeed, have endangered their existence by exposing them to the casual avowal of indiscreet adherents. This, in truth, was seen during the first quarter of a century after their promulgation. Error and schism soon made breaches in the original purity of their moral and religious tenets, by introducing and sanctioning practices which would have brought execration on the whole sect. In order to obviate this, all preaching was abandoned—converts were not only unsought, but rejected—the door of salvation was held to be closed for ever. The faithful followers of Hamze were henceforward to be distinguished, not by any attempt to bring back their erring brethren to obedience—not by any outward signs of adherence to the better and the purer faith—but by the impenetrable secrecy with which they guarded the flame of religious hope and consolation which warmed their hearts and actuated their conduct. The Druse religion became a sacred inheritance. But the guardianship of doctrines so sublime and exalted, that it were profanation to commit them to the commonality, demanded qualities commensurate with their value and importance. It required even more than a nominal profession of Unitarianism to be admitted to a knowledge of the inappreciable mysteries. Hence the order of Ockals.

The Druse Ockals may be considered the monks of the Druse religion. Here is an extract relative to these singular religionists :—

“Exemplary moral conduct, and undeviating adherence to the rigid principles of self-denial which are imposed upon his order, are the Ockal's only passport to superior regard and consideration. With such elements of control and organization continually exerting their influence over their whole body, it is not surprising, that the social and political condition of the Druses should present a compactness and unity, which made them both important and formidable. Some devote themselves to celibacy, in order the more effectually to free themselves from cares and passions which might interfere with the practice of their self-imposed duties; without, however, withdrawing themselves from social intercourse; others who aspire to a more complete and perfect exercise of that abstraction of thought and feeling—that entire and absorbing appreciation of the divine unity, and of the transcendent excellence of his favoured minister, which is the peculiar privilege and the higher aim

of a zealous and enthusiastic Unitarian—retire to the Holowes, or places set apart for worship, and pass their entire lives in contemplative devotion—a coarse straw mat their bed, a stone their pillow, a coarse woollen garb bound round their waist by a girdle of leather their attire, and a morsel of thin dry bread twice a day. All classes of the Druse invariably kiss the hands of such of the Ockals as distinguish themselves by a superior degree of moral and religious conduct—a mark of respect which they accept with the greatest diffidence and unwillingness, invariably returning the salute even to the hand of the lowest peasant; displaying in this trivial circumstance a spirit of humility, strongly contrasting with the haughty demeanour of the Christian priest, who, insolently pretending to exercise a spiritual dominion over his followers, receives a similar homage with a pride and self-complacency which clearly betoken that he looks upon such an act of subservience as a right and a mark of his superiority.”

The form of worship adopted by the Ockals is a mystery. Colonel Churchill says:—

“The Holowes are for the most part built on the tops of the highest eminences, commanding a noble and extensive view of the country. A few, however, are situate in the midst of the villages. Every Thursday evening the Ockals assemble in their respective Holowes for the purpose of reading in their sacred books. Should a stranger and even a European express a desire to be present, no objection is made, and admittance is granted. On such occasions, however, nothing appears but the Koran, which is read aloud with every mark of respect and attention, in order that their visitor may go away with the impression that they are good Mussulmen; so that, as far as regards any anticipated insight into their real religion, nothing can possibly be gained to a looker-on by such inquisitiveness. At the commencement of the evening, earthenware saucers filled with figs, raisins, sugar-plums, &c., are ranged on the floor all round the room for the refreshment of those present. The Druses, both Ockals and the uninitiated, lounge about the door, talk over the events of the day, and pass to and fro indiscriminately. Suddenly the doors are closed and the latter disappear. The precautions taken by a body of Freemasons are not greater than those now used. Sentries are placed in the immediate neighbourhood to prevent the possibility of any one intruding on the privacy of the Ockals.”

The order of Ockals is open to all the Druses of both sexes. When a Druse wishes to become an Ockal, he intimates his wish to some of the fraternity, and the proposition is laid before the brethren in a meeting. If the candidate is elected, a probationary term of twelve months is prescribed to him, during which period his behaviour is narrowly watched by the Ockals; and if at the end of the year he has given clear proofs of sincerity and honesty of purpose, he is admitted to the Holowe, and

is present during the earlier part of the evening's reading. In the second year he assumes the white turban—emblem of the purity of his faith—and by degrees, according to his zeal and general deportment, is allowed to listen to the whole doctrine of the Unitarian religion, and becomes a participator in the hopes and promises which appertain to all true believers in the unity of the Lord, and the exalted and incomparable excellency of the ministers.

The number of Ockals in Mount Lebanon is supposed by Colonel Churchill to be about 4,000 out of a population of upwards of 25,000. The esteem and veneration in which they are held is universal, and at the funeral of an Ockal is very marked :—

“ The Druses of both sexes and of all ages attend the obsequies. All the honours tendered at the burial of the highest Sheiks are proffered to the body of the deceased ; and the more lowly his station in life, and the poorer his condition, the more marked are the expressions of regret paid to his memory ; amounting, in many cases, to superstitious reverence. Stories are got up and circulated of peculiar tokens which had been vouchsafed to him of the divine favour, and anecdotes of the purity of his life, and the rigid strictness of his habits of self-denial, pass with eagerness from mouth to mouth. At a funeral of an Ockal in the village of Abeigh, a spot which in the eyes of the Druses is held to be almost sacred, the crowd were astonished and enraptured at a report suddenly spread about that a large serpent had been seen rapidly approaching the coffin in which the deceased lay exposed, and on reaching his head had suddenly expired. This signal proof of the odour of sanctity which environed the remains of this venerable Ockal awakened a powerful and contagious spirit of religious enthusiasm : a rush was made to the body, and in a few minutes the graveclothes were nearly torn and scattered to shreds, while the hairs of his face and beard were either cut or plucked out in the general scramble for some relic, however small, of the departed saint ; to be taken home by each fortunate possessor, in the belief and hopes of its being a means of drawing down blessings from above on the house in which it might be deposited.”

A few extracts, illustrating the manners and customs of the Druses, must close our notice of these interesting volumes. Here is a picture of the marriage of a Druse Sheik :—

“ When a Druse Sheik wishes to marry, he sends a messenger to the father of the object of his choice, and demands his consent. If the father is agreeable to the proposed match, he informs his daughter, who at once entrusts her interests to his paternal care and judgment ; but, if her feelings should be averse, they are always taken into consideration, and she is never given away against her inclination. Such a circumstance rarely, if ever occurs, for the

forms of society in the East preclude the possibility of her having had her affections particularly engaged. And should any objection arise on her part, it has been caused by the insinuations of those around her, not by her own predilections, and is consequently easily removed by her father's advice and influence. Upon his proposals being accepted, the suitor sends his affianced presents of clothes and jewellery, which remain as a pledge of his fidelity to his engagement. On the day fixed for the marriage some Ockalls, and a few of the bridegroom's relatives, go to the bride's residence, where a contract is drawn up and signed by the chief Ockal, and other witnesses, to the effect that the bridegroom agrees to give his bride a certain sum of money, varying from ten to fifteen pounds; which paper remains in the hands of her father, and the payment of which is only required in the case of divorce. Previous to reading out this contract, some passages of the Koran are connected, to give it a kind of religious sanction, according to the usages of Mussulmen, to which the Druses outwardly conform. The bride then mounts on horseback, and, attended by a long train of male and female attendants, amongst whom are some of her own immediate relations, proceeds to the residence of her future husband.

"The house of the latter has been for a week previously the scene of continued festivities. As soon as the bride is known to be approaching, the entire body of tenants and dependants of the bridegroom's family advance to meet her and her party, at about half-an-hour's distance from the feudal abode. Both parties being liberally supplied with blank cartridge, a mock fight ensues. Extending in skirmishing order, the Druses now display all the tactics of guerilla warfare, both in attack and defence. Rails, trees, and eminences are successively secured and abandoned, until the bridegroom's party is gradually driven back to his village, which is vigorously defended. At length, however, amidst shouts of exultation, and a deafening discharge of musketry, the bride forces her way up to the Meedan, and is borne along pell-mell into the harem."

It must not be supposed that a Druse, however, keeps a harem. A plurality of wives, which is permitted by the Koran, is wholly contrary to the morality of the Druses. Nor when a woman is divorced can she, under any circumstances, be restored to her husband. The process of divorce is very simple:—

"When a Unitarian marries he is obliged to esteem his wife in all respects as on an equality with himself. If circumstances oblige them to separate, distinction is made as to which of the two is to blame. Should the woman have been deficient in respect and obedience to her husband, and should his conduct towards her have been just and proper, and, nevertheless she insists on separating, he keeps the half of whatever his wife possesses in her own right, whether clothes, jewels, or property. If, on the contrary,

the husband has treated her ill, or if he divorces her out of caprice, she retains on separating all that belongs to her whatever, whether acquired from her husband, or brought with her from her father's house. A Druse, when he wishes to divorce his wife, has merely to say, 'You had better go back to your father;' or should the woman wish to leave her husband, she says, 'I wish to go back to my father;' and if her husband says, 'Very well, go,' the divorce in either case holds good, and the separation is irrevocable. Both parties are free to remarry."

The Druse ladies, it is pleasing to find, are emancipated from the general ignorance which prevails in the East. They are all taught to read and write, and appear generally to be respected and admired by their husbands. For the most part they are of fair complexions, with dark hair and eyes, their figure being rather above the average standard of the female height, and well proportioned.

Colonel Churchill dwells at great length on the warlike character of the Druses. Here is a passage referring to their character as soldiers :—

"On going to war the banner of the clan is brought forward with much pomp, and entrusted to the keeping of a select band renowned for their bravery, and commanded by a veteran called the *Baraidar*. The colours of these standards are various, red and green being the most in use. The Druses have no military music whatever. Their war songs, which are most inspiring, are quite sufficient, when they choose to indulge in them, to excite their enthusiasm. In general, however, they advance to battle in the most perfect silence, and with the air of men entrusted with sacred duty. Regularly every day, at about sunset, the men receive their pay in money of five piastres a-head, either from funds supplied to the Sheik out of the Emir's treasury, or out of the Sheik's private funds, in which latter case he is amply reimbursed by the Emir after he returned home. The absurd encumbrance of a knapsack is, of course, wholly unknown to these mountaineers. With a musket and good supply of powder and ball, a few barley scones, and some cheese and olives in their wallets, they will undertake the most distant marches, trusting to such provision as they may pick up without complaining of hunger and fatigue—wear their linen and clothes unchanged for weeks together—sleep out in the open air—fight with the greatest bravery and perseverance, and return to their villages not one whit the worse for their exposure."

Violent conflicts have taken place between the Druse and the Maronite dwellers in Lebanon, a history of which, as before stated, is given by Colonel Churchill in his pages. These wars have sometimes arisen from the most trivial causes. Thus, in the summer of 1841, a quarrel between a Druse and

a Maronite about the shooting of a partridge brought on a violent conflict between the two sects. Many were slain, and, had not her Majesty's Consul-General, Colonel Rose, interfered, the conflict would have been still more dreadful. Peace was restored by him, but in 1845 war again broke out between the two sects which led to most disastrous results.

But, warlike as the Druses are, and firm in their struggles with the Maronites, they possess some of the noblest traits of humanity:—

“Strangers of all descriptions are invariably treated by the Druse Sheiks with the greatest hospitality. Should persons in distress arrive, or wandering minstrels, as is often the case, a collection of money is made for them. Each Sheik is taxed according to his known means, and the Kahwagi, or coffee-maker, goes round and collects the respective contributions, which are instantly paid. As an asylum for fugitives or persons seeking concealment the abode of a Druse Sheikh is inviolable. Nothing can induce him to give up the individual to whom he has extended his shelter and protection, or to give the slightest intimation as to his locality; and he will submit to any personal risk or loss rather than belie the trust and confidence placed in him.”

Here we must pause and take leave of these interesting volumes. The various extracts we have culled from their pages will show the variety of their information; but the richness of their contents can only be obtained from the volumes themselves. The work is certainly one of the most interesting and important which has issued from the modern press. To an enlightened and Christian public it must be welcome, as Lebanon is a spot to which the minds of Christians often revert in their contemplation on divine things. Although they may not be induced to pray, as Moses did, “Let me see that goodly mountain and Lebanon,” yet it must ever be a spot dear to the hearts of Christians. Its glory has departed, but in its debasement it is glorious and exalted above all lands.

- ART. V.—1. *The Church of Rome : her Present Moral Theology, Scriptural Instruction, and Canon Law.* London: J. F. Shaw.
2. *Fifth Annual Report of the Commissioners for Administering the Laws for the Administration of the Poor in Ireland, with Appendices.* Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office. 1852.
3. *Report of the Committee of Irish Church Missions, Read at the Annual Meeting, April 29th, 1853.* London: Hatchards; Seeleys; and Nisbet.
4. *The Banner of the Truth in Ireland. Monthly Information of Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics.* London: Seeleys; and Nisbet.
5. *Irish Popular Superstitions.* By W. R. WILDE. Dublin: M'Glashan.
6. *History of the Irish Church and Reformation.* By J. G. M'WALTER. London: Seeleys; Dublin: Herbert.

"THE Irish difficulty" has become a phrase of no insignificant notoriety. The seeming inexplicableness of its character has given it a formidable name, to which in reality it had even never had any right to aspire. Wearing this unmerited garb, it has presented itself as a parliamentary phantom perplexing the wits of statesmen, and as a convenient pretext for the ingenuity of pseudo patriots. Between the confusing exertions of both, its solution grew daily more distant and savoured of the impracticable. Who has not witnessed measure after measure vanish every session and leave the evil rather aggravated than ameliorated? But not every proposed measure has been tried? True! But all the accepted political nostrums have failed to accomplish their object. They are set aside as unsuccessful, without thereby smoothing a path to favour for those not tested. True! And hence, no doubt, a certain obscure dignity attaches to the various rejected propositions which have been merely entertained *pro forma*, that has been already risked and lost by those tried and found wanting. The demerit of failure is absent in the one, because the hazard has not been taken as in the other. But this favourable interposition only shapes a shelter for the exponent of the untested remedy from which he fulminates his denunciations of all other than his own prescriptions. Thus, for instance, it was with O'Connell. He, one time, demanded as the panacea for every Irish evil, as *the* solution of "the difficulty," EMAN-

CIPATION. Expediency wrested the desired boon from cautious hands, but the concession provoked was no sooner had than abused. "The difficulty," instead of justifying the bold predictions of the emancipationists, more than ever enlarged. Repeal soon became the indispensable salve. Without it, said the patriots, Ireland must be wretched: with that act of union abolished she would be, as she was to have been when emancipated, peaceful and prosperous. But the remedy was unapplied, and the problem left to be resolved by other means. What have resulted from these other plans? Nothing, we all know, to alleviate Irish misery. Some mysterious combination has dissected and destroyed the utility of every effort undertaken towards the prosperity of Ireland. In the heart of that country had been deposited a poison which defrauded it of the rewards that cluster around a nation free from such pernicious influence. In vain, therefore, did our rulers exercise means which aimed not at the radical mischief. But we have grown at length alike weary of tentative legislation and of patriotic agitation. The one has exhausted public confidence—the other lost its exciting charm. The extravagant visionary theories of the one, and the severe casuistry and contrivance of the other, have not grappled with the true disease—consequently, no cure has been effected. So long, therefore, as this responsible maladministration continued—so long as the power to annihilate the difficulty was completely vested in it—so long no one need entertain hopes of witnessing a termination of the Irish grievance. But, fortunately, Providence interferes and distinctly enough points out the deception which has cumbered the land, leaving, no more, doubt as to the nature of the evil or the safest mode of treating it.

If the reader anticipate the definition of this evil, which experience proclaims, it is more than Parliament has yet done, or patriot will yet do. *Sed magna est veritas et pravelebit.* He must, indeed, be obdurately prejudiced who, *candidly* informing himself on Ireland's religious and political conditions, past and present, does not arrive at this conclusion—the country is degraded and destitute, because Romanism has flourished in it. To some, such an inference may seem startling, and to others simply ridiculous. But, we maintain, patient investigation will divest it of any appearance of improbability—will leave it a disagreeable fact. That it is an unpleasant fact does not, in the least, militate against its truth nor tend to silence our proclamation of it. Herein, then, are generated all the ills of Ireland. She has been subject to Romish rule—has been divided in her allegiance fatally in-

fluenced by a combination of misguiding principles. Her noxious association with Romanism, and not her national incapacity—the restraints of that system, and not any intrinsic inaptitude in her own character—the grand but terrible imposition of a finely-concerted superstition, and not national inertness or want of intelligence, have been the primary and positive foundation, the prop and propeller, of “the Irish difficulty.”

We are here reminded of a declaration used by a friend who was practically intimate with the workings and effect of the Papal system.* “Wherever (said he) Romanism is dominant, superstition is supreme: wherever superstition, ignorance and poverty.” Here is a plain and indisputable connection between cause and effect. Who can deny its applicability to Ireland? There Romanism has had sway, and there alas! superstition and her handmaids, ignorance and poverty. But no country in Europe will fail to supply its contingent sustenance of this assertion. Spain is exclusively Romanist, and often glories in paroxysms of Papal piety; and what are the fruits of her subjugation? Let us name them not. Italy is favoured by proximity to the ruling head of the Papal system, and passively crawls beneath his iron dominion. Yet Italy burns with desire to burst the galling bondage, and expects nothing but wretchedness until free from Papal trammels. Thus, every quarter of the globe where God permits that system existence is smitten with the *inevitable* consequences. Of all countries upon which it has been inflicted, none can more aptly exemplify this *inevitableness* than Ireland. The gorgeous magnificence, the pious panoply which adorns the external worship of Rome, was peculiarly adapted to enlist the admiration and inspire the awe of a people such as the Irish—so framed in taste and disposition to admire and respect it. But this great attractiveness was secondary to the attachment which skilful emissaries, by artful contrivances, could secure for the general formularies of such a pompous human system as the Papal, and with such an impressible simple people as the aboriginal Irish. Nothing could be better constructed for mere human or for enthusiastic sympathies, and those of the Irish were extra-imaginative and warm. Therefore, when Papal zeal obtained access to the religiously inclined and confiding Irish, in the train and under the protection of Henry II., its captivating pretensions made sad havoc with the plain followers of a purer

* The late Very Rev. Dr. Mapie, some time a canon in Rome, and colleague to Cardinal Wiseman.

creed. Had not these circumstances, however, aided in the propagation of Romanism, it is not easy to say how much smaller a measure of success it might ultimately have attained. But the time *was* favourable and the terms tempting. Romanism spread, and in proportion extended disaffection and destitution. To recount that country's continual battle with woe and misery, since then, would be to write her history. Prominent in the narration, however, would stand the identical "difficulty" we have adverted to—always, as now, a candidate for solution. We would trace in every page the disasters emanating from exempting or overlooking the *true* difficulty, or only meeting it indecisively. Always, as now, Romanism was regarded as an innocuous and withal a parental system, by no means *per se* entailing sloth or slatternliness, begetting superstition or engendering division. No one thought true peace or national prosperity incompatible with the decisions or designs of Rome. Not even could the belligerent and selfish obtrusion of Pope after Pope persuade the Irish that *his* holiness's interests excluded any consideration of "*his* children's," only so far as both were inseparable. All knew the most fatally operating national evil to be internal discord; but few had courage to ascribe to Romanism the uninterrupted Irish feuds, great or petty, which then, as since, have worried that land. Abated only in physical vigour, these feuds have been handed down to our own day, but as mere animosities. When we examine their nature we are at no loss for their origin; and their origin harbours one huge cause of Irish misery, of which the lineal heir is national strife.

Disunion has defeated and marred the most promising schemes for bettering the condition of Ireland. Indeed, division and party bickering is about the most baneful scourge that has tormented the country. Whence is it? Some may reply—it is owing to national jealousy or some such thing. But no: the dislike is not for an Englishman, or any foreigner resident or visitant, but for a Protestant. It is not national—it is religious. If an Irishman hate a Saxon, it is because he identifies the detested creed with the stranger. Religion arbitrarily controls his preference for everything and everybody—and that the religion of Rome. The Irish peasant of a few years ago would shudder with horror upon seeing a Protestant.* Though his kindly heart may recoil at cruelty, it could mete

* This strictly applies to those residing in the remotest districts—such as Dingle (now all Protestant) in the south, and Connemara in the west (now also Protestant).

torture to heretics: though hospitality may characterise his every other act, the term "heretic" would disable him to exercise it in some cases: though love for his neighbour may direct his general conduct, he could not suppress hatred for heretics. The old Irish Protestant Doganus was not more resolute in marking his hostility to Rome than a modern Irish Romanist in doing the reverse.* Thus, to excess, the Irish nature has been worked in religious hatred; but it is very curious that the Irish Romanists will not believe they are in any degree bigots: on the contrary, they aver it is all at our side, and "brutish bigotry" is the gentle designation with which they honour our unmolested attachment to Protestantism. No doubt, a great number of intelligent Romanists will sincerely disown any sympathy with the extreme exclusionists who deny Protestants favour here or hereafter; but we beg to remind such that they carry their Liberalism, as Romanists, to an illegitimate extent. By the standard of Papal canon law applied to the country he resides in, has a Roman Catholic's declarations to be judged. When they differ from that law they are merely specious and insincere, or he who utters the difference is not a conscientious follower of the system. It is one thing to speak blandly and promise munificently—it is quite another thing to have power or liberty to do so. If true Liberalism be perfectly irreconcilable with true Romanism, what right has a Roman Catholic to require us to credit his liberal protestations? His heart may be imbued with such sentiments as he utters; but, if he be a scrupulous Churchman, he dare not follow its dictates. The Irish patriot of the educated class must, therefore, be met at every step with suspicion; not because, as a man, he merits it, but because, as a Roman Catholic, he is wedded to certain given principles, out of which he cannot, in justice to his own Church, be relied on. Now, what the respectable Roman Catholic is, such—on a diminishing scale—the lower-class member of that Church also is. Perhaps, though, we ought to draw a little further difference: the educated man measures the practice—not the expression—of his Liberalism by studying for himself the known canon law; while the illiterate man receives it from his priest's lips, and thus also acquires an additional prejudice. It may here be asked, what is Rome's avowed canon law in Ireland? We reply—The collection called *Corpus Juris Canonici*: the Decrees of the

* Collier, in his "Ecclesiastical History," vol. I., quotes a letter from Lawrence, Romish prelate of Canterbury, in which he says—"Doganus, an Irish bishop, positively refused to eat in the same house with me."

Council of Trent; the *Bullarium Romanum*, and the collection of the Bulls of Benedict XIV.* There are, besides these, the well-known class books of Maynooth, through which the Pope's Irish dependents are daily indoctrinated. The opinions of these authorities are, therefore, the true opinions of Roman Catholics. If these books advocate "civil and religious liberty," or any of those other watchwords forced into the service of patriots, then there is something consistent in using and reducing them to practice; but, if the reverse be true, *inconsistency* is a very lenient term to dismiss the practice with.

To test the matter a little—because we believe it helps to elucidate the worst ingredients in the Irish difficulty—let us demand an Irishman's opinion of Spanish intolerance, even towards the dead. He will denounce it as barbarous *at first*; but, on reflection, seeing it accords with the spirit of his Church, he will try to extenuate the barbarous crime. Now, it is not his natural heart, but his Papal heart, that prompts this "second thought." He must have heard that "notorious heretics are infamous *ipso facto*, and are deprived of ecclesiastical burial:† that even they who bury them "incur excommunication."‡ He must know—all Romanists do—that "all heretics are out of the way of salvation;"§ and that "heretics are justly punished with death;"|| and, above all, that it is not only an honourable, commendable, but indulgence-giving act "to extirpate heretics,"¶ and the Celt would add "their seed and breed."

* Appendix to Report VIII. of the Com. Ed., 1825-6; also the admirable book heading this article called the "Church of Rome," p. 56-7. London: Shaw.

† Vide Bailly's "Theologia Moralis," &c., cap. "Sacris de Sepultura," a well-known Maynooth class-book; and a portion of the canon law as applied to Ireland. Such was the spirit recently manifested by the Killarney priest, who would not allow a dead member of his flock into a churchyard where a poor heretic was buried.

‡ Bailly, Tom. III., p. 139, cap. "Quicumque de Hæret;" also consult the work entitled "Church of Rome," heading this article, p. 20, chap. iii.

§ Delahogue "De Ecclesia," p. 19—another Maynooth class-book.

|| Dens' Theology, No. 56, on the "Punishment of Heresy," confirmed by the general practice and rules of "the Church."

¶ Dens' Theology, on "Punishment of Heretics;" vide also Maldonatus on "Matt. xiii. 29"—a standard of Maynooth. Every Irishman is familiar with the spirit of a vow of obedience, according to the principles of Romanism, extorted in 1838 from every "son of the Church" in Ireland, and precisely like that now used by Ribbonmen. This vow was demanded by the authority of the Papal prelates, and, amongst other things, bound the subscriber to count all the acts of heretical powers of no value, not meriting obedience; and that his nearest and dearest relatives thinking otherwise were to be held accursed (Cer. Hist. I., p. 257). Nor is the spirit of the damning bull, subsequently promulgated by Pius V., unknown to the followers of Pio Nono. That exhorted all men, *by the bowels of the compassion of God*, to torment or slay Queen Elizabeth because she was a heretic; and for acting so towards her and all her followers, any poor Romanist will tell you, in the

Here, then, the honest-hearted Irishman has chained upon him an intolerance which his very nature fears to recognise, yet dares not disavow. These principles steal upon the peasant's heart; and rob him of love to his neighbour. They render him short-sighted and practically illiberal. But to go further: a very prevalent but unfounded accusation against the Irish executive is that it prefers to Romanists, Protestants, in the distribution of its patronage. Without questioning the justice of the assertion, which is, after all, of little worth, we wonder, does it ever occur to place-hunting Roman Catholics that "the receivers, defenders, favourers of heretics and their children, *even to the second generation*, ought not to be admitted to any ecclesiastical benefice or public office?"* Were they in power, behold the extent of their tolerance! Such is their estimation of heretical worth. Not content with awarding punishment, for the crime of holding an opinion, to him who directly incurs the judgment, they would continue it to his descendants yet unborn!

No man will more loudly, if not more sincerely, lament his neighbour's misfortune than an Irish peasant—even though that neighbour be a heretic; but if the latter, the moment he bethinks himself, he has recourse to the principle that mishap is such a man's doom; "for heretics are so much more pernicious than thieves and robbers."† Thus the evil-hearted man, the envious man, the covetous man, and every manner of man, whether pliantly pious, a mere mechanical devotee, or a confirmed villain who has any designs of his own or others, finds in the human ingenuity—in the countless ramifications of the system—sundry suggestions and justifications with which he arms himself for this or that society, which ever varying circumstances, or his own wants or passions, have called into existence, under the pretext of redressing some real or fancied grievance. From a visible source to this felt end, we can follow every illicit "ism," from "Wide-awake-ism" to "Ribbonism," that has sprung up to retard Irish progress and foment Irish discord.

By the light, then, of these "Sacred Canons" alone we can correctly read the intent and purpose of all Papal movements, the nature of Ireland's disease, and the amount of reliance

words of the bull, "a plenary indulgence is awarded" (Wara, "Ann. of Eliz. p. 12; and Cox i. 333). Will any one say the Irish peasantry are such stupid dolts as, knowing these things, not to acquit their conscience, which the priests keep, of any complicity, in hatred to heretics and disloyalty to heretical sovereigns?

* Refer to Bailly, Tom. III., pp. 190, 191. (Cap. 2, tit. "de Hæret." in 6, and also cap. 15).

† Maldenatus on Matt. xiii. 29, 30.

attachable to Papal pretensions. With these in view, we know why that country's "word of honour" is "a thing worthless and reviled." The nation is identified—we are happy to say erroneously now—with Roman Catholicism, and that system teaches for the "direction of the faithful"—a lamentably biddable faithful "for a long while—that the obligation of an oath ceases by "dispensation;" "also when it directly obstructs a greater good;" also "if it is likely to tend (*incipias vergere*) to an unfavourable issue." In short, their moral theology renders it impossible to determine how far an oath is obligatory in the Church of Rome. Hence the low level of Irish "truth"—hence the degrading degeneracy of a once straightforward but, until recently, abacksliding people.*

As if to consummate the disastrous tendency of her other ordinances, and immovably fix a demoralising, seductive, and deeply-implanted superstition in the Irish heart, Rome not only indirectly countenances, but positively teaches, that priests are AS GODS. A confessor may deny *with an oath* any knowledge of facts he has ascertained in the confessional, because he does not know them as a man, "BUT AS GOD!" In like manner, he must not deal with his penitents from any knowledge he may have obtained through the confessional, because there "HE ACTS AS GOD."†

Here is a painful illustration of Papal morality; and here the secret of that sacerdotal influence which has been so long and so detrimentally wielded in Ireland—which has infused the

* Bailly, Tom. II. pp. 140-145. Also Dens, Tom. IV. "De Juramento." An apt but very deplorable illustration of the advantages (?) derivable from the existence of so many "loop holes," is given by the conduct of Dr. M'Hale, who, with all the other Irish Papal bishops, declared *an oath*, when seeking emancipation in 1826, that "they disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment; and further, *they swear* they will not exercise any privilege to which they are or may be entitled to *disturb and weaken* the Protestant religion and Government in Ireland." It is unnecessary to say how far this oath has bound those who took it. Each has, like one who boasts it, proved that, "far from shrinking from any avowal of hostility, I (Dr. M'Hale) must frankly own that the Establishment has been and shall continue to be the object of every opposition in my power." Such were the words addressed to the Bishop of Exeter, after emancipation was a certainty, by one who had sworn as above.—(Vide "The Church of Rome," already quoted.)

† Dens, Tom. VI., pp. 219-237. In the last page referred to, this important question is asked—"Is it lawful to refuse a secret and hidden vote solely on the ground that the person to be elected is known to be unworthy only from sacramental confession?" Reply, "No." Then arises this objection:—"Natural law prohibits a confessor to give a vote to an unworthy person—therefore, he ought to deny him his vote." It is thus answered:—"I draw a distinction in the antecedent. Natural law prohibits a confessor to give his vote to an unworthy person, *when he acts as a man*, I grant it: when he acts as God I deny it." Strange morality this!

worst drug of superstition into the national cup. Now, casuists, of cultivated scholastic notions, may compound with their consciences and invent some refined sophistic reasons for not denouncing these as monstrous in their origin and end. But will the unread and confiding peasant, whose spiritual interests are mainly concerned, be able to analyze and reduce to nothing expressions which bring home to his mind, without any mental exertion on his part, a plain meaning? Why not give him the benefit of them, if they are radically harmless, in their original simplicity? Why confuse him with principles that are not what they seem to be—profound theological shams? Only because they are neither more nor less than a strict interpretation of the Church's opinions on these matters, or the Church has no opinion whatever, let casuists and wranglers dispose of them as they please.

We have thus partially dwelt upon some of the spiritual fetters that are fastened on the unresisting Irish, because "the difficulty" mingles in every link of the chain. When that chain has fallen to pieces the difficulty will be wholly shattered, and a generous people thoroughly aroused from a dismal thralldom. So great a triumph could not have been inaugurated or accomplished by man. The Irish difficulty should alone vanish before the breath of Him who rules all. Therefore, hitherto, we hoped nothing, and we feared little, from mere human agencies: we hoped all from God. Already His inscrutable plans have been set in operation, and the territory of darkness, as a certain consequence, has been seized on, so as to strip "the difficulty" of its formidableness, and hasten it to the brink of things that are no more. The Almighty would seem to have reserved this desirable result for his own manifest interference. With such an hypothesis, the history of the difficulty is pregnant. The powers of mere earth, hostile to all truth, were ever leagued in firm, conspicuous, and unbroken ranks, against the success of pure Christianity in Ireland. Even the Irish Church became altogether and avowedly a State engine—thus necessitating not only "no progress," but a decided and fatal retrogression. Protestant indifference not only devoured the interests of vital religion, but doubly fed and promoted those of the false antagonistic system. While the one decayed the other flourished, until the whole face of the country wore an aspect as impoverished as the tone of religion was lowered. At length the ratio of increase reached a climax, and in 1842 it was no extravagant boast that three-fourths of the Irish were Roman Catholics. Calculating upon a continued proportion, it seemed no less probable in 1843 that, "here in the West,

where we are proverbially attached to the old faith, no Protestant will soon be found.”* And, as a sort of natural consequence, it also looked likely in the following year that “Ireland will never again know wealth or peace.”† But alas! for human ingenuity—alas for Papal foresight! O’Connell’s boast of ’42, like Dr. M’Hale’s prophecy of ’43, and the Tourists lament of ’44, are now useful witnesses of another character in the great social and religious revolution that has taken place in Ireland since then—a revolution that no man, some ten years ago, would have been bold enough to predict—a revolution which has so thinned the Papal columns and replenished the Protestant ranks that it would not now be true to speak of Ireland as a Romish because she is a Protestant nation.

In this marvellous change, we repeat, God has been pleased to manifest his direct interference. He has produced a *famine* which swept away millions of the unrepentant nation—He has caused an *exodus* which conveyed away a million more—He has quelled *agitation*, and He has blessed agencies to *reform* those who escaped His terrible interposition. These were *His* means of encountering the evil, and by them is accomplished the solution of that which ages of misrule had rolled into a serious difficulty.

In 1843, the population of Ireland was estimated by all parties alike at about 9,500,000: of these at least 2,500,000 were allowed by the Papists to be Protestants of every denomination, and the remainder claimed to be Roman Catholic.‡ The majority of the Protestants was furnished by Ulster, which, in consequence of its religion and freedom from Papal agitation, was both the most peaceful and prosperous province in Ireland. It was in the year 1843 that O’Connell called monster meetings, and numbered his auditory by thousands. It was the heyday of Papal influence, and of Irish “constitutional” discontent. Now, the last census shows a decrease of nearly 4,000,000 in the Irish population (estimated as we have said) chiefly caused by famine. This amazing reduction is almost entirely, if not entirely, confined to the Roman Catholic body. Famine laid its gaunt gripe solely amid the haunts of the poor, and the Irish poor were confessedly Roman Catholic. At all events, it is a moderate calculation to say that at least 2,800,000 have perished amid its devastating concomitants.

* Dr. M’Hale, titular Archbishop of Tuam, made this declaration in a political speech delivered in 1843.

† An expression used by a despairing tourist in the following year.

‡ The Romanists were divided into 4,700,000 English speaking; 2,000,000 Irish and English; and about 200,000 persons who speak Irish only.

This much off the vaunted majority would leave still the original 2,500,000 Protestants against, we will say, 4,300,000 Romanists.

But emigration has contributed its quota of 1,800,000, on their own showing, to this reduction: that this number is almost exclusively Roman Catholic is not questioned. We have, therefore, such a decided diminution as leaves, in round numbers, the Protestant and Roman Catholic inhabitants of Ireland about equal in bulk. Deduct from this amount at least 150,000 lost to Rome and gained to Protestantism by the work of reformation, and it makes a very remarkable difference in the grand total in favour of the Protestant population. But if we apply a closer standard of calculation—if we measure with greater minuteness—we shall very considerably diminish even the remaining proportion. Again: if we enquire what class supplies a very large item in what we now believe to be the minority, we must have recourse to poor law reports; and from them gather that more than 508,373 persons were in receipt of in-door relief, and 35,818 of out-door relief, no longer ago than the half-year ending September 1851.* Doubtless, many Protestants figure in these numbers; but when, in the first case, 8,000 has been cancelled to meet this objection, and in the latter as many hundreds, we make a somewhat liberal allowance. This will appear the more evident when the reader is informed that in Protestant Ulster, during one year (1852), 3,000 paupers only were in the workhouses; while, during the same time, the poor-houses of Roman Catholic Munster were called upon to support 51,000. This is an instructive contrast. While, however, we can afford to admit that all Munster paupers may not have been Romanist, we maintain that not half the northern paupers were Protestants. Reference to the books of any Ulster poor-house will sustain our view.

These are dry but eloquent, silently eloquent, numbers. The lesson they bear has been enforced by an all-ordering power. They betoken the effectual labour of the providential pioneers sent out to clear a land, thickset with brushwood and brambles, to prepare it for the approach of the Gospel seed-time. That sacred seed—amidst doubts as to the fitness of the season, as to the fruitfulness of the soil—has been thickly sown. Let us glance at its product; and we will find it has returned many-fold and grown far and away above the suffocating spread of the old weed—error—which had so long eaten the marrow of a land

* These numbers are accurately copied from the "Fifth Annual Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners," App. B. pp. 182, 183.

blessed for nobler purposes. From which side shall we accept the account—from friends or foes? Both are at hand ready to bear witness. We choose the foe; for it is but just to the party which has sustained a loss, calculated to yield the British empire gain, to report the opinions *they* entertain on the subject, especially as these opinions tend to magnify rather than diminish the certainty of that loss. We commence with one of the honestest organs of the Papal party. Lamenting, in unmeasured phrase, the success of the Irish reformation movement, the *Nation* newspaper exclaims—"The Irish nation is fast dissolving as the Jewish nation dissolved before the curse of God—as the Carthaginian nation dissolved before the sword of Rome—as the Red Indian race silently dissolves before the face of the white man." It will at once be seen that the writer of this extract has fallen into the very vulgar mistake of confounding all Ireland, or the *Irish nation*, with Romanism. A thoughtless reader might accept the declaration as simply and only applicable to the kingdom as a nation; but he soon arrives at a key to the mystery, for the writer winds up with the startling announcement—"Ireland is ceasing to be a *Roman Catholic nation*!" Need we add the self-suggesting corollary? At a subsequent period, and when a more strict enquiry and further observation satisfied the same journal, we were favoured with these additional sorrowings:—"In many parishes the priest gazes on his *empty chapel*, and thinks of the tempting offer of a pension from the Crown—a graver peril than a thousand Ecclesiastical Titles' Bills. With the *remnant* of the Irish priesthood lost in the *purveys* of the Atlantic cities—with the youth of Connaught reared up to hate the *Roman Catholic faith*, &c.—*that Church*, in Ireland, will need a Defence Association of angels to save it from *extinction*."

When the above was penned, one of the most strenuous efforts to guard the Papal Church was made by the "Catholic Defence Society" to which allusion is made in the last line. Its signal failure, not only in the prosecution of its avowed object, but in exciting sufficient interest—for it is now no more—to support its labours, may be regarded as no trifling "sign of the times." There is something significant in the fact that, though Ireland gave 30,000*l.* a-year to an O'Connell for his own use at one time, she has learned to refuse as many pence to an institution established with all the prestige of Papal solemnity to preserve the faith which O'Connell won his shamrock-wreath in defending. We remember that at one of the defunct Society's meetings a celebrated clerical orator—Father Fitzgerald, of "famed Ballingarry"—after denouncing the alarming secessions con-

fessed above, propounded as a remedy for the evil *the recovery of priestly power*, thereby implying that it had been forfeited. "These evils (said he) are not irremediable if the priests were, *as of old*, the teachers of the people, to *enlighten*, to cheer, to lead them to triumph over their oppressors and destroyers. *But, as it is, our nation and our Church are PERISHING.*" In truth, it must have been a ponderous pressure of fact which impelled that confession! We might commit it to the reader as evidence needing no further support to prove our position.

But there is attraction in variety, and we leap from Father Fitzgerald to the Papal plenipotentiary of the West. Dr. M'Hale, whose confidence was so vast in 1843, finds cause for very mournful palinode in 1853, just ten years later. "These jumpers (he says in a speech delivered in Dublin) are infecting the *whole province* with their teachings"—a province designed by the *doctor* as a model of Roman Catholic greatness. But "his grace" rather faintly furnishes the truth, reserving for his delegates at the press the unpleasant task of an honest confession. Accordingly, an evening Romanist journal admits:—"We learn from unquestionable Catholic authority that the success of the proselytism is beyond all that the *worst misgivings could have dreamt of.*"*

It is not to be supposed that these successes are confined to the province which Dr. M'Hale, like all his purple-vested brethren, has sworn to purge of heresy.† The same authorities more than once affirm that "all parts of the country are infected" with the progress of truth. The subjoined extract, from the *Tablet* (Nov. 8, 1851), is but an echo of every Papal organ's wail of alarm:—"We repeat that it is not Tuam, nor Cashel, nor Armagh, that are the chief seats of *successful* proselytism, but the very city in which we live." Thus from north to south and west to east the *Tablet* declares reformation is *successfully* spreading. The truth was too evident to all men to be burked for any great length of time. Besides, the silence so long observed did nothing for Rome.

By way of conveying a distinct notion of the rapidity of these admitted and promise-bearing successes, we will exhibit the ascertained increase of Protestantism in a few districts which we take at random. Before doing so, we must apprise the reader

* *Dublin Evening Post*, Nov. 11, 1851.

† "The bishop is bound (*tenetur*).....sedulously to take care that he may purge the diocese entrusted to him from heretics; and, if he find any, he ought to punish them with the canonical punishments" (Dens [supplement to], p. 82, au Heretics). This Dr. M'Hale has, to the letter, endeavoured to comply with.

that no means have been yet employed that we are aware of, either by Government or private individuals, to enumerate fully and regularly the numbers lost to Rome in this manner or gained to Protestantism. Our statistics are, therefore, derived from indirect sources; and we do not, for we cannot, attach a strict degree of accuracy to the inferences which they suggest. On this account, in all the statistics we have given, or mean to give, we have prescribed for ourselves a course leading farthest from exaggeration, and keeping, to use a homely phrase, "at the safe side of truth." If we refuse, for instance, to adopt the assertion of a newspaper not given to any warm admiration of the work—that the increase may be reckoned in the ratio of 50,000 a-year since the operations were first organized—it is because we desire to be rather "within the mark." But a few more indisputable statistics will, better than anything we can say, explain the extent and progressiveness of the victories achieved by light over darkness, and clear away the mists from Ireland's future.

One district in Connaught, called Achill, had in 1834 the full benefit of Dr. M'Hale's wish: it was not "degraded" by a resident Protestant, but sunk in the gloomiest superstition. This, the consummation of "his grace's" desire, had its accompanying wretchedness. But the Gospel message was soon proclaimed there, and the wretched stone-worshippers* abandoned Rome "by the score." So extensive was the success that the Protestant residents in 1846 grew populous enough to need two places of worship where before there was none. These two shortly afterwards had to be enlarged and aided by the erection of other two in 1850, when the number attending divine worship exceeded one thousand. In like manner, the vast union of Ballinakill, which in 1839 had two clergymen to minister to about five hundred persons, has now an increase of eleven, whose services are divided amongst about 3,000 people, chiefly converts. Again: we take a small curacy near Westport, where a congregation of thirty has extended to three hundred and fifty. Again: Kilcommin, one of the largest parishes in Ireland, which had a church and clergyman, and hardly any congregation in 1834, had in the short space of twelve years occasion to employ three ministers and build two churches and school-houses, which are attended by upwards of 2,000 children.† As

* Lord Roden's work on the Irish reformation movement contains a sketch of this deplorable idolatry. See also Mac Walter's "History of the Irish Church."

† These figures are borrowed from a speech delivered by the Right Hon. J. Napier at the fourth annual meeting (1853) of the Society for Irish Church Missions.

steady and great, as stable and cheering, are the statistics which every other district affords. Connaught—once the reservoir of all Irish misery, filth, superstition, and ignorance—reflects the holy influence thus infused. Crime did not stamp its crimson stain more especially on Connaught than on Munster—squalidness domineered a shade more in the former than in the latter.

But here it may fairly be asked—has the decay of Romanism and the increase of Protestantism caused any check to these deplorable characteristics? Respecting the expiring condition of the one, and the healthy state of the other, we have plain and conclusive testimony. It will be no less beneficial than satisfactory to connect it with some symptoms of fresh progress—some tokens of social re-animation. If Protestantism be the natural nurse of prosperity, we may expect evidences to accompany its increase in Ireland. There exists not less abundant proof of this than there do attestations to the shock sustained by Irish Romanism.

No sooner did the echo of O'Connell's power—the charm of of his name, extreme reverence for his councils—dwindle away amid his native hills than a re-action, introducing peace and plenty, set in. No sooner did the political invective and ridicule, the honest enthusiasm and rage of the intemperate young Irishman, find a grave in Ballingary's congenial sink, than vigour and activity began to adorn the efforts of industry. In short, no sooner had the sway of demagogueism been palsied by famine, wasted by emigration, shamed by reformation, than they who nobly deserted so ignoble a leader repaired to qualify themselves for an efficient part in labours destined to elevate the country's condition. Hence the Irish tourist, who shuddered at the distressing objects which every step disclosed a few years ago, now beholds prosperity distributing on all sides her encouraging favours. No one will fail to recognise something very significant and suggestive in all this. Do you desire an illustration? What more fitting one than the triumph of the late Dublin Exhibition? That great enterprise would have been torn to pieces by party passions, ere its design was half developed; were it broached before Romanism had been shorn of its most dangerous power. Like every project designed to promote Irish prosperity, it would have been strangled at its birth, or so disabled as to answer no generally useful purpose. But times were altered, and it has passed off with an *eclat* only equal to the extent of the change in the times. It has passed off, too, having sown the germs of a fresh industry. It came when Ireland was waking from her disastrous lethargy, and leaves

her alive to her true interests—no longer a passive, dormant nation of serfs. In that success are prefigured her future prosperity and peace. In it we read a matured purpose that will no more endure the ruinous restraints which have hitherto impeded her progress. When free from sacerdotal interdictions, and their thousand accompaniments, what will hinder the Irish from justly asserting their claims to industry—what will baulk their achievement of prosperity?—what chain them to filth? Every recent tourist, and every modern pamphleteer who treats on Ireland, bear testimony to her present bettered condition. Only the other day a Galway Romanist organ declared that, “within the memory of the oldest inhabitant,” the people were not seen so cleanly and happy-looking as they are now in the west; and the west was about the most destitute part of Ireland. Similar reports have reached us through the public press, and through other sources from all parts, enough to convince the most sceptical that peace and plenty have at length dawned on, or have at length become reconciled with, that unfortunate land. To crown all, the judges at the last assizes had the gratification to announce a most remarkable diminution in “the business of court.” No trial of any moment, and no heinous offence of late date, come before them. When one contrasts this state of affairs with that presented a few years ago, is there not much reason to congratulate Ireland upon the result of her increasing Protestantism and her diminished Romanism? Nor has England, for very obvious reasons, less cause for gratulation. But let us copy additional testimonies on the important point of a visible improvement. The following statement was made by the Right Hon. J. Napier, late Irish Attorney-General, in a speech delivered in Exeter Hall last April:—

“I can give you, from my own personal knowledge, a remarkable proof of the moral results following operations of this kind. There was one district in the Munster circuit which supplied a large number of atrocious crimes—I allude to the district of Doon. Since the missionaries commenced their operations, and the Bible has been promulgated and accepted by the Roman Catholic population, there has not been a single instance of a convert or of a person brought fairly under the hearing of the Gospel being connected with or accused of crime. And I can say further that, during the ten or eleven months I held office in Ireland, I cannot bring to mind a single instance of even an accusation against one of the persons brought over to accept the Gospel in any of the missionary stations in Ireland.”

Of another, but not less satisfactory nature, is this extract from Mrs. Hall's impartial “Guide to Western Ireland,”

Speaking of the converts, formerly the squalid Connaughtmen, she says:—

“In the streets you may know one of them, by an aspect of cleanliness and comfort, in contrast with the filth and wretchedness around him; and in the lessons they are taught to praise God and be thankful. When their young voices are raised in hymns, they may be indifferent to the reproach of being ‘jumpers’—a name of obloquy given to them.”

Elsewhere she records the subjoined conversation she had with a bitter enemy to the system, who, however, was so impressed by fact in opposition to prejudice that he unguardedly extolled what he detested:—

“‘Would you know a jumper if you saw him?’ ‘O yes, at once.’ ‘How?’ ‘Why, you see he looks healthy and clean, and better dressed than the people about him.’ ‘And would you know a jumper’s house?’ ‘O yes.’ ‘How?’ ‘Why, ye see its white-washed, and there’s many bits of things; and there’ll be no dung-heap by the door.’ And certainly the tourist will find many opportunities of testing the accuracy of this view of the case. Whatever else conversion may do, it will certainly improve the habits of the people.”

With such facts before us—with full confessions wrung from foes and cheerfully tendered by distinguished persons friendly to truth, are we not justified in saying, with an able and learned man, “We have lived to see more accomplished in Ireland in two or three short years than was previously done in as many centuries.” The principle—Sow TRUTH and you will reap peace, plenty, and order—has been amply and satisfactorily tested in this particular case: so have the futility of human enactments to grapple with the difficulty and the absolute necessity of a more potent operator in a crisis of such vast magnitude.

The CHURCH had never been used in this, its proper sphere. The Church is the Almighty Ruler’s peculiar instrument. By its agency, He perfects all His sage purposes. Keenly alive to this truth, Dr. Chalmers, in his examination before a Committee of the House of Commons, expressed himself thus:—

“I hold the Established Church of Ireland, in spite of all that has been alleged against it, to be our very best machinery for the moral and political regeneration of that country. Were it to be overthrown, I should hold it a death-blow to the best hopes of Ireland. Only it must be well-manned: the machine must be rightly wrought ere it can answer its purpose; and the more I reflect on the subject, the more I feel that the highest and dearest interests of the land are linked with the support of the Established Church, always provided that Church is well patronised.”

Whether patronage be, or be not, at present judiciously distributed, forms no direct part of our enquiry. But hitherto the labours of the Irish Church were lamentably inefficient, and served rather to abet than correct the sundry calamities which grew into "the difficulty." Now, however, that it has become conscious of its solemn obligations and vigorously prosecutes its sacred mission, we see the result, and give all credit to the foresight of such men as Chalmers, who knew the value of the instrument, but deplored its sadly neglected condition. Not man, but God, aroused and set into motion the drowsy machine. By a variety of afflictions was Ireland lowly humbled, to the end that God's Church within her should exercise its legitimate duty, and save the land from an utter ruin, on whose very brink it stood when the timely hand of rescue came. To the unflagging maintenance of this newly-acquired activity we look for a total riddance of the hideous monster which has preyed upon Ireland's vitals—blended her noble name with scoff and derision—sunk, separated, and debased her children—impoverished her very soil and made her existence a huge grievance, not inaptly designated "*The Difficulty*."

Although it be clearly and beyond question established that Roman Catholicism has lost its numerical superiority over Protestantism in Ireland, it is not, therefore, to be presumed that its never-deserting union, and indomitable energy and power for mischief, are extinguished. On the contrary, these indiseverable limbs of the imposing trunk were never so right heartily, never so subtly, never so tortuously, wielded as at present. A dying beast kicks frightfully. True: but there is insufficient life to support any of those expensive organizations which mulcted the land in the best days of Papal power. This arises from the fact that three-fourths of the present Roman population is composed of those who are actually or almost paupers, and the great portion of the other fourth is framed of priests, monks, nuns, and friars. Where, then, is the energy, the power, of Rome yet? We reply—in the very paupers, or semi-paupers, officered by the already denominated ecclesiastics. How do they work? Most characteristically. Rome is a grand system, charged with considerable erudition, theological and otherwise, and of course meets all incursions rationally and logically. But Rome's reason and logic lives not in the mind, which she theologically chains. Where then? In bludgeons—literal emblems (may we say) of her doctrinal tolerance—and in fetters, actual representations of her political graciousness. Alas! too extensive a field of illustration lies

before us. From her moral theology and her other "ologies," no less than from her political monstrosities (we must name things correctly), proof turns upon us. In Ireland, notwithstanding her crippled power, behold how she worked at the late parliamentary elections! The memory of the Six Mile-Bridge massacre must still ring fresh in the reader's mind: there, no choice for the electors but the priest's nominee, and physical force—fatally carried out by the moneyless non-electors—was the main prop. That is characteristic. But, to turn from her impressive and oppressive political logic, we come to her precise method of dealing with doctrinal antagonists. Does the great, the absorbing, solemnity of the topic, bend her proud will to meeter tokens of civilization—to gentler terms of encounter? Alas!—the hopelessness of her position only impels her to resort to the old and well-worn weapons which consigned Huss to the flames, and thousands before and since. Let us give an instance—hundreds similar exist—related by one who, from his official position as *then* Attorney-General for Ireland (the Right Hon. J. Napier), is most likely to be accurately informed upon such a subject:—

"The persecutions which they (the converts) undergo are, in many cases, almost beyond the power of the ordinary law to prevent or punish. Persons are stationed in the towns, who follow people to their houses, insulting them in every way, and sometimes personal violence is used. I remember the case of one poor girl, attending one of the Scripture schools—a school in which she was also taught industrial occupations—and I believe, through her instrumentality, her parents had been also brought to hear the Gospel, although her father still remained a Roman Catholic. The priest one day went to his house, and asked where was his daughter 'the souper.' She was ordered out, and, in the presence of her father, the priest struck and beat her severely with a large whip. She was so beaten and abused that she was confined to her bed, and unable to work for sometime afterwards. The case was brought before the magistrates, and the poor girl detailed the circumstances. The priest said that all she had been stating was false. The father was in court, and the priest, probably confiding in his power over him as one of his flock, requested that the father might be examined, for the purpose of contradicting and falsifying the evidence of his own child. Every one present was anxious to see the result. The father came forward, in an agitated and trembling way and took the book, and, to the amazement of all parties, confirmed every word his daughter had sworn. The priest was struck with confusion at first; but he then proposed to call a witness to prove that the man to whom he had himself appealed was not to be credited on his oath in a court of justice!!! All

this came before me on sworn documents.* The magistrate fined the priest 30s. I confess when I read the case my blood boiled; and, knowing that the fine would be levied on the flock in the chapel, I directed the informations of the daughter and father to be taken, and that the priest should be brought to trial at the next assizes, in public court. I can appeal to some of my friends that I exercised in such cases the greatest forbearance, lest any undue suspicion should be attached to my motives, and if I erred it was rather on the other side. As I have said, I sent the case for trial. I was not in office at the time of the last assizes, and somehow the priest was got off, for no trial has taken place; and that priest, who was guilty of cruelly beating a girl in the presence of her father, and attempted the defence I have described, has done so with impunity."

Who can peruse this without a distressing sensation! Whose blood will not "boil" on reflecting upon it! Yet is it all in strict union with the principles enunciated by the system. In theory it looks bad—in practice horrible. As an appropriate appendage, we extract the following passage from the warmest

* We must here extract from a little book, on "Irish Popular Superstitions," one or two occurrences, for the truth of which the author (Dr. Wild) vouches. If the incidents have not actually occurred, they are such as Irish Romanism make quite possible—in fact such as one must expect:—"Madness has either been assumed, or sworn to, as a means of getting off prisoners, on more than one occasion, to our own knowledge. We remember sitting, some years ago, beside a celebrated veteran prisoner's counsel, in a county town in Connaught, who was defending a man on his trial for murder, committed apparently without provocation in the open day, and before a number of witnesses; the prisoner having, with a heavy spade, clove through the skull of his unresisting victim. The defence intended to be set up was, as usual, an alibi. Numbers of people were ready to come forward and swear he was not, and could not be, at the place specified in the indictment at all. As the trial proceeded, however, the sagacious lawyer, entrusted with the defence, at once saw that he had not a leg to stand on, and, turning abruptly to the prisoner's attorney, swore with an oath bigger than that taken by any of the witnesses, 'He'll be hanged. Could you not prove him mad?' 'Oh! yes, mad as a March hare. I'll get plenty of people to prove that,' was the solicitor's ready reply. 'But did you ever know of his doing anything out of the way? Now, did you ever hear of his eating his shoes, or the likes of that?' 'Shoes! I'll get you a man that will swear he eat a new pair of brogues, nails and all.' 'Well, then (said the barrister), put him up, and let us get our dinner.' The attorney retired to look after his witnesses, while a prolonged cross-examination of one of the prosecutors then upon the table enabled the 'sharp practitioner' to alter his tactics and prepare for the defence. Accordingly, the very first witness produced for the defence swore to the insanity of the prisoner; and the intelligent jury believing in the truth of the brogue, including the digestion of tips, heel-taps, sole-nails, squares, tacks, sprigs, hang-ups, paviours and sparables, acquitted the prisoner! He was about to be discharged from the dock, when the judge committed him to a lunatic asylum." During a recent assizes, in one of the southern counties, a witness, who prevaricated not a little, was rather roughly interrogated in her cross-examination as to the nature of an oath, and the awful consequences of breaking it. "Do you know, my good girl (thundered the crown lawyer), what would happen to you if you perjured yourself?"—"Troth, I do well, sir (said she); I wouldn't get my expences."

and ablest Irish organ of the Roman Catholics. The writer, it will be remembered, in a former article, has borne an honest but reluctant testimony to the surprising spread of the Gospel, and asked, in extreme dismay, "How is it to be counteracted?" This is a solemn question (he says) which priest and layman, which citizen, and politician, should seriously consider. "Shall a work be accomplished which England, with all her *force*, for three hundred years, has been unable to effect?" Altogether misapprehending the value of mere brute "*force*," he thus earnestly and intelligibly—especially so to his Irish readers—insinuates the most practical method of stemming the torrent:—

"A descent is occasionally made upon some Catholic district, prosperous and strong in the faith; and then you are sure to have a desperate struggle. The stomach does not toil more terribly to rid itself of an emetic than a sound Catholic population do to get rid of these pests. It was tried at Drogheda last summer: well, the Bible-readers got their bones broken.* It was tried at Ardee, and had to be counteracted by assault and battery again. They were treated to brickbats and rotten-eggs wherever they went. And although—of course!—such an unwholesome reception is to be very much regretted, and commiserated, and deplored, one after all can hardly wonder at it; for human nature is weak, the Lord deliver us! and the devil will sometimes get the better of the best of us. And, if one should only find one of those sneaking *sieveens* of Bible-readers stuffing tracts under one's doorway, or waylaying one's children with their lying guiles, one is afraid one's human nature would be sorely tempted to kick the rascal within an inch of his life."

In such exploits we regret to know those so addressed have physically distinguished themselves. It is Rome's fearful armoury, and collects no rust from want of exercise. But, in the thousands who have discovered that a religion needing such a shield as its only defence cannot claim unity with the mind of Christ, we recognise an acceptable reprisal for all such un-interrupted violence—for such mere worldly antagonism.

We must not omit all mention of the flagitious charge urged by Roman Catholics, with persevering effrontery, against the purity of the Reformation movement. To impeach the truth or honesty of the thousands converted is to traduce the character generally of the Irish people. If, as Romanists allege, bribery has been successfully employed in this most solemn of movements—if numbers have blindly bartered their convictions for a mess of pottage—Romanism has had still but a

* It is quite true. The Scripture-readers were attacked by a mob, hounded on by monks, and one of them received injuries which disabled him for several months.

slight hold of their attachment and nationalists—little reason to make so stentorian a boast of Irish nobleness. The libel tells against the national character as well as against Rome. But, if the absurd accusation were in any degree true, the rotten bubble should have long ago burst, and no traces of the present indestructible stability, evidenced by the movement, would exist. The slander can produce nothing but indignation in a right-minded man's soul; but Roman Catholics, however well minded (in one sense), view the question as worthy of, they say, investigation, if not of implicit credit. When, however, any opportunities occur—opportunities challenged, moreover—they slink off in fear, and do not risk enquiry by any complicity on their part. Such was the case when Father O'Dwyer of Doon vehemently reproached the operations which rid him of half his flock "as the work of bribery." Proof was demanded—he undertook to adduce it. The appointed time arrived, but he and his witnesses maintained a noticeable silence; while the victims of his calumny stood ready to quash the ungracious aspersion. Such, again, was the case of Mr. Wilberforce, who, when secretary of the "Catholic Defence Society" (now defunct) hurled, with unsparing blusterings and threatenings, a similar charge upon those proceedings which called forth the unavailing opposition of the said Society. Mr. Dallas promptly met the charge, and called upon this whilom Christian minister to establish what he declared was so notorious—namely, that feigned conversions were very general. These were the manly terms offered by Mr. Dallas to the accusant:—

"I am willing that two eminent English lawyers shall be nominated, one by you and another by me; that these two persons shall themselves select a third, of eminence and public character; that before these three men, as a court without appeal, you shall bring forward any individual instance and all the evidence you may be able to collect. If in the judgment of this court, so constituted, there can be produced one single instance in which anything is proved which can be characterised as bribery or as intimidation on the part of the Irish Church Missions, I will bind myself to acknowledge that I am wrong, to make such apology as the same judges may appoint, and pay all the expenses of the process."

From this straightforward proposal, Mr. Wilberforce—by the directions, let us in charity presume, of his new guides—shrunk on the paltry plea that he was "quite unable to meet the expense!" Were there grounds to stand upon he would not have been reduced to so despicable a pretext: he would have eagerly tendered all the aid in his power to expose a base practice which he declared to be so notorious.

It is almost superfluous to introduce any rebutting evidence, although we have a large quantity of material before us. No one will do so much injustice to the Irish character, or the godly nature of the agency employed to wrench it from its evil association with error, as to accept unproved, and plainly untenable, assertions, that either one or the other has ignobly surrendered itself to so fraudulent and spurious a course. But it is just to record a minute of the accused Society, exhibiting a fore-armed determination and caution, justified by the tactics of the party against whose interests it is successfully arrayed :—

“The committee desire to take this opportunity of recording upon their minutes that it is one of the fundamental principles of this Society, upon which it has acted from its formation and will continue to act, never to employ any of the funds entrusted to its administration for the purposes of temporal relief to any persons who are the objects of their missionary labours.”

The *Times*, too—long sceptical on this very point—in alluding to it after enquiry which worked a wholesome conviction, says, “We believe, and we have spared no pains to investigate the grounds of our belief, that the great movement cannot truly be attributed to any such cause.”

But the safest and most direct manner of testing the point—of probing the wound if it be there—of sounding the hollowness of the deception if it be such—of sweeping away every vestige of doubt on the matter, is to question one of these persecuted and maligned converts. If he merely feign sincerity, his easily detected ignorance of the step he has taken will at once satisfy you. If, on the contrary, he replies in a way to show that truth is, so to speak, solidified within him, you cannot doubt the honesty of his purpose. Of the first class, you will not find any *acknowledged* convert. They are all remarkably intelligent, wonderfully well instructed, and afford a contrast, not more singular with their Romish neighbours than with themselves, when Romanists. A few years under the influence of pure Protestant principles begets a surprising change in people and parishes. There is something magical in truth that speedily exorcises the foul spirits of untruth. In many a locality, but lately swarming with vice, filth, and Romanism, this wand has been used with a purifying effect.

Now, one of the great causes which we have said contributed to the decline of Romanism in Ireland is pregnant, with other significant information, on this question, too. Emigration dis-

~~poses this singular fact—thus once fully free from priestly~~

power, the Irish Romanist suddenly deserts the religion which he is here said to cherish so ardently. At home, his ties to that Church are those of his friends. Abroad, he knows them not. If it be true, as we shall show, that while in the United State there are more Irish than in Ireland, the Roman Catholic population is only 1,700,000, we may reasonably ask how comes it? What bribe have the millions who have fled from Rome there received and from whom? The States are said to support 24,000,000 of people. Of these, three million were born in Ireland, and nearly five million more are the direct descendants of Irishmen; yet Rome can there boast only of about a million and a half of followers. Let us give other testimony than our own. A Mr. Mullen, specially chosen by the proposed "Catholic University" committee to gather money in America for that object, communicated these instructive particulars to a Dublin Romish organ, the *Freeman's Journal*, of April 24th, 1852. One entrusted with such extensive confidence as this priest, is likely to be a warm Papal partisan: therefore his statistics, tending as they do to favour our assertion, are in this case the more appreciable:—

"Twelve years ago (he writes) America had a [Roman Catholic] population (according to Dr. England, Bishop of Charleston) of 1,200,000. Calculating the increase of this number by births at the very small number of 500,000—and adding, for converts in the larger cities and towns, 20,000—we will have the following total:—

" Catholic emigrants from the year 1825 to 1844.	800,000
" " from 1844 to 1852	1,200,000
" " from other countries	250,000
" American Catholic population twelve years ago.	1,200,000
" Increase by births since	500,000
" Number of converts	20,000

" Number who ought to be Catholics 3,970,000

" Number who are Catholics 1,980,000

" Number lost to the Catholic Church 1,990,000

" Say, in round numbers, two millions !"

With these alarming tokens of defection before him, Father Mullen strenuously discountenances emigration from Ireland; nor is he alone in apprehending destruction to his Church in the immunity from sacerdotal despotism which ensues. The chief organ of the party, the *Telegraph* (of May 1st, 1852), doubts "whether emigration, as it now goes on, is attended with any real benefit to Ireland." It adds, "*We are very sure it is attended by much spiritual danger to the emigrant.*"

Another trumpet-tongued circumstance resulting from emigration is an expressed distrust of the priest on the part of the emigrant, by suppressed religious timidity while under his reverence's immediate jurisdiction, and the controul of priest-awed parents or friends. This is evidenced by the channels generally selected for conveying money remittances to the emigrant's family at home. Not the priest—aforetime the repository of the absent one's inmost thoughts—his *beau idéal* of honesty, his monitor, his consoler, his councillor—no, not that well-tried man, but the once loathed Protestant minister becomes his chosen medium of communication with his dearly loved relatives. Many can bear testimony to this suggestive fact. Each witness that we could summon, however, would say something akin to the following, written by a Mr. Inglis—no Churchman, for which reason we quote him—in his work on Ireland (vol. i. p. 347), published in 1834:—

“Now it is a curious fact, and a fact that consists with my knowledge, that Catholic emigrants send their remittances to the care, not of the Catholic priest, but of the Protestant clergyman, to be distributed by him among those pointed out. The same respect for, and reliance on, the Protestant clergyman, is evinced in other ways. It is not at all unusual for Catholics possessed of a little money to leave the Protestant clergyman their executor in preference to their own priest, or to any other individual.”

Within the compass assigned to us it would be vain to attempt a full enumeration of the several agencies co-operating to extirpate the Papal poison from Ireland—to relieve that country weighed to the earth with *the difficulty*. Without, however, meaning to detract from the peculiar merits of any smaller, though in its sphere proportionately not less efficient society, of the many enlisted in this glorious crusade against error, we must name the two chief agencies around which all the rest rally. They are the “Irish Society” and “the Irish Church Mission Society.” The first named has been a considerable period (since 1818) tempering the soil and clearing the ground, quietly and unobtrusively. The latter entered lately (in 1849) but boldly to till the already moistened field. The first, until an alliance with the latter formed in March 1853, limited its operations to the Irish speaking people. This, though not indispensable to success, was a judicious course at the time the Society was originated, if for no other reason than that an Irishman will not refuse instruction conveyed in his own revered language, supposing it impossible to impart error through it. Hence, they who would shudder while listening to the Bible in English hear it with rapture in

Irish. They thus imperceptibly imbibed scriptural notions, and learned that the sacred volume was not so pestilent and terrible as they had been led to suppose. We cannot forbear quoting here an instance illustrating this feeling, especially as it may be taken as a specimen of the method used by this Society to insill Gospel precepts into the peasant's mind. We extract from Mason's "History of the Irish Society," as quoted by M'Walter:

"About four months ago an old man, of seventy-five years of age, was in the habit of attacking one of our female teachers on the score of her Bible reading, warning her of her danger, and assuring her that she was on the high road to hell and destruction. In spring last she met this man on the road, who, as usual, commenced abusing her; when she asked him, for the tenth time, how he came to speak against the thing of which he knew nothing, and begged permission to read a wee bit out of this condemned book. At length he consented, saying that he would just listen to her for this once, in return for which he hoped she would give it up for ever. Down they sat upon the road-side, and ———, drawing forth her Irish Testament, commenced reading the first chapter of John's Gospel, to which the old man listened with great attention. When it was concluded— 'Now, ——— (said she), what do you think of that?' 'Go on, jewel (said the old man), I'll listen to a little more.' She then read the second chapter of the same Gospel, and appealed to him the second time for his opinion. 'You may read another, jewel (said he), I'm not tired yet. She then read the third chapter, and, closing the book, asked him if he would advise her to stop teaching. 'In troth, ——— (said he), I would advise no such thing; but if you will teach me, with God's blessing, I'll learn to read it myself.' From that day forward the old man came regularly to her house for instruction; and he is now able to read a chapter himself, although when he began he knew not his letters, in his seventy-fifth year. A river lies between his house and ———'s, over which the pupil has to pass; and sometimes the floods swell the river so much, and he being lame, when he comes to the edge he stands hallooing to her husband to come down and carry him across the river, until he gets his lesson, which he hardly ever neglects."

From the same work we copy this incident, showing how even the peasantry reckon disunion amongst the main ingredients which Rome has bound into the Irish difficulty:—

"A gentleman of the county of Tyrone, having called on an Irish inspector, was told he was in an inner room. Approaching the door, he heard the buzz of many voices; and, on opening it, he found the inspector surrounded by twenty or thirty men. 'Pat (said he); I am afraid you are making Ribbonmen here.' 'Oh no, your honour! (was the retort); I am not making Ribbonmen, but I am making United Irishmen; and this (holding up a large Irish Bible) is the seed of our union."

Taking its stand upon a more comprehensive basis, the "Irish Church Missions Society," at its very starting, addressed itself openly to all Irishmen. Some deemed this a very rash and hazardous experiment; but its almost incredible success more than justifies the wisdom of such a stride. Much, through God's sage dealings with the nation, had, before operations were begun, conspired to facilitate its peaceful triumph. Not always unresisted, it has often in the teeth of every variety of formidable opposition carried the word into the very strongholds of Romanism, and largely contributed to the reduction of that system's adherents which we have already noticed. To one mind—one chosen heart—is due the conception of this bountifully blessed regeneration. Their possessor is the Rev. A. Dallas. His intellectual energy—his seasoned spirit—his unflagging perseverance—nobly and efficiently aided by kindred spirits such as the Rev. R. Bickersteth—have been well and constantly devoted to the laborious yet cheering mission which seems destined to demolish utterly Irish Romanism and with it the remnant of the Irish difficulty.

It might be deemed invidious to particularize any of the single-handed exertions which from time to time stand out in bold relief from the woeful negligence which had laid hold of the Irish Church. Such, for instance, were the unaided and successful labours of the Rev. Mr. Murray at Askeaton at a time when it was, alas! unfashionable to preach Christ to all men—when it was called "exceeding one's jurisdiction" to do his duty wholly—when Irish Romanism was dominant and Irish Protestantism dormant. When these were the prominent features in Irish affairs, Mr. Murray—now the venerable Deau of Ardagh—disdaining the unmerited scoffs of unregenerate Protestants, and not dreading the over-estimated vengeance of Romanists—calmly and gradually proclaimed the Gospel to *all* his parishioners, rightly reckoning Romanists among the number, until he found his once empty church filled to repletion with earnest Christians. We must not, however, tarry in multiplying selections of this type, though the topic be tempting and prolific of interesting enquiry.

Such individual and such collective exertions as these adverted to have stamped upon the especial localities where they have caused the infusion of Gospel precepts prosperity and peace in the most decisive characters. It would be easy to enumerate instances; but we apprehend enough has been said for the present to establish the decline of Irish Romanism and the brighter destiny which casts its expressive rays through the loose clouds that surround the vanishing difficulty. The long hoped time is at

length nigh when Romanism shall utterly perish in a land where its insidious poison consumed the beauty and the bounty of creation—where its full luxuriance was said to be emblematic of its strength all over the world—where its soul-destroying magnificence has lain for centuries progressing and untouched—where its annihilation is expected to foreshadow its total fall elsewhere.* We have recorded the changes that are discernible in that land, and they show with what rapidity the clouds are gathering. The symptoms of approaching transition are becoming manifest, ready to signal—if the death of Romanism in Ireland be really the signal—that now is the time for the contending elements to burst forth in their long impending wrath, and the whole world shall be filled with the echo of “Babylon the Great” falling, crash after crash, before the wrath of a righteous God.

ART. VII.—1. *Theological Essays*. By FREDERIC DENISON MAURICE, M.A., Professor of Divinity in King's College London, and Chaplain of Lincoln's-Inn. Cambridge: Mac-Millan. 1853.

2. *Grounds for Bringing before the Council of King's College, London, certain Statements contained in a Recent Publication entitled Theological Essays, &c., &c., &c.* By R. W. JELF, D.D. Principal of the College, and Canon of Christ Church. London: J. H. Parker. 1853.

3. *The Word “Eternal,” and the Punishment of the Wicked: a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Jelf, Canon of Christ Church, &c.* By FREDERIC DENISON MAURICE. Cambridge: Mac-Millan. 1853.

4. *The Wrath of the Lamb*. By the REV. G. E. BIBER. LL.D. London: Rivingtons and Co. 1853.

THE controversy into which we are now plunged respecting the orthodoxy of Mr. Maurice, and his removal from King's College, has not taken the Church altogether by surprise. There are few thoughtful men who, in watching the course of

* A prophecy is current in Ireland that, when Romanism ceases to be the religion of a great portion of the Irish people, that system cannot long survive elsewhere. We are not acquainted with any reasons for supposing that so very intimate and singular a connexion exists between the “Island of Saints” and the religion of sinners. The prediction can, however, be traced to the middle of the sixteenth century, when Bishop Metz circulated it as an impetus to the rebellious Hugh O'Neil, then arrayed in defence of Irish Romanism, menaced by the spread of reformation.

ecclesiastical events, have not long foreseen that a collision must sooner or later take place between the learned but somewhat nebulous Professor, and those who are usually accounted the representatives of sound divinity in the council; and now, that this expectation has been fulfilled, it has yet come in an unlooked-for way, and the dispute turns by no means on an anticipated subject. To those who have heard for years the teachings of Mr. Maurice—who have imagined that they penetrated his meaning, and who were inclined as far as they did understand him, and perhaps a little further, to consider him as one of the great philosophers of the age—it would not have appeared strange had he been assailed because he differed from “the popular theology” on the doctrine of the atonement, on the nature of sin, or on the extent of scriptural inspiration; but that the ground taken up against him should be simply the duration of future punishments is certainly by no means what the theological world was prepared to hear.

But as a wise pleader does not urge all his pleas at once, but elects one point on which the issue of many others are to be tried, so it appears that Dr. Jelf, taking not perhaps the most important error, but that the most easy to prove, has chosen that this trial, at least for the present, shall rest on the question whether Mr. Maurice is, or is not, bound to believe in the endlessness of future punishments; and here we might join issue, and argue the case on this restricted ground; but this would, in the first place, be unfair to Mr. Maurice, a small part only of whose opinions would thus be represented; and it would in the second place be equally unfair to that “popular theology,” against which on nearly all points he has directed his attacks. We must, therefore, deal with his “Theological Essays” as embodying to a large extent a system of his teaching—we must compare these essays one with another—and we must not hastily set down any dogma, as that propounded by him, until we have seen how far it agrees with the general tone and tendency of his book.

Mr. Maurice has a right to expect this at the hands of any reviewer, and the more so because he deals with profound truths—with abstract and metaphysical views of Scripture doctrine—with a philosophy whose utterances are not familiar to the multitude. Nor is this the only reason why his work must be carefully studied: he labours under a great disadvantage—his style is painfully involved and obscure—and the very fact that such a writer has attained so much influence is of itself sufficient to show that he has, indeed, something to teach. It was said with great truth of the “Tracts of the Times”—

"He who has read them feels, and can scarcely tell how, that an attempt has been made to place his faith upon a new basis ; to remove the old foundation without seeming to do so ; and to substitute another before the change could be perceived." A very similar effect is produced on most minds by Mr. Maurice's "Theological Essays." There is an air of sorrowful doubt running through them—a discontent with the forms and vehicles of popular truth—glimpses, not clear visions, of grand metaphysical verities—attempts, vain ones of course, at impossible combinations ; and the "*atmosphere of doubt*" grows continually more dense till it ends in a positive intellectual fog.

Now, we have a great respect for Mr. Maurice as a man of learning, and ability, and what is far more valuable, of perfect integrity ; but we cannot look on this perpetual haze of mind and yet rank him among great thinkers, much less among great teachers. We see, indeed, the desire to discover and the unwillingness to dogmatize : we perceive the stretching forth of the hand into the vast abyss of the infinite ; but we see also that there is neither length of reach nor power to grasp, to make that stretching forth successful, and we are perpetually reminded that the truths he does hold are not digested. His mind is not like the strong spirit which holds the essential oil in perfect solution, and is filled with its fragrance without losing the lustre of its own transparency ; but like the diluted medium which does, indeed, give forth somewhat of the aroma, but is only able to hold the essence in suspension, and is itself rendered cloudy and lustreless by the admixture. Did we not know something of the zeal and earnestness of purpose which he has exhibited—with what success he has laboured among the poor, and how he has kept back the wild fancies of his more enthusiastic followers—did we, in fact, find this book fresh from Leipsic, with the name of some German Professor upon its title-page, we should say—"Here is a man destitute of spiritual enlightenment, and seeking to solve spiritual problems by purely intellectual means." And this is the judgment which, we believe, most Christian readers, who know nothing of Mr. Maurice's personal character, would deliberately record of his book.

Perplexed with theories about the nature of sin and the origin of evil—startled by the inconsistencies of certain modern divines—brooding over the lost condition of those who pass away from this world *not* in the faith and fear of the Lord, and endowed at the same time with a vivid appreciation of the divine love, he has attempted to harmonise into a system the most inscrutable mysteries with the most clearly revealed truths ;

and, where he has seen the failure of the endeavour, he has wrapped the unaccommodating truth in "an atmosphere of doubt." We do not in the least deny that this has been unconsciously done on his part, and we are also satisfied that his disciples have been those who had already felt the difficulty, and were willing to admit his cloudy solution rather than have none at all. Still the evil is done: those are satisfied who ought not to be satisfied, and we fear the words, "Peace! peace!" are spoken where there is no peace.

Dante, with a firmer grasp and a more comprehensive mind, could behold written on the gates of hell—

"Fecemi la divina Potestate
La somma sapienza, e'l primo Amore!"

and then proceed to depict in language awful in its sublimity the horrors of that "*eterno dolore*." Mr. Maurice, unlike the mighty Florentine, must measure the divine attributes by his own conception of them, and model the effects of the divine wrath by his own appreciation of the divine love. The anthropomorphism of Scripture he but partially understands, or at least but partially applies it; so that he is perpetually mixing abstract truth with the figurative language in which alone the divine character can be revealed to mankind at large. We might easily find examples of what we mean; but we will take a passage which has been cited before in this *Review* for another purpose, and we now instance it as showing the effect on his own mind of this confusion:—

"I know I *can* silence an objection by telling him the Bible means something altogether different from that which it appears to mean. He does not care to discuss any question with me when he has understood that there is no medium of communication between us—that I am speaking in language which I cannot interpret to him. He believes the book I honour above all others to be a book of cabala, and throws it away accordingly. And, if I afterwards refer to any passages of beautiful morality which I think may impress him in its favour, he tells me plainly that I know the intention of those passages is not what the words indicate, and that the conscience of mankind responds to their apparent, not to their real, signification" (p. 2).

Now, here is an objection answered by another objection: it is not, indeed, the way in which Mr. Maurice would *choose* to answer it; but he speaks of it as a thing which it is competent for a theologian to do. But what is this answer? It amounts to this—that I may to the same person first speak of the Bible as putting forth statements which are not *abstractedly* and *metaphysically* true; and then I may call upon him to

obey its precepts as leading those who *are* so obedient into *practical* truth. We cannot expect any man to be satisfied with teaching like this. Take the Scripture as a *whole* revelation, translate its figures into metaphysical truth if you will, but remember that the precepts must be translated into the same language. In short, what Mr. Maurice says he can do is precisely what we say he cannot do.

Another equally dangerous but somewhat less perplexing error is that often, where Scripture admits of two or even more interpretations, Mr. Maurice is determined to see only one. That beyond the outward and obvious sense of the historical and prophetic books there is an inner and spiritual meaning, few, if any, enlightened Christians will refuse to believe. Who does not rejoice to trace in the progress and conquests of God's ancient people the victories of Christ both in the world and in the soul? Who does not with devout rejoicing recognise the great antitype in all the gorgeous shadows of the Old Testament dispensation? Who does not feel that to us the whole value of the Hebrew history lies in its typical character? And who does not with equal clearness perceive that the prophecies have the like two-fold or three-fold interpretation? It is well that the predictions concerning Tyre and Babylon have been so accomplished that we can trace the hand of Providence in fulfilling every portion of the divine denunciation; but we could believe the word of God without this additional proof of its faithfulness; and how are we concerned in the fates of those empires whose names are all that the world has known of them for ages, unless the sacred records read to us stern and salutary lessons by their warnings—unless there be some deeper meaning—some instruction of more spiritual significance conveyed to the Church and the soul, of which the worldly promises and worldly threats of these prophecies are but the vehicles?

And, if we have experimental reasons for thus speaking concerning the prophecies of the Old Testament—if Isaiah, and Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, teach us how the Redeemer's kingdom is to advance in the world, and how the divine life is to develope itself in the heart—if a prayerful study of the Scriptures teach us these same truths from the Psalms of David and the Song of Solomon—surely we may expect the same revelations, or even greater ones, in the prophecies of the new covenant. Men may differ, and good men too, as to the way in which the predictions of the Apocalypse shall have their accomplishment, and it is possible that many of them will be never understood at all till after their fulfilment; but as to the profounder philosophy, this more spiritual interpretation,

there can be little difference among those to whom "the unction from the Holy One" has been granted. But while they rejoice that thus the more hidden glories of their Lord's realm are unfolded before their eyes, so far as the weakness of their nature can bear the vision, they no more think of refusing their assent to the more literal interpretation than the student of Old Testament history would think of denying the existence of Joshua because he was but a type of Jesus.

Yet in this unphilosophical manner does Mr. Maurice treat the Apocalypse. Because he finds a spiritual signification in the doctrine of a day of judgment, he denies that there shall be any literal accomplishment of those prophecies which predict it:—

"'For we must all'—not appear—but 'be made manifest before the tribunal of Christ.' A time must come when it will be clearly discovered to all men what their state was while they were pilgrims in this world—that they were in a spiritual relation just as much as they were in relation to those visible things of which their senses took cognizance. That which has been hidden will be made known; the darkness will no longer be able to quench the light which has been shining in the midst of it and seeking to penetrate it: each man will be revealed as that which he actually is, that every one may receive the things done in the body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

"This language is, I think, strictly and beautifully consistent with all that the apostle has taught us of Christ as the Redeemer and Justifier, with the whole purpose and method of his Gospel. But it certainly suggests to us the thought that the tribunal of Christ is one which is not to be set up for the first time in some distant day, amidst earthly pomp and ceremonial, but that it is one before which we, in our own inmost being, are standing now, and that the time will come when we shall know that it is so, and when all which has concealed the Judge from us will be taken away" (pp. 298, 299).

Now, so far as it is possible to separate the negations from this passage, there is nothing in it which the true believer does not feel to comprehend a large portion of the truth. He feels that God in Christ is "*making manifest*" to all men that he has established "a tribunal" in the hearts of his followers before which they are standing now; and that, by means of that tribunal, the believer is invested with the solemn privilege of comparing himself with Christ, and of *judging himself* that he may *not* be judged of the Lord! But this consciousness only makes him the more awake to the revealed truth that God "hath appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in righteousness." He believes that there is a sense in

which "the trump of the archangel has been sounding in every century of the modern world; that it is sounding now and will sound more clearly when the end comes;" but he does not, therefore, refuse to believe that Christ as Judge shall sit on the great white throne, and that the awful pomp of that tremendous day shall be ushered in by the sounding of the archangel's trumpet in a different and more literal manner; and that the ears of the dead shall be opened and they shall arise:—

"If you ask whether St. Paul meant that there would sound in his own day an archangel's trumpet which would call the nations—his own first—into God's judgment, and that a mighty change in the condition of them all, the beginning of what may be rightly called a new world, would follow upon that judgment, I should answer, 'Undoubtedly I think so. I can put no other construction upon his language; and I can put no other construction upon the facts of history except that they fulfilled his language.' But if you ask further how he connected this with the condition of each individual man, who might or might not be alive at that crisis in the world's history, I should say, 'Since he held that in Adam all die, and that in Christ all are made alive, he of necessity believed also that a day was at hand for every man—a day of revelation and discovery—a day which should show him what life was and what death was; what his own true condition—what his false condition was. And everything which warned a man that such a day was at hand, which roused him to seek for light and to fly from darkness, was a note of the archangel's trumpet—a voice bidding him awake, that Christ the Lord of his spirit might give him light. And in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, by a fit of apoplexy, by the dagger of an assassin, the vesture of mortality which hides that light from it might drop off from him, and he might be changed. What had merely sounded to him here as some common earthly note of preparation for death would then be recognised as the archangel's trumpet calling him to account, asking him whether the light that had been vouchsafed to him, whilst shadows of darkness were still about him, had been faithfully used, or whether he had loved darkness rather than light because his deeds were evil?'

"In both these anticipations—if they are, or can be separated—I accept St. Paul and the other Scriptures as a guide respecting the condition of us who are living in this later period of the world. I look for a judgment of nations and Churches to wind up our age, as he looked for one to wind up his age. I believe the trumpet of the archangel has been sounding in every century of the modern world—that it is sounding now, and will sound more clearly before the end comes" (pp. 175, 176).

Once more, we have no doubt that Christ will be "manifested as he is" at the last day; but we believe that, *as man*, he is now sitting at the right hand of God; and that, *as man*,

he shall sit on the throne of judgment. We do not deny that it will be to the Church like as the "sun coming forth out of his bridal chamber after the dark night;" but there is nothing inconsistent in this with his again revealing his pure and spotless humanity. Mr. Maurice is combating partly a phantom of his own imagination, and partly the truth itself, when he says:—

"If I read the words, *From thence he shall come*, following immediately upon the account of an ascension into heaven, which is described as a great triumph for him and for mankind, I do not think my first notion would be that they implied that he would descend from that state—that he would assume again the conditions and limitations of the one which he had left. The favourable scriptural analogy of the sun coming forth out of his bridal chamber, after the dark night, would present itself as, at all events, much more obvious" (pp. 299, 300).

"The 'coming' of the Apostles' Creed, and the 'coming again' of the Nicene Creed, must both indicate, if we derive our interpretation of them from the Scriptures, not that Christ will resume earthly conditions, or will take a throne in some part of this earth, but that he will be manifested as he is" (p. 302).

According to this strange passage, the Scripture is, indeed, a book which does not mean what it says. For Christ's "coming again" would seem to signify that he shall not come at all; and, his "sitting on the throne of judgment," that there will be no throne for him to sit on.

In like manner does Mr. Maurice "throw an atmosphere of doubt" over the very doctrine of the resurrection of the body. Speaking of the reverence paid to the dead by the followers of the Popish Church, he says:—

"If we reject this temptation—because Romanists have fallen into it, and we think it must therefore be shunned—we shall take our own Protestant way of asserting the sanctity of relics by maintaining that at a certain day they will be gathered together, and that the very body to which they once belonged will be reconstructed out of them. That immense demand is made upon our faith—a demand in comparison of which all notions of cures wrought at tombs fade into nothing—by divines who would yet shrink instinctively from saying that what they call a living body here *is* composed of a mere congeries of particles—who would denounce any man as a Materialist if he did say that" (pp. 167, 168.)

And this is an instance of that unfairness which we shall find in all Mr. Maurice's writings when he has to speak of what he calls the "popular theology." What "popular theology" of the

present day would renew the absurdities of Young's poem, or need such an expostulation as this:—

“We should not dare, I think, any longer to make the corrupt, degrading, shameful accidents which necessarily belong to that body in each one of us, because we have sinned, the rule by which we judge of it here: how much less should we suppose these to be the elements out of which its high, and restored, and spiritual estate can ever be fashioned?” (p. 169.)

And now, therefore, we shall proceed to make our protest against that assumption which underlies the whole of Mr. Maurice's argument. He maintains that the “popular theology” presents as literal truths certain figures of speech, and thus brings down to a very low level, the purport and character of the Gospel—that it loses sight of the divine love and represents God as “delighting in punishment”—that it makes statements, claiming for them the authority of divine truth, which are utterly impossible to be believed—and that it ties down to certain dogmatic aphorisms those verities which are rather to be felt than defined. To all this we reply that he has totally misapprehended the theology which he attacks. If there be any fault to which the evangelical divines of our own day are inclined, is it that they do not sufficiently dwell on the “terrors of the Lord.” Quite as fully appreciating His love as our author himself, they seem unwilling to touch the “wrath of the Lamb;” and it is to be hoped, if our apprehension be a true one, that the appearance of the “*Theological Essays*,” will show them the peril of neglecting any longer to “persuade men” by exhibiting, in the strongest language, the exceeding sinfulness and the unutterable danger of sin.

But it is not true that the “popular theology” does take the hyper-literal view of divine things of which Mr. Maurice complains. Is there not a deep and scriptural spirituality in the writings of such men as Dale and Beamish, and Villiers and Cumming, and Fisk, and Ferguson, and Ryle; and, whose theology is popular, if theirs be not? We take every body of professing Christians who are called Protestant, and we find that the men looked on as leaders and teachers among them are precisely those the most free from the faults which Mr. Maurice wishes to fasten on the whole body. He may have met with perverted specimens; those whom Mr. Conybeare, with much wit and more ill-nature, calls “*the Low and Slow*”: he may have been ill-treated by some *soi-disant* religious clique, or abused by some so-called religious newspaper. He may have met with some such scenes as those which he so graphically describes:—

"Go to the house across the street, or, it may be, to the fashionable with-drawing-room below, and there you will find what hold this doctrine has upon your people. There you may hear some religious dowager, with the newspaper from which she derives her faith and her charity, on the ottoman beside her, denouncing a youth just returned from Cambridge; and, as you enter, imploring your help in delivering him from the horrible scepticism into which he has fallen respecting the faith which is her only consolation in time and eternity. That faith is *not* in the tender love of God, in the obedience of Christ, in His great humility: it is in the theory of the satisfaction He has offered to offended Sovereignty, or, as she calls it, *justice*. I do not speak—I dare not—of the effect of her admonitions upon the young man against whom they are directed. I do not speculate upon the fearful question, how soon *he* may fulfil all her anticipations, may plunge into infidelity, or fly from it to Romanism; or what mercy of God—*melior fortuna parente*—may save him from either calamity. I speak to *her*. You are afraid, my brother clergyman, of disturbing her peace of mind. Is your fear a right and a kind one? Should you not *wish* to shake such a peace of mind as that? Would not an old prophet of Israel have tried to shake it to the very ground? Would he not have burst forth with some woe against careless women, who cover themselves with a covering which is not of God's Spirit—who make souls sad which God has not made sad—and who hinder the wicked from turning from their evil way by promising them life? Would not Luther have torn the fine rags of such a profession very readily to pieces? Would he have rested till he had made the comfortable believer ask herself whether she actually believed anything?" (pp. 141, 142).

Let Mr. Maurice be of good courage—the young Cambridge man is in no danger—he did but affect a little scepticism. There is none really existing at that ancient seat of sound learning and religious instruction. Men do think *for themselves* there, but they have good guides, and do not go far wrong. But how many examples does the fashionably-religious world present of this preposterous dowager? Not many; and even the *Record* itself—the newspaper which we presume she has been reading—will teach her a better philosophy and a truer theology than that which Mr. Maurice ascribes to her. These things are mere caricatures, some more highly-coloured than others; but the ex-professor knows little, indeed, of the system which he so pointedly condemns.

Two of the subjects of the "Theological Essays" are Sin and Punishment—two more, Scripture and Inspiration; and there are fundamental errors displayed in both which necessarily reproduce themselves in every step of the succeeding argument. What do we mean by the "Inspiration of Scripture," from which alone it derives its authority?—and for what pur-

pose is it given us? These are two questions which Mr. Maurice, so far as he answers at all, answers wrongly. Most strange and deluding are his theorizings about "Inspiration." He admits it in the Bible, but he claims it also elsewhere. We can hardly discern any difference between his opinions on all these matters and those set forth by George Fox, and maintained still to a large extent in the Society called Quakers:—

"If any one likes to speak of plenary inspiration I would not complain. I object to the inspiration which people talk of, for being too empty, not for being too full. These forms of speech are pretty toys for those who have leisure to play with them; and if they are not made so hard as to do mischief, the use of them should never be checked. But they do not belong to business; they are not for those who are struggling with life and death: such persons want, not a plenary inspiration for a verbal inspiration, but a book of life; and they will know that they have one when you have courage to tell them that there is a spirit with them who will guide them into all truth" (342).

But we must not linger on this subject. The more important question still is to be answered—For what purpose is the Bible given to us? We reply—To be our only and infallible guide, the source and origin of all our theology, explained to us, indeed, both from within and from without; but still that alone from which we may lawfully derive our theological systems.

"A true theology (says Mr. Maurice) must be one which 'corresponds with the deepest thoughts and feelings of human beings.' When asked (p. 10), 'How do you get this theology of yours?' he replies—'I dare say the Church, and the Bible, and my consciousness, have a great deal to do with any apprehensions I have of it: how much each has to do with it, I cannot tell.'"

No, we fear not; but we must not be content to find ourselves in a position like this. When we are asked the same question we must be able to reply—we get our theology from the Scriptures of Truth, in which God has been pleased to make known his love and to reveal his laws to man. How are we to "try the spirits" except by this test? How are we to pronounce with any certainty whether a theory be right or wrong, if the factors of the judicial power be compounded in *unknown proportions* of "the Church, the Bible, and our own consciousness?" See what the result is:—

"St. John says, 'We behold his glory, as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.' Am I to believe this, asks the objector, on the testimony of a Galilean fisherman, or, for aught we know, of some later doctor assuming that guise? I answer, 'You are *not* to believe—you cannot believe either fisher-

man or doctor, if the assertion itself is contrary to truth, to the laws of your being, to the order and constitution of the universe in which you are living'.....'You cannot believe the words, *if there be that in them which contradicts the spirit of a man that is in you* : which does not address that with demonstration and power' " (105).

One result of such a mode of investigation must be that nobody can ever be proved in the wrong—a conclusion which may exempt Mr. Maurice from blame, but does not seem adopted to promote any distinct knowledge of divine truth. Equally vague and unsatisfactory is what he says about sin and about the atonement ; but we must reserve for a future occasion what we have to say on these momentous topics. We cannot, however, avoid noticing, that, as he considers justification to be something already accomplished and quite independent of faith—as the righteousness which Christ gives is given to the unbeliever as well as to the believer—so he seems to infer that men know this and universally feel it:—

"I believe most clergymen, most religious persons, who have conversed at all seriously with men of any class, from the most refined to the most ignorant, in any state of mind, from that of the most contented Pharisee to that of the lowest criminal.....hear from one and all, in some language or other, the assertion of a righteousness which they are sure is theirs, and which cannot be taken from them" (62).

Again:—

"We apply the principle to those facts when we say boldly to the man who declares that he has a righteousness which no man shall remove from him, 'That is true: you have such a righteousness. It is deeper than all the iniquity which is in you: it lies at the very ground of your existence'" (68).

And he complains that—

"We do not accept the New Testament explanation of these appearances and manifestations: we do not believe that Christ *is in every man*—the source of all the light that ever visits him—the root of all the righteous thoughts and acts that he is ever able to conceive or do" (65).

Here is a wild confusion, indeed. The "popular theology" *does* accept these manifestations: it *does* believe that Christ is the source of all the light that ever visits man; and it looks on these visitings as the proof that God's gracious Spirit is striving with man and bringing him into the path of salvation. But the essayist is confounding these striving visits which are granted to the unregenerate, and whereby they are brought haply to the

knowledge of the truth, with the indwelling spirit of sanctification. He makes the difference between the converted and the unconverted to be a difference of degree and not of kind; for, if he does not mean this, why does he object to the "popular theology?" How widely different from the fact is the assertion that "one and all, in some language or other, assert a righteousness which they are sure is theirs, and which cannot be taken from them!"

We have observed that Dr. Jelf, or rather the Council of which Dr. Jelf is on the present occasion the spokesman, have removed the late Professor because he seemed to throw "an atmosphere of doubt" on the eternity of future punishments. We wish much that some of the questions we have discussed in this article had been selected instead; but, as it has pleased the Council to take this line, we must proceed now, passing over many other questionable theories, to examine that on which—for the present at least—the controversy seems to hinge; and perhaps the best way of doing this will be to give first an account of the Universalist theory: secondly—so far as we can comprehend it—of that put forth by the ex-professor; and last of that which is more generally received by the Church; after which it will be a comparatively easy task to decide on their respective merits.

The Universalist, then, objects to the doctrine of eternal punishment—first, because to punish a finite offence, or series of offences, with an infinite retribution, is, he conceives, in the very nature of things contrary alike to the principles of love and justice. To say, as some foolishly do, that an offence against an infinite being becomes itself infinite in consequence, is merely to utter a simple absurdity: to silence the objector, as others attempt, by asserting that we are not able to judge of the justice or mercy of God's acts, and that as potsherds of the earth it is our duty to adore and be silent, is speaking not only as though our loving Father were an omnipotent tyrant, but it is indirectly contravening the provisions of his most holy word. He has called us to examine his oracles, and he has given us faculties to do so. Now, these very faculties are to be exercised in *reasoning* with him on these very principles of justice and mercy. "Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord." So that then, to be told, our finite faculties are unable to decide whether a certain act be just or unjust, even though it be asserted of God himself, is a direct contradiction of holy writ!

A third class of respondents say that the Universalist assertion presupposes an antagonism or conflict of feelings in the divine mind, and arrays justice against love.

This argument is put as well as it can be by Dr. Biber: he calls the theory to which we allude—

“—an assumption which a little reflection will show to be both illogical and irreverent. It is illogical—first, because it proceeds on the supposition that there is a contradiction, an antagonism, between different attributes of the divine character—a supposition manifestly inadmissible, because incompatible with the eternal and unchangeable perfection of that character; secondly, because it deals unequally with the attributes of the divine character, as well by recognizing his love, his mercy as infinite, while it sets limits to his justice and his wrath, as by regarding the former only as titles to the unreserved homage of his creatures, while the latter are viewed in the light of drawbacks upon his adorable perfection. The distinction so made between attributes of the divine character which we contemplate with complacency, and attributes which we contemplate with repugnance, is, moreover, not only illogical, but irreverent in the extreme. Indeed, the whole process of subjecting the character of God to the scrutiny and judgment of our mind—of pronouncing upon what things are, and what things are not, in our opinion, compatible or reconcileable with each other in his character—is an act of glaring irreverence” (5).

A very little thought will show that this reply is infinitely less logical than the last. It is exactly because the Universalist does *not*, and will *not*, recognise any such conflict, that he throws over entirely one of the conflicting agents. There can be no antagonism in the divine mind: love is an attribute of Deity, and his infinite justice is merely righteousness applied to finite merits, and is therefore only *a part of one* of the divine attributes; or that attribute, viewed under a finite aspect: as to “wrath,” surely no theologian sets it down in the same category.

Thus far the “popular theology” does fail to meet the metaphysical difficulty with which the Universalist confronts him. Mr. Maurice feels it vividly, and many others beside him:—

“It cannot be denied that men are escaping to Rome in search of a purgatory; because they see in that some token that God is merciful to his creatures—that the whole mass of human beings in our streets and alleys whom we have overlooked and neglected—nineteen hundredths of the population of all the continental countries—most of the American slaves, besides the whole body of Turks, Hindoos, Hottentots, Jews—will not sink for ever, in a short time, into hopeless destruction, from which a few persons—some of whom are living comfortably, eating their dinners, and riding in their carriages without any vexation of heart—may, by special mercy, be delivered. They say this is the meaning of what they have been told in the land where a Gospel is said to be preached—where Bibles are distributed in every village: they say that a Church which gives them a hope that this is not so, that the three-score years and

ten do not absolutely limit the compassion of the Father of spirits must be better than the one in which they have been bred. Oh ! that such words should be spoken and should be believed : that we should be supposed to have gained nothing by three centuries of emancipation from the yoke of Rome but the loss of faith and hope in God—but a more assured perdition—a more utter despair ! Let us hasten to wipe off this foul disgrace, to show in deed and in truth that it does not belong to us. We have renounced, indeed, all notion of defining the limits of purgatory. We know that in the strictest sense this world is a purgatory : that there are fires here for burning up the dross and refining the pure ore: we have renounced the blasphemous notion of paying so much to God for bringing souls out of the condition which belongs to them : we have not instituted prayers for the dead, for Christ has said that God is not the God of the dead, but of the living, since all live to him. We have rejected idle fancies about places where spirits may be dwelling ; for what do we know of them, or what have they to do with us and with those we love ? But how dare we define God ? How dare we say that Christ is not the Lord of both worlds ? How can we check the Spirit of Love, who bids us pray 'for all men,' or tell him that the prayers must be limited by barriers of space and time which Christ has broken down ? And into what blasphemy does this notion lead us ? We, poor selfish, miserable creatures, desire the salvation and well-being of this and that fellow-creature, of Jews, Turks, Infidels, Heretics, so we are more loving than the God of Love ! We are desiring a good for man which he does not desire" (*Essays*, pp. 439-441).

Moreover, the Universalist goes on. The doctrine of eternal punishment rests on the meaning of one word—the word *αἰώνιος*—and that word he contends does not signify *eternal*. It is derived from *αἶων* ; and as *αἶων* signifies age, so *αἰώνιος* must signify *age-lasting*. If you object to him that the same word is applied to God himself, he admits it ; but still asserts his right to interpret the term literally and etymologically. If you remind him that the same term is applied to *life*, and the reward of the risen and ransomed believer, he admits this likewise ; but he *also* declares that the eternity of future bliss does not in any way depend upon the word *αἰώνιος*—that men are saved by the power of Christ's righteousness—his imputed righteousness, which is infinite, and produces therefore an infinite salvation ; while the lost are lost through their own sins, which are finite, and therefore cannot produce infinite results. Moreover, again, the whole tendency of the divine word, and of the divine work, points towards an endless progress ; so that, while there are a thousand reasons, philosophical and scriptural, converging towards the one point, the other stands an isolated and inconsistent doctrine. This inconsistency the Universalist

fancies he removes by denying the existence of any eternal punishment whatever. Those who wish to examine the subject further may refer to the works of John Foster, White, and Winchester, but especially the former. To this theory Mr. Maurice objects :—

“We do not want theories of Universalism : they are as cold, hard, unsatisfactory, as all other theories. But we want that clear, broad assertion of the divine charity which the Bible makes, and which carries us immeasurably beyond all that we can ask or think. What dream of ours can reach to the assertion of St. John, *that death and hell themselves shall be cast into the lake of fire*? I cannot fathom the meaning of such expressions ; but they are written—I accept them, and *give thanks for them*. I feel there is an abyss of death, into which I may sink and be lost. Christ's Gospel reveals *an abyss of love, below that ; I am content to be lost in that.*”

And again, in his letter :—

“I now come to your second charge. My ‘words convey a general notion of ultimate salvation for all.’ I have said distinctly that I am *not* a Universalist, that I have deliberately rejected the theory of Universalism, knowing what it is ; and that I should as much refuse an Article which dogmatised in favour of that theory as one that dogmatised in favour of the opposite. As it appears from your final letter that these assestions have either not been believed at all, or believed only to this extent that you suppose some persons may go further than I do in pronouncing on the certainty of future salvation for the ‘wicked and impenitent,’ I must explain myself more fully.

“I object to the Universalists, because they seem to me to stand on the very ground upon which you stand. The word *αἰώνιος* is with them a word of time. Far from saying, as I have, that the substantive *αἰών*, by its very limitation, serves to suggest the thought of a fixed state out of time, they eagerly dwell on the fact that an age must consist of a certain number of years : it is terminable, they say, by its very nature. Therefore, at the end of a certain term—say thirty or forty thousand years—we may believe that God's punishment of wicked men may be over and they may be restored to favour. I have an utter want of sympathy with statements of this kind : they clash with all my convictions. How you answer them I am not equally able to understand.”

Having thus emphatically denied that he is a Universalist, or has any sympathy with those who are, Mr. Maurice must next explain what his own view of the case is. He does not believe the doctrine of everlasting damnation—so far he does agree with them. He does not believe that *αἰώνιος* signifies everlasting—so far he agrees with them also. He will not set bounds to the love and mercy of God—so far he agrees with them again ; but he will not “dogmatize on the subject”—that is, he will give the premises, but not the conclusions—so far

he is inferior to them in moral boldness, and must not be offended if some, who know him only by his writings, say, in argumentative honesty also. Indeed, an able contemporary observes, that his whole book looks like a protest against being brought to the point. But the differences between the author of the essay and the Universalist appear to be two; his meaning of the word *αἰώνιος* is not the same as theirs, though he will not translate it by "everlasting." He contends that the word has nothing to do with duration—nay, that our Lord has excluded from it the idea of duration.

There is much deep truth as well as deep feeling in the following passage, in which Mr. Maurice gives his view of what "death eternal"—a phrase by the bye not to be found in Scripture—does mean:—

"What, then, is death eternal, but to be without God? What is that infinite dread which rises upon my mind, which I cannot banish from me, when I think of my own godlessness and lovelessness—that I may become wholly separated from love; become wholly immersed in selfishness and hatred? What dread can I have—ought I to have—beside this? Mix up with this the consideration of days, and years, and millenniums, you add nothing either to my comfort or my fears. All you do is to withdraw me from the real cause of my misery, which is my separation from the source of life and peace—from the hope which must come to me in one place or another, if I can again believe in God's love, and cast myself upon it.

"Our Lord speaks of those who would not minister to him when he was sick and in prison and naked, as going away into eternal punishment, and then explains the neglect of his brethren to be neglect of him. The righteous—that is, those who owned him in the least of them—he says, will go into life eternal; for—we must recur to his own words—'This is life eternal, that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' The eternal life is the perception of his love, the capacity of loving; no greater reward can be attained by any, no higher or divine security. The eternal punishment is the loss of that power of perceiving his love, the incapacity of loving: no greater damnation can befall any" (*Essays*, pp. 437, 438).

The earnest eloquence of a passage like this goes directly to the heart, nor will we be so unfair as to question the intense longing after truth and holiness which it indicates; neither will we misunderstand the words preceding by some pages:—

"I have spoken of eternal *life*. What is eternal *death*? Dare we think of it? Must we not try, in some way, to evade the consideration of it—to explain away the words of Scripture which suggest it to us?" (*Essays*, p. 432).

But surely it is not explained away by arguments so flimsy as that which we find here founded on the word "punishment:"—

"And yet, as long as that word 'punishment' is used—as long as it is represented as the act of a Father—the heart discovers—cannot help discovering—a hope even in this deprivation. Nations—and our Lord here, if we take his words literally, speaks of nations—have undergone that awful sentence of losing all, or almost all, sense of God—of being given up to devil-worship, and yet they have risen out of it. Even Israel—the sins of which are heaviest, the exclusion of which has been so awfully an exclusion from spiritual blessings, from the knowledge of God himself—we trust is still only under punishment; will at last be saved" (*Essays*, p. 438).

The mind instinctively turns to the future, and beholds in another world the life or death eternal, towards which it is hastening. On *this* point Mr. Maurice will not pronounce:—

"What I dare not pronounce upon is the *fact* that every will in the universe must be brought into consent with the divine will. Stating the proposition as you state it, I should indeed tremble to affirm the contrary, and I think any man would. Dare you make it a positive article of faith that God's will, being what the Scriptures say it is, shall *not* finally triumph? Nevertheless there is such a darkness over the whole question of the possible resistance of the human will that I must be silent, and tremble and adore."

Mr. Maurice had been speaking of the impossibility under which men labour of obtaining, not an *adequate* idea, but *any* idea of eternity: he says:—

"Now, if you ask me on the strength of this passage, or of any similar one, to dogmatize on the *duration* of future punishment, I feel obliged to say, 'I cannot do so, I find *there* at least nothing on the subject. I cannot apply the idea of time to the word eternal. I feel that I cannot. Everybody feels it. What do the continual experiments to heap hundreds of thousands of years upon hundreds of thousands of years, and then the confession, 'after all we are no nearer to eternity,' mean, if not this? Do they not show that we are not even on the way to the idea of eternity? Might we not just as well have stopped at the hundredth year or the first? But this trifling becomes very serious and shocking, if there is a great and awful idea of eternity which our Lord would teach us, which belongs to our inmost selves, and which we are flying from by these efforts to get it into another region; for the idea of enjoying God or being without God, we unawares substitute that Mahometan felicity or Mahometan torment which you speak of, and the whole of Christianity becomes depraved in consequence."

Thus it appears we have the opinions of the ex-professo brought to something like a tangible form. He does not *be-*

lieve in everlasting punishment, but he will not declare that it may not be true. He believes that the word *αἰώνιος* has nothing to do with duration, but refers rather to the character of the life promised in a future world.

To the arguments about duration Dr. Jelf shall reply, and it would be difficult to put philosophical truth in clearer language than the learned Principal has done :—

“Permit me to observe first, that you appear in this instance to confound ‘duration’ with ‘periods or fixed portions or measures of duration;’ so that, however the instance may illustrate the absurdity of the attempt to approximate by means of ‘measures of duration’—(*i. e.*, time), to the notion of ‘eternity’ (which is after all what is intended by those who ‘give us that sum to work out,’) it is not relevant to the present question. Mankind in general would say, and Scripture would bear them out in saying, that whatever else is included in the term ‘eternal,’ as applicable to created beings, the notion of ‘duration’ is of its essence—*i. e.*, *never-ending duration*, which has nothing to do with ‘measures of duration.’ And the term which would be naturally employed to express this duration is the very term which you appear anxious to exclude—viz., ‘everlasting.’ I believe that this confusion between ‘duration’ and ‘measures of duration’ is the fallacy which lies at the root of your argument.”

Passing over Mr. Maurice’s charge against the “popular theology,” that it attempts to familiarize men with eternity by huge multiplication, which seems a perfectly gratuitous observation on his part, we carry on Dr. Jelf’s argument one step further:—

“But you assure us (p. 436) that our Lord ‘has deliberately excluded the notion of duration from the word eternal.’ Without cavilling at the word ‘deliberately,’ which seems hardly a fitting word in such a context, I would ask—Where has our Lord excluded the notion of duration from the word ‘eternal?’ As you have given no reference, all that I can gather from your words, approaching to an answer to my question, is the further assertion that ‘our Lord has taken pains to keep the thought of things temporal distinct from that of things eternal.’ But, supposing we were to admit that our Lord has taken such pains, what sort of logic is it (forgive my asking) to substitute in the conclusion the term ‘duration’ in place of the term ‘things temporal,’ which was used in the premiss? What sort of a syllogism is this? Our Lord has distinguished things eternal from *things temporal*—(*i. e.*, eternity from time). Therefore we must distinguish things eternal from *duration*. To say that ‘time’ is the only kind of ‘duration,’ or that the terms are logically convertible terms, is to assume the very question in dispute.”

After this we need hardly say one word to prove that the word *αἰώνιος* does involve the idea of duration, and that without that idea its meaning can never be complete.

And now, with much unwillingness, we must make an acknowledgment that in this controversy neither of the parties are in a perfectly tenable position. Examining the articles and formularies of our Church, to ascertain her decision on this momentous point, we find that she has given *none*. We repeat, she has not decided the question at all, but left it deliberately open. Nor are we permitted to say that the reason why she has not (to use Mr. Maurice's phrase) "dogmatized" upon it, is because the doctrine of eternal punishment is involved in the three creeds, to all of which subscription is required. No: she *did* dogmatize upon it in the time of Edward VI. Among the Forty-two Articles which she then drew up, there was one especially condemning the doctrine of the Universalists—the Forty-second. It ran thus:—"They also are worthy of condemnation who endeavour at this time to restore the dangerous opinion that all men, be they never so ungodly, shall at length be saved, when they have suffered pain for their sins a certain time appointed by God's justice." Now, when this article was framed, our reformers knew well on what grounds the Universalists of their time founded their doctrine; and they therefore knew that no subscription to the creeds was any defence against it, and for that very reason was it that they introduced it in this form. Subscription to the creeds is only subscription to Scripture: no creed can speak more definitely on eternal life and eternal fire than do the evangelists themselves, and our reformers were far too good logicians not to see that, whatever a word meant in the Scriptures, that must it also mean in the creeds. Thus, then, to put the matter beyond the possibility of doubt—to make it perfectly clear that the Church of England did require a belief in the *endless* punishment of the wicked, she did not heap words on words—"eternal" on "everlasting"—but she plainly and explicitly condemned the doctrines of those who maintained a contrary opinion. How, then, are we to understand the fact that a few years later she as deliberately omitted this very article? Subscription to the creeds was no more significant than it had been: the doctrine of Origen was quite as attractive in the reign of Elizabeth as in that of the Sixth Edward; but, with all these facts before them, the fathers of the Church in the later reign deliberately rejected the article. It must be observed here that we are not arguing whether the article itself were scriptural or otherwise; but merely stating a simple fact, that the reformers did rescind a condemnation which they had formally passed, and thereby we contend, reopened a previously closed question. Hence it is that we so earnestly wish some other error had been made the ground of

Mr. Maurice's removal. Page after page in the "Essays" would have justified such a step, and admitted of no valid reply; whereas now the removed professor may, and does fairly turn round on his judges and say—You require more tests from your professors than the Church does—"an assent to a number of *et ceteras* not included in the formularies to which, as churchmen and clergymen, they have set their hand." At this he expresses alarm, and well he may—we re-echo his words:—"I do not see how it can fail to alarm any man who attaches any sacredness to his oaths or to his subscriptions."

We are perfectly aware that the "popular theology"—that is, the general interpretation of the Church's doctrine—does agree with the forty-second and now repealed article, however open the question may be to theological disputants. But there is still another mode of looking at such a subject—what mode of teaching will best promote the salvation of souls? The despised followers of this much-be-spattered theology have a very simple and Christian mode of argument. Shall we give Mr. Maurice a specimen of it?—"We know that God is love, and that love is infinite, and we hear and believe the words of our Lord—'These shall go away into everlasting fire, and the righteous into life eternal.' Now it may be that we never in this world shall fathom the mystery which reveals to us these two truths; and, *if we do not*, we will receive them both reverently and duteously, knowing that the time shall come when we shall be abundantly enlightened. We know that there is a solemn verity in the glorious doctrine of election, and yet we fully recognise man's free agency. He who makes known to us these apparently conflicting truths will in his own kingdom show us their now hidden connection." This may not be the most philosophical mode of argument to many men's thinking; but it is the most safe for the far greater number of mankind.

He who preaches God's word must display God's meaning, abstract truth is not truth to the multitude. If I say, "Because God is a Spirit and cannot therefore be subject to passions," I may preach that he is not "angry with the wicked every day," I shall be teaching falsehood. Scripture language is that in which we should teach Scripture truth: it is adapted to man's capacity: it appeals to man's feelings: it is God's own message which we may no more tamper with by reducing it to abstractions than we may add to or take from it at our pleasure.

We do not deny the usefulness of metaphysical research: it is a great means of removing difficulties and reconciling appa-

rent contradictions, but its use is not in the pulpit so much as in the study; and, above all, it requires a peculiarly clear mind—one far clearer than Mr. Maurice seems to possess—to render it other than a very dangerous thing. It is a weapon which in unskilful hands often wounds him who wields it; and for that he is unskilled in, and yet addicted to, the use of this unsafe instrument, we cannot consider Mr. Maurice a fit person to be a professor of divinity in such an institution as King's College.

Many men hold the Universalist doctrine, but they do well not to preach it. To the believer they say, "Your business is to rejoice that the eternal fire is not prepared for you, and to walk close with Christ who is your shield and defence." To the unbeliever they say, "Your wisdom is not to ascertain how much punishment your sins will require, but how you may escape that fearful punishment altogether;" and thus, while we would not close an open door—while we would not restrict in any one point our Christian liberty—we would still say to the Universalist, "Remember that your theory, even according to your own account, is not of the essence of the Gospel: keep it as an *esoteric* doctrine: let it be a *disciplina arcani* to you, lest you be misunderstood, and so teach falsehood where you endeavour to set forth the truth." Dr. Jelf's words on this topic are very valuable:—

"The infidel may say, with seeming justice—If a professor of theology may deny the everlasting duration of punishment, I may deny everlasting life. But it is chiefly in education and in the daily concerns of life that danger is to be apprehended. It is surely worse than useless to teach a child that, when he prays that God would deliver him from evil, he prays that his heavenly Father would keep him from 'everlasting death;' to teach him to pray in the Litany that his good Lord would deliver him from everlasting damnation;' to teach him to sum up the Catholic faith with the confession that 'they that have done evil shall go into everlasting fire;' it is a mockery and a snare to teach him all this, if you neutralise each particular by telling him that 'death,' 'damnation,' 'fire,' may after all come to an end. Better at once to expunge such words from our formularies than to allow a child to say one thing and believe another.

"Further, the relaxation of the penalty will assuredly give a fresh impulse to sin and crime. Men, *as it is*, with the trammels of the old-fashioned faith still upon them, find it difficult enough to resist temptation, not only to ordinary sin, but to great and inhuman crimes. Yet it cannot be doubted that many a one who dies in the Lord will primarily have owed his salvation to a fear of the divine sanctions of religion, which God's power and grace have impressed upon his mind. The fear of hell has, by Gods'

grace, turned him from sin and opened his eyes to the joys of heaven. But the men who shall have learnt about 'an abyss of love'—men nominally Christians, perhaps reconciled to Christianity by this very relaxation—will feel themselves enabled to commit any species of wickedness, and yet hope for heaven at last. It will be with sin as it is with so many other things in this day, a question of profit and loss: so much present intense sensual enjoyment, so much revenge, the gains of this robbery, and the hatred glutted by that murder, *on the one side*, all present profit, palpable as it were to sense—*on the other* the dim prospect of a futurity which, with or without bodily torment, will consist chiefly in the 'being without God,' 'being wholly separated from love, becoming wholly immersed in selfishness and hatred,' the vision of being left alone; and yet through the dark vista of these 'eternal' horrors, the hope of ultimate salvation beams upon the lost sinner. There is an 'abyss of love' below the 'abyss of death:' he may be 'content to be lost in that.' To men of tender consciences and refined minds such expressions as these may have a very real and awful meaning; but to a wretch who has cast off the faith of Christ, or holds it only in name, who knows nothing of God or love, who thinks 'selfishness and hatred' very natural and pleasurable things, what will words like these weigh in the balance against the enjoyment of the hour?"

And now we come to the most painful part of our task, but we dare not leave it undone, because it is painful. We must record our conviction that Mr. Maurice has had recourse to sophistry and misrepresentation in his controversy with the Principal. We shall take but one passage, because it seems quite sufficient in itself, and can hardly have been the result of misunderstanding:—

"You asked me, in one of your earlier letters, to tell you what I thought about the cases of Judas and Voltaire: you complain in your final letter that I avoided the question. I certainly passed it by, because I wished to speak only of what is revealed. Nothing has been revealed to me about the state of Voltaire. I know a little about my own sin, about my own resistance to God's will—nothing at all about the length and breadth of his. Something is said about Judas. 'It were, or had been, good for that man if he had never been born.' This is our version of our Lord's words in Matt. xxvi. 24, and in Mark xiv. 21; the construing of them is difficult, but I have no other to offer. I receive them with awe and reverence, as the words of him who knows what is in man and who died for man. Nor do I find them merely terrible, though they are so terrible. I think the inference of those who walk the streets of Christian London, from their observation of what is passing there, might naturally be, that it would be good for ninety-nine hundredths of his people, and of all the people in the world, if they had never been born. This natural opinion is

immensely strengthened by the current doctrine among religious men respecting the fixed doom which is awaiting those hereafter who are sunk so low here. By speaking of the case of Judas, as if there were some awful singularity in it, our Lord helps us to resist this horrible but most plausible thought. Under the teaching of him who knows past, present, and future, we can drive it off. If we cannot, we ought to become mad."

It will scarcely be believed that Dr. Jelf had merely referred to Judas and Voltaire as types of a class; and, as individuals, had certainly never asked the professor's opinion about them at all. He says merely:—

"What will be the practical and very comfortable belief, but that (for all the Scriptures say to the contrary) hell will be a long purgatory—a kind of purgatory which differs from that of Rome in being more comprehensive and universal in its application—a place, not as the Romanists say, for the imperfectly good, but for the wicked impenitent defier or denier of God and Christ, for Voltaire and Judas, no less than, as they would say, for Fénélon and Pascal?"

In perfect accordance with this we find Dr. Jelf once more referring to the same persons, and in precisely the same way:—

"You will see, then, my motive for adding the words above, 'wicked, unbelieving; impenitent sinners.' It was with the same motive, though not so clearly expressed, that I alluded to Judas and Voltaire, by way of illustration, in my 'Letter' of July 14th, p. 11. You have hitherto taken no notice of what my words there implied. I would now earnestly request your attention to this distinction as above explained."

These remarks have extended far beyond the limits we had prescribed, but on *all* points the subject is one of deep moment, and will not bear to be lightly discussed. If, in the course of our observations, we have unconsciously brought against Mr. Maurice any charges to which he is not liable, most gladly will we retract them: if we have misunderstood him, most willingly will we admit and atone for it. We regard him as a sincere man—an earnest man; and though our estimate of him, however, be far lower than that of his followers, we still consider him as a very able man. Yet, if our premises be correct, we can only approve the act of the council which has removed him from his professorship, and lament that they have themselves taken up a weak position when they might have occupied a strong one.

ART. VIII.—*The Conflict of Ages.* By E. BEECHER, D.D.
London : Sampson Low, and Son. 1853.

IT was our intention to have devoted a considerable space in the present number to this remarkable work ; but the pressure of other important matter, and the late period to the quarter at which the book reached us, has rendered this impossible. We must, therefore, defer till the April number the consideration of Dr. Beecher's opinions.

We can here only indicate the nature and object of the book. "The Conflict of Ages" is the conflict among men to reconcile the depravity and wretchedness of man with the righteousness of God. This, according to Dr. Beecher, has been attempted—

First by the old Calvinistic theory which takes the largest and clearest view of man's depravity, and wraps the goodness and righteousness of God in mystery.

Secondly, that scheme which in America is called the "New Theology," which modifies both statements, and looks on holiness of life, active virtue, as the great aim of Christianity.

Thirdly, the Unitarian scheme, which denies the depravity of man altogether.

Fourthly, the Universalist scheme, which reconciles the conflicting attributes by supposing a final salvation for all.

Fifthly, that which accepts both propositions fully, but makes no attempt to reconcile them.

And, lastly, the true adjustment of the question. This adjustment, Dr. Beecher contends, is to be sought for in a pre-existence of the soul, in which state it contracted its guilt, and is dealt with here accordingly. The re-action occasioned by each of the five former modes of solving the difficulty is dwelt upon at considerable length and with much skill.

We can here only say that, without at all accepting the solution proposed, the work is well worth reading : it abounds with clear statements of difficulties, however unsatisfactory the reader may consider the mode in which they are disposed of. The book is said to have been the labour of Dr. Beecher's whole life.

Quarterly Report of Facts and Progress.

IT is our intention, from quarter to quarter, under this title, to lay before our readers those important facts and those evidences of progress which have marked the course of the preceding three months. That a great movement of progress is going on, moral, social, sanitary, and religious, none can doubt; and it is the proofs and tokens of that advance which will occupy a considerable part of our quarterly *resumé*.

At the same time, we shall also notice those events which, though less strictly coming into the before-mentioned category, are not without their significant bearings upon it. Home and foreign politics, war and diplomacy, the state and prospects of continental Churches, will claim our attention, and serve to throw light upon that which will be more immediately the subject of our report. In ecclesiastical matters we must, of course, confine our notice to events of acknowledged importance, excluding records of ordinations, preferments, testimonials, &c.; which, however interesting to the parties principally concerned, are not generally considered so by the world at large. Besides which, those who desire to preserve the records of events such as these will be able to find them in other and more frequently appearing periodicals.

PROGRESS OF SCIENCE.

In this respect the most remarkable event of the quarter is the establishment under high auspices of a Universal Electric Telegraph Company. The object of this association is to make the services of the electric telegraph answer to its powers, and by lowness of terms to bring it within the reach of all. It is proposed to carry a short message anywhere within the united kingdom for sixpence!—discarding the railways, and making use of the old coach roads, in order to reach all the towns, and to have an office centrally situated in each. It is singular that, when the electric telegraph was first announced, a well-known clergyman preached a sermon to prove that, if such things as were promised were really done, it could only be by Satanic agency. The great enemy of mankind was supposed to busy himself then about wires, as he now is about tables; and here, though it is certainly doing too much honour to so silly a delusion as table-turning, we may just observe that Mr. Godfrey,

of Bath, engaged lately the Hanover-Square-Rooms to deliver a lecture on this subject. At the conclusion there was an endeavour at discussion—much confusion—an attempt to turn off the gas; and finally such a scene of hubbub and confusion as the Hanover-Square-Rooms do not often exhibit.

Two extraordinary inventions have been brought here from America—one, the tunnelling machine, which makes a tunnel through the hardest rock, performs its work with great ease, and bids fair to make a railroad *through* Alps or Alleghanies no impossibility: another, which renders the bottom of the sea, or of deep rivers, as easily accessible as an ordinary foot-path. This last is a peculiarly convenient and portable diving apparatus which will soon come into very general use. In addition to these things, we have from Austria brought back an invention of our own, which prints in colours leaves, tracery, laces, insects, and all compressible things, from the objects themselves. An able and witty contemporary says, we now want only the *talko-type*, which is to take down the words from the lips of a speaker and print them off with punctuation, italics, and all!

We hear that there is to be some solemn investigation into the cause of speaking in tables. We would recommend the curious to apply to Sheik Bechir, of whom Colonel Churchill, in his recent work on Lebanon, tells strange stories:—

“Sheik Bechir is one of the best informed of the Druse Sheiks, and has acquired a store of history and literature which makes his conversation in every way superior. He has for some years devoted his time, singular as it may appear, to the cultivation of magic, and the stories he relates of his interviews with immaterial beings are novel and startling.

“At times he will place a jug between the hands of two persons sitting opposite to each other; when after the recital of certain passages, taken indiscriminately from the Koran and the Psalms of David, it will move spontaneously round, to the astonishment of the holders. A stick, at his bidding, will proceed unaided from one end of the room to the other. A New Testament, suspended to a key by a piece of string, will in the same way turn violently round of itself. On two earthenware jars being placed in opposite corners of a room, one being empty the other filled with water, the empty jar will, on the recital of certain passages, move across the room: the jar full of water will rise of itself on the approach of its companion, and empty its contents into it, the latter returning to its place in the same manner that it came. An egg boiling in the saucepan will be seen to spring suddenly out of the water and be carried to a considerable distance. A double-locked door will unlock itself. There cannot be a doubt that an unseen influence of some kind is called into operation, but of what nature those may conjecture who like to speculate on such matters.

"But it is in the more serious cases of disease or lunacy that his supernaturally-derived powers are called into play. Previous to undertaking a cure he shuts himself up in a darkened room and devotes his time to prayer and fasting. Fifteen and sometimes thirty days are passed in this state of abstinence and self-denial. At last one of the genii, described by him to be much of the same appearance as human beings, will suddenly appear before him and demand his bidding. He then states his position, and requires assistance in the case he is about to undertake. The genii (*sic!*) replies at once that his request is granted, and encourages him to proceed.

"The wife of Sheik Achmet Talhook had been for more than two years afflicted with a swelling that had long been mistaken for pregnancy. Sheik Bechir, after the usual preparatory discipline, passed his hand over her person, and in five minutes she arose perfectly cured. Sheik Yoosuf Talhook was brought before him a confirmed lunatic: in two days he returned to his home perfectly restored in health and reason.

"That the Sheik stoutly maintains his intercourse with spiritual agents to be real and effective is unquestionable; and, indeed, the belief in magic, and in the interposition of an order of unseen creatures in worldly affairs, at the bidding of those who choose to devote themselves earnestly to such intercourse, is universal throughout the entire population of every religion and sect. There are Christian priests who affirm that the Psalms of David contain an extensive series of necromantic passages, which, if thoroughly understood and properly treated, would place the whole world of spirits entirely at man's disposal, and invest them, through their medium, with miraculous powers.

"Instances could be multiplied in which the most extraordinary and unaccountable results have been brought about by the intervention of individuals who make this communion the subject of their study and contemplation. But as the ears of Europeans could only be shocked by assertions and statements which they would not fail of holding to be utterly fabulous and ridiculous, the subject is merely alluded to in these pages to indicate the existence of a very prominent and prevalent belief in the Lebanon."

REFORM.

We are threatened with a new Reform Bill—the third within a very short space of time. What special objects are meant to come within the scope of this new bill, we do not pretend to conjecture. Indeed, the political histories of those on whom the task chiefly devolves, with a few bright exceptions, makes us dread to speculate much as to the probable course to be pursued. They have so wedded honesty with what people are pleased to call "expediency" that the idea intended by the first is lost in the persuasions of the latter. Let it not be supposed that we blame any man for framing his actions in unison with

his convictions; nor do we less admire the spirit which influences him frankly to avow a change in both when such change really exists. But it seems the height of inconsistency in a man, or body of men, to secretly profess one thing, and to publicly proclaim another, almost diametrically opposed to it. It will be readily seen how much her Majesty's present advisers merit the character of political backsliding. Why, the whole country knows. With the unfavourable prestige of past reforming efforts in view, have we not, therefore, every right to be seriously apprehensive? But it would be at best indiscreet to express fears which may savour of foregone conclusions. True Reform is acceptable even from those whose names least lead to the hope of accomplishing anything really valuable in a reforming sense. We can be grateful for benefits whencesoever they come; but we must not fail on a vigilant investigation of what, under the guise of good, emanates from a source suspected of no political purity.

Reform bills are of late become more familiar than they were wont to be. Like the visits ascribed to angels, they were formerly "few and far between." This frequency of introduction argues some radical defect in the attempts which have already been dragged (we use the word advisedly) through Parliament. Public clamour generally necessitates the production of such a comprehensive act (so to call it); and, without that vociferous prompter, statesmen are not prone to volunteer the introduction of such an act. In the ordinary notion of the phrase, a Reform bill means an extensive measure designed to arrange on a fixed basis vast alterations and needful organic changes in the working of our constitutional system. What distinct divisions of our present political science are meant to come within the scope of the new bill we know not—whether it be part of a complicated plan intended to distract public opinion we are equally ignorant. Time will divulge all this. Meanwhile, it may be well to note a question which, from its great importance and absorbing interest, is likely to obtain a large amount of attention in the proposed bill. We allude to the franchise system. Although the proudest boast of the nation, parliamentary representation is full of anomalies. Elections are exposed to the most reprehensible abuse of a noble trust, both on the part of those seeking the solemn honour of making our laws and those privileged to return the lawgivers. And yet, when at the very fountain-head corruption is painfully evident, it is strange that in the full tide of public business it is comparatively indiscernible. But why should we not remove this great reproach from a grand system? The means are within

reach. Will it be said that they have been unemployed because a majority of our legislators love the abuse? We have seen members unseated because of proved corruption; yet neither the offending member nor the guilty constituency—with very rare exceptions—have been visited with retributive justice. It is rumoured that an equalization of the county and borough franchise is determined. To us it seems most desirable to check the inequality which has hitherto existed. Another topic very slightly mooted abroad, but which is entitled to consideration, is the consolidation of our chartered learned societies into an elective body. What objection can arise to this? In those who, as fellows or members, would be privileged to vote, there could not be a want of intelligence, as the fact that they are so implies a very superior amount of it; and we have no doubt whatever that such representatives as would enter Parliament, chosen by those united societies, would be men whose abilities might be equalled but not surpassed in that popular assembly. Our unrepresented colleges, here and in Ireland, could also be centralized for this parliamentary purpose, and made to enjoy “elective liberty.” In such a plan will be found a reply to the question—“Where are substitutes for disfranchised boroughs?” While on this topic, we desire to express a hope that the necessity which obliges university electors to go and vote in person will be abolished. Would not the choice declared by letter to the proper quarter answer the purpose which, as the law at present stands, entails considerable inconvenience and begets great dissatisfaction? University voters are circumstanced quite unlike all other voters: therefore they may, without involving an encroachment upon the existing plans, as applied to other constituencies, be relieved from this grievance.

THE LONDON CORPORATION.

Strange disclosures are being made by the Royal Commission authorised to enquire into the state of the City of London Corporation. The old “municipal monarchy,” as in idea and effect the body corporate was, has for sometime been “dwindling to nothing” in public estimation. It long enjoyed the equivocal distinction of being a rapacious monster, whose mischievous propensities were luxury and cupidity. Few persons ever thought of the corporation but in connexion with the Lord Mayor’s show and grand civic banquetting—in other words, gewgaw exhibitions, turtle soup, and champagne *ad libitum*. These pleasant indulgences were its grand characteristics—its all in all; without them, in their fulness and variety

the corporation would cease to consider itself the fine old thing which Whittington adorned. These are its life, and they constitute its principal functions. These are the duties which its members execute most faithfully. And for all these things the corporation challenges our admiration! And why? Are we to admire the corporate liberality which wastefully expends funds that have been entrusted to it for a more frugal distribution? This distribution of funds is one duty, rather out of its festive province; but still a duty, and it has been characteristically performed. The Royal Commissioners have disturbed some dusty, but not the less significant, facts relative to such wanton extravagance in official salaries as may increase, if possible, the unpopularity of the city authorities. These extravagances gain additional evil odour from the disreputable and jobbing manner in which patronage has been distributed. Surely we are not to favour a system, if it be as a consequence obligatory to countenance such abuse. But the other trusts confided to the City Corporation are not less recklessly disregarded: its extravagance has an equal in its avariciousness. Not content with what by charter it was plainly allowed, it stretched forth its covetous grasp and laid hold on that to which it had no distinct claim—nay, as it now appears no claim at all. Such was, for instance, the conservancy of the River Thames. Having a certain limited title they—large-notioned people—conceived it empowered them to exercise acts of ownership which the State interdicted. With proverbial tenacity they cling to fancied rights. Although its illegality has been proved, they persist in their customary method of squandering public funds, are now feeing counsel to an enormous extent to pull the question of rights slowly through the courts, intending meanwhile to make what a distinguished Irish author would call “a capital grab.” Apart from the subject of vast abuse, such as we have hinted at, minor matters have arisen for enquiry—such as the now absurd customs which belong to a body coming down to us almost unchanged from time of old. These all come within the range of the reformer’s fire, and doubtless will all be brought down.

There is one object—indeed, the true object of a corporation—which we have no desire to see wrested from a properly constituted municipality, and that is the administration of justice. But, to have a regularly constituted corporation, we must have nothing so absurdly antique, so oligarchic, or so confined in its representation and operation as this.

THE WAR IN THE EAST.

The all-engrossing topic of the day is the position of parties

in the East. Diplomacy has not only "turned foul" of itself, but ruined a rare opportunity of annexing Turkey to freedom and civilization, and of crippling the mischievous power of a tyrant. It would have been adding a fresh laurel to our national glory, had an honourable boldness at once influenced our resolutions when the Ottoman territories were invaded. The cowardly part played by Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet is inexcusable. To its want of firmness we owe the present extent of hostilities, and any further havoc which "raging war" shall perpetrate. The Russian despot knew enough of his foes to fear the effect of their *real* and united opposition. Taken all in all, the Turkish army is, perhaps, better than the Russian. With 380,000 expert and exasperated warriors before him—with British interference legitimately acting in Persia—with Poland alive to rebellion—and with France watching opportunities to assail the tyrant at his very capital—Nicholas would have trembled before entering upon so dear a campaign.

We feel no surprise that the Moslem are disgusted with the disastrous counsels which have plunged them into a war that might have been averted. Nor can we be astonished if this blameable interposition, or manner of interposition, tend to give our Christian institutions an unpleasant appearance, and render them offensive, instead of acceptable, to the very men whose civilization should have been foremost in our designs. Our apathy in this matter is likely to prevent our perfecting so desirable a purpose. Indeed, we fear that not only has this the best opportunity been abused, but the power of embracing any other at any future time has thereby become incalculably more difficult.

But our feeble, futile, humiliating efforts to procure a peace have, as thinking men long before predicted they would have, eventuated in actual hostilities. While the diplomatists were bungling up blundering notes, Nicholas continued his intrusions, all the time declaring he had no designs of intruding at all, and was quite prepared to accept a pacification. The Porte read through the mystifying negotiations, and read rightly, that the despot only converted them into a shield for his onward march. Actuated by a nobler sense of duty than that suggested by the representatives of "*ce cher Aberdeen*," the Sultan declared the inroad of the Russians no longer bearable, and forthwith terminated, for all practical purposes, the pseudo-friendly interposition. When first hostilities commenced, victory after victory, small ones it is true, turned in favour of Turkey, whose troops fought with incredible valour. By a combination of disasters, the autocrat's army was daily falling off, and the only

achievements it made consisted of clumsy retreats. While we write reports arrive of triumphs for Russia and more real defeats for Turkey. While we write, too, we are assured that our persevering pacificators have drawn up a fresh note, designed to ward off further hostility by an amicable arrangement. Whether such be probable or not, we are in no position to say. Certain it is that Russia may have found her difficulties far beyond her calculations; and now, "dear Aberdeen's" kind office will, perhaps, prove of immense value, making what would have just become a disgraceful retreat merely a complimentary compromise. We assume the *possibility* of such a disgraceful turn in events from the great reliance the Government organ places on the truth of the reported conciliation. We do not, however, undertake to say such a result is very *probable*: indeed, coming from the Aberdeen organ, whose vaticinations are being daily falsified, not even the newly-infused manliness which mixes with the present tone of the *Times* disposes us to credit it.

We are not less lovers of peace than we are of honour; but we do not think Turkey, even although partially defeated, has a right to accept less than the instant evacuation of her invaded territory, and a sufficient guarantee that they will not again be exposed to rapacity and insolence.

THE BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.

The intemperate protest issued by a meddling minority in our Church against Bishop Gobat is now notorious. In Oxford, of course, where it was concocted and broached, feeling runs high in its favour; but elsewhere the noble remonstrance of the four primates has been accepted with that reverence and admiration it was so eminently entitled to. The Bishop of Exeter has rather complicated the entire transaction by a very ungracious, and not over intelligible, letter in its defence. We are informed that the protest has been forwarded in a circular form to every member of the Oxford Convocation. Several clergymen in Ireland, whose tendencies were always in favour of the Tractite party, have had their licenses withdrawn by their respective diocesans, because they signed the protest. This expression of censure is in perfect keeping with the bold honesty that characterise the prelates in the Irish branch of the United Church.

CHINA.

The insurrection which rages in the Celestial Empire is, in its immediate history and probable consequences, one of the

most singular events of the age. The character of Chinese laws and customs has defied all investigation, even from the remotest times. Doubtless we know that intelligence and craft—that education and ingenuity—belong to the people of China; but we fail to reconcile the existence of such attributes with very absurd customs. From time immemorial, proudly prohibiting any intercourse with other nations, and pluming themselves as the exclusive owners of all that could be desired in every branch of knowledge and claiming affinity with heaven itself, they have managed to plant an hereditary delusion in the national heart which retarded progress, but yet did not beget direct deterioration. The brave belligerents, who have already made a tremendous breach in the stability of the present Chinese dynasty and constitution, show to the world that its assumed impregnability was a State sham. The consequences which have even so soon attended them, the great success which has crowned their intrepidity and daring, give every well-wisher of truth and progress an interest deeper than ordinary in the ultimate triumph of right over oppression. Wherever the standard of the insurgents is reared, around it lie broken and scattered—cast to the moles and the bats—the wooden deities of the celestial idolators. Few as they were who ever indulged the hope of being startled by news of a revolution in China, fewer still would venture to predict that such a revolution would be accompanied directly by the destruction of Confucianism, and the erection in its stead of a sort of Christianity. What the exact nature of the Christianity which mingles in the creed may be, we do not feel in a position to state, but we believe Romish mummary forms no part of it. And further, we have reason to know that the missionaries sent out from England have contributed no small share to the Christian sentiments that have been attributed to the chief promoters of this insurrection. The opportunity afforded by the present position of affairs, and the resolution of those arrayed against despotism to be in brotherhood with all men, will not be lost sight of by our foreign Missionary Societies. Already we notice that the London Church Missionary Society has sent out ten additional missionaries for the purpose of aiding those in the field before. The following information, written by the Bishop of Victoria to the Archbishop of Canterbury is pertinent:—

“The word of God is now also given to the Chinese in an improved version; the Old and New Testament having been recently completed by Dr. Medhurst and his colleagues of the London Missionary Society. The translations of the late Dr. Gutzlaff and others are extensively circulated in the rebel camp. The Christian tract-

and books so long distributed by Protestant missionaries, often with heavy heart and desponding mind, among the listless multitudes in the streets and suburbs of Canton, are at length bringing forth fruit, and God has been better to us than our own weak faith and hope. These little messengers of mercy have winged their flight into the far interior as a testimony to the boundless power and influence of the Christian press in China, and in the adjacent province of Kwang-se have given a character and an impulse to what is likely to become the most important of modern revolutions. A body of men, who, in the great outlines of their belief, may even be termed our fellow-religionists, are now advancing towards the capital of the most populous of empires; and, in the event of ultimate success, they may, if more perfectly instructed, become the pioneers of the pure Gospel of Christ; or, if neglected, they may degenerate into the most ignorant of mere fanatics and iconoclasts.

"It is gratifying to hear that one of the oldest of Protestant missionaries, Dr. Medhurst of Shanghai, the first of living Chinese scholars, is about to make the attempt of visiting Nanking; and it is to be hoped that no consular restrictions will be put in force to hinder him in such a peculiar emergency.—(*Church Miss. Intelligencer*, September, 1853.)

We extract from an English journal of August, 1850, the first intelligence which was anywhere published respecting the startling news of the "Chinese Rebellion:—

"AUGUST 24.—Under the powerful influence of the men of letters, and in consequence of a general discontent throughout China, the cry of reform is raised in all directions. The new principles are making immense progress, and the day is rapidly approaching when the empire will be torn in pieces by civil war. Among the higher and middle classes of Peking there is a firm belief in the prophecy, diffused over China a century ago, that the reigning dynasty will be overthrown in the commencement of the forty-eighth year of the present cycle, and this fatal year will begin on the first of February next.

"This event is by no means improbable, if we examine with attention the revolutionary movements which have simultaneously taken place at the most remote points of this vast empire. The work of revolution has already commenced in the province of Kouang-Si, in the neighbourhood of the first commercial city of China; and it is the general belief among the lettered party of Canton that this is only a pilot-balloon to test the opinion of the masses, and to force the Tartar Government to display the means which it has at its disposal for its self-preservation.

"Hitherto the rebels have triumphed over every other obstacle; and their chief, who takes the title of generalissimo, openly declares that the object of the revolutionary movement is to dethrone the reigning dynasty, and to found another of Chinese origin. In vain have the authorities armed all the contingents of their several districts: the torrent has carried everything before it, and many mandarins

have fallen victims to their loyalty. At the same time, the successes of the rebels do no honour to their cause: their passage is marked by pillage, murder, conflagration, and all those acts of spoliation which are scarcely practised in cities taken by storm; although the people thus afflicted have given no motive for persecution, but, on the contrary, have been the first to suffer under the imperial tyranny. The lettered and the rich do not approve of these deplorable excesses, but they are without power to check them.

“ Besides the secret societies, which are now more numerous than under the late emperor, clubs are everywhere formed in spite of the laws which prohibit all meetings of the kind. In these every member is forced to make oath that he will do all in his power to overthrow the dynasty of Tsing, and pursue this noble undertaking until its end is attained.”

Since this announcement the Imperial troops have been led again and again to defeat, and the rebels have swept with unflinching fortitude all before them.

The subjoined observations of Dr. Legge, in reference to the effects of this rebellion, will form an appropriate conclusion to these remarks:—

“ First: the country will be opened to the dissemination of the Scriptures and the preaching of the Gospel; opportunity will be given to go to and fro through the length and breadth of it, and so knowledge will be increased. The true antidote to the errors that obtain among the rebels themselves at present will be administered; and the whole population—hundreds of millions of the children of God—will hear the words by which they may be saved.

“ Second: idolatry will be put down with a strong hand, and the Christian Sabbath will be established as a day of rest. You know very well that the use of force in the suppression of idolatry can never find an advocate in me, and there is not a missionary in China who would do his utmost to dissuade the rebels from putting to death the poor ignorant Taouist and Buddhist priests; but they have their own way of doing matters. If they get the empire, the speedy doom of idolatry is sealed; and who will not rejoice in the result, and hail the recognition of the paradisiacal institution? If the nation knew the boon that is in store for it in this one thing—the giving it the Sabbath—it would be thrilled with joy. What rest for the bodies of its toiling populations! What nourishment for their souls! It will raise them from their earthly groveling habits, pour a new life into their social system, and mature multitudes for heaven.

“ Third: the opium traffic will be put a stop to. That this will be required by the rebels is beyond a question, and I cannot think it will be required in vain. Suppose they say, ‘ Our faith is the same as yours; we are willing to admit you freely to reside and traffic in our land; only there is this drug brought here in your ships which has depraved and enervated hundreds of thousands of

our people, and we will not have it any more. We will form no treaty with you but on that condition.' Suppose they address our Government thus, there could be but one reply. The success of the rebellion certainly supplies the prospect of the abolition of this traffic, and I will almost venture to say that all parties would rejoice if its cessation were to come about in such a manner. At any rate, let the condition which I have supposed be realized, and the demand of the Chinese Government will awaken such a public feeling that a hundred opium traffics would be swept away by it."

SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

Amongst the events of this quarter in the region of literature we notice with much satisfaction a promising and interesting effort to extend active antiquarian research to a county which abounds in antiquities—Surrey. Hitherto no decided, and therefore no successful, attempts were made to preserve and arrange and publish accounts of anything appertaining to this delightful study in the county wherein is now formed "A Surrey Archæological Association." Its object and plan have commended it to high patronage, and given it a most excellent council. The Duke of Norfolk is president.

LECTURES.

The Lectures in Exeter Hall, to the members of the Young Men's Christian Association, have been opened by an able and philosophical discourse, on "Desultory and Systematic Reading," delivered by Sir J. Stephen. With great perspicuity he illustrated the two classes of readers comprised in the title of his subject, and he earnestly commended the study of modern history. All the subjects selected for the course of this well-organised Society are pregnant with interest and instruction; and the able men who have followed Sir J. Stephen have, by their eloquence, enhanced the interest and instruction tenfold. Mr. Henry J. Slack, Barrister-at-Law, has lectured at the New Vestry Hall in Lambeth, on the "Principles of English Liberty Historically Considered," and has contrived to make an apparently dry subject most deeply interesting to a large assembly of intelligent working-men. The permission to have the use of the hall for such purposes reflects great credit on the authorities of the parish; and we note with great pleasure that one of the members for the borough, W. A. Wilkinson, Esq., undertook one of the lectures of the same course—his subject was "Political Economy." Through the whole country, we are happy to perceive healthy movements of a kindred nature.

LIFE ASSURANCE FOR THE WORKING CLASSES.

We desire especially to call the attention of the clergy to this subject. The want of more provident habits than those which we daily see, amongst the industrial portions of the community, arises chiefly from the neglect of their interests as well as by the higher class as their own. The former, in whose integrity they have confidence, have adopted few means of inculcating habits of prudence, saving, and economy amongst them. This advantage might be obtained by the establishment of societies for their benefit over which the more wealthy and educated should preside. The working classes feeling, at present, great want of confidence amongst each other, have taken no effectual steps to remedy the omission so much to be deplored. Hitherto, unfortunately, the provident artisan's only resource has been "The Friendly Society;" and many have been the disappointments, and great the misery of those unhappy persons who have lost their little store, the result of hard toil and saving habits, through the instability of these societies, their reckless and expensive management, their insecure foundation, and their ultimate failure.

The Legislature, too, was not without its share of censure. The new Stamp Act having now, however, come into operation, an opportunity is afforded to secure to the working classes their hard-earned pence, a provision for the future (to them especially uncertain), and the means of avoiding the necessity of parochial relief. This may be done by the combined operations of a Life Assurance Company (offering at the same time the advantages of the so-called Benefit Societies), carried on with proprietary capital, held by men of unimpeachable character and position, and deeply interested in the welfare of the poor. Such a company may be the means of cheering in old age, and in the hour of sickness, many a working man. It may often effect more than half his cure, by affording the assurance that, if the worst should happen, the widow and her little ones will be rescued from the misery of a workhouse, and that want will not be added to their other and deeper affliction.

This object has been taken up by a few noblemen and gentlemen, and we shall probably hear more before long of their proceedings.

Meantime its objects and principles should be—

1. *Life Assurance*.—Under this head the directors should endeavour to include, within the necessary limits of an industrial office, all the most practicable of the modern improvements therein—such as, policies payable to holder without question-

ing the validity of title; payments made within fourteen days after satisfactory evidence of assured's decease; non-forfeiture of policies for the whole of life by reason of poverty and inability to pay up the premium; the benefit of weekly payments. For example:—One penny a week commencing at age twenty should secure at death—should that happen but the next day—10*l.* 4*s.*, and so on in proportion up to age seventy.

2. *Assurance against Sickness.*—The directors should be able to offer, for a comparatively low premium, a sufficient weekly provision during sickness, and at the same time to secure a certain sum should death ensue. For example:—2*s.* 9*d.* a month, commencing at age twenty, might secure 10*s.* a week in sickness, with professional attendance and medicine, and the sum of 15*l.* in case of death.

3. *Assurance Against Accident and Permanent Disability for Labour.*—Miners, railway servants, and men and women engaged in occupations hazardous to life and limb, would find this class of assurance peculiarly advantageous.

4. *Investment by Way of Deposit.*—This department the directors should add in order to encourage as much as possible commendable habits of frugality. The office should be open each day from ten to four for the purpose of receiving deposits, and the directors ought to receive them as low as a shilling. Five per cent. interest might be allowed upon these deposits, which the depositors should be able to withdraw at a week's notice; or, should they be left in the company's hands for an agreed number of years, a higher rate of interest, in proportion to the time, might be allowed.

5. *An Asylum for Old Age.*—Power should be taken in the deed of settlement to set aside a portion of the profits, affording an asylum to such of the policy-holders as may become old and incapable of working; the right to these advantages being based upon the insurers having kept up their payments without calling upon the society for fifteen years. The same benefit should be extended to their widows, and a provision made for the education of their orphan children. From tables carefully calculated it appears that all the above-named objects may be obtained, and the shareholders of such a society might not only be enabled to protect themselves against loss in carrying out a most benevolent object, but secure a fair per centage for their capital. If this plan be really carried out, the benefits conferred on the poor will be incalculable.

AGRICULTURE.

Our relations with Peru seemed some time ago rather un-

settled, and, what was of still more consequence, it appeared probable that the Lobos Islands would afford but a scanty and speedily exhaustible supply of guano. As at the same time the demand was rapidly increasing, the price rising, and the importance of the article more universally acknowledged, this intelligence would be seriously discouraging were it not that, as we are informed, chemical skill has discovered the mode of forming a compound of equal value, and which will be within the reach even of the poorest agriculturist.

SOCIETY FOR ENGLISH CHURCH MISSIONS TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

The increase of Popery in England of late years is a fact at once surprising and humiliating. To explain the causes of this phenomenon would far exceed our limited space and tend to no practical result. Our object is to deal with the fact, and surely it is vain to dispute it when we behold Popish convents and schools, chapels and splendid cathedrals, rapidly multiplying around us, and the sight of priests, and monks, and nuns, is becoming strangely familiar to our eyes. What are all these but the visible signs and instruments of systematic hostility and aggression against our Church and our Country? The Church of Rome, never content with toleration, is bent upon recovering her former supremacy in this kingdom, as the Papal missive from the Flaminian gate abundantly proves. The elements of her power are both religious and political; but it is against her religious system and its fatal influence that our efforts are now exclusively directed. It is a painful fact that her well-disciplined emissaries are at present indefatigable in their exertions, both secret and open, against the Church of England; while our parochial clergy in general, owing to the heavy burden of their ordinary pastoral duties, are quite unable, with their present agency, effectually to meet the danger.

A spirit of enquiry has at length sprung up among the Roman Catholic laity, and many, through God's grace, have found out that their Church, with all its boasted infallibility, cannot stand the test of Scripture—nay, that she is convicted of false teaching even by her own version of the Scriptures.

Assuming that the foregoing policy is sound in principle, a new agency of a peculiar character is required for carrying it into effect; and it is for the purpose of supplying such an agency that this Society has been established.

The Society commenced its operations on the 5th of October last, and has nineteen agents now employed under the superintendence of different incumbents; in addition to which there

are eleven Irish teachers labouring among the Irish Romanists in London, whose numbers are above 200,000. To the Rev. Dr. Armstrong of Bermondsey the Society owes its existence, and it is already reckoning its converts by hundreds.

GOLD IN AUSTRALIA.

The following intelligence, *if it be true*, transcends all that has ever been imagined concerning the abundance of the precious metal. If these facts be as they are here recorded, we shall soon be in a position to try all the theories which have been based upon the probable produce of the Australian diggings. It is perfectly impossible to say what may be the results; but that awful convulsions in the monetary world must follow need scarcely be insisted on. The intelligence which we subjoin is taken from the *Bristol Mirror*—a paper of too high a position to permit us to doubt its statements:—

“The following extraordinary intelligence is contained in a letter received by Mr. Joseph Abraham, of Bristol, from a relative in Hobart Town, and kindly handed to us by the latter gentleman. For really startling intelligence it beats everything that has yet reached us from that golden land. Mr. Abraham, from the personal knowledge which he has of his relative, knows he would not impose upon others, and does not believe he is likely to be imposed upon himself. If, therefore, the account be true, well may the writer say, ‘Goodness only knows where all this will end!’ Some conjectures have been recently ventured that the auriferous yield, which was apparently lessening, had seen its best days; but, if the intelligence contained in the subjoined letter be true, we are now only coming to the genuine deposit. Well may it be called a ‘quarry of gold,’ if 18,000 ounces have been taken out in three days by a few persons:—‘Hobart Town, Sept. 8th, 1253.—Knowing how deeply interesting any news respecting Australia must be to you, I write to inform you of a great discovery that has again been made on the Geelong side, about fifty-six miles from the town. They have been digging very deep, and have come on a table of gold about 100 feet from the surface apparently inexhaustible. All I can tell you respecting it is, that the people’s minds are partly turned from the immense discovery. Every tub-full of earth they raise from these holes contains pounds weight of gold. The more they dig the more inexhaustible it appears. At Geelong a tumult has broken out among the diggers. The Government has sent up all the military to quell the disturbances, and the marines of her Majesty’s ship *Electra* are mounting guard at the Treasury, and the sailors of the above steamer of war mount sentry at the banks. The military from Van Diemen’s Land are about to be despatched to Melbourne to aid the military already there. Goodness only knows how all this will end!—Hobart Town, Sept. 5. By the steamer from Geelong this day, I

find that a gold quarry has been discovered near Geelong, 100 to 130 feet from the surface of the earth, putting all other diggings in the shade: 18,000 ounces have been taken out in three days by a few persons, and one person has got a lump weighing 190 pounds in one solid piece. This is no exaggeration, and the greatest excitement prevails."

THE COALITION MINISTRY.

The Coalition Ministry has sustained a shock by the resignation of Lord Palmerston from the effects of which it will hardly rally. No one can immediately perceive the consequences of this step. An Administration, in which the nation had ever placed but a very limited confidence, has lost its ablest and most brilliant member—the only member, too, whose known sincerity in maintaining intact the Protestant principles of this essentially Protestant empire had reconciled in any degree to the "Patch-work Ministry" those who had reason to suspect the purity of all his colleagues' principles. With him, then, is completely withdrawn *all* confidence in the honesty or Protestantism of Lord Aberdeen's Government.

As yet we are but imperfectly acquainted with the particulars of the differences which have led to the noble viscount's resignation. Some assert that the Eastern question had much more to do in it than others will allow. Without, however, committing ourselves to any opinion, we quote the explanation of the *Times*, because we believe that—indeed, we may say know—it emanated from the party which sustained the irreparable loss. Its *truth* is another matter:—

"The ground (says the *Times*) on which Lord Palmerston is said to rest his inability to remain in the present Cabinet, and to share in the responsibility of the measures of the approaching session, is distinctly and exclusively his decided opposition to the Reform Bill which has been prepared under the direction of Lord John Russell, and assented to by the other members of the Government. It has been understood for some weeks past that the projected measure of Parliamentary Reform had been referred to a committee of five members of the Cabinet, of whom Lord Palmerston was one; and, as his opposition to schemes of Parliamentary Reform was no secret, he was placed on that committee in order that he might have ample opportunities for considering the provisions of the bill and stating his objections to them. Lord Palmerston, no doubt, gave to that committee the able and vigorous assistance and attention which he is accustomed to devote to public affairs; but it seems, from the result, that his objections to the principle of the measure were not to be diminished or overcome. He stated them to his colleagues in a manly and straightforward manner."

Until the re-assembling of Parliament nothing definite will have been ascertained as to the exact causes which have pro-

duced this disaster to the present Cabinet, but fortunate occurrence for the country—fortunate because it will hasten the downfall of the present Government, and prepare the way for men of resolution, honesty, and efficiency. As we write, intelligence has reached us from quarters in a position to be well informed that the ex-Secretary of State relies (and we are further informed, with good reason) on the co-operation of all true Protestants in the present Parliament to form a party to whose leaders the affairs of this great kingdom may be honourably entrusted. For our own part we should be very well content with the Government such a union of out-spoken Protestants under such a leader promises. We have every reason to believe that all who generally supported the Administration of Lord Derby because of its Protestantism, and they who gave it exclusive support, would alike approve of such a ministry as Lord Palmerston might frame. Indeed, it is obvious that, as Parliament is at present constituted, Lord Palmerston's would become at once the most powerful and popular party in it.

Great importance has been attached to the question—Who succeeds Lord Palmerston as Home Secretary? To the Ministry, doubtless, the answer is of the utmost moment. To the kingdom, unless for the due performance of the office between this time and the bursting of the Coalition bubble, it is only of second-rate importance. Lord John Russell has been tendered but declined the office, "lest (we are told) his acceptance may be misconstrued." Amongst others, Sir G. Grey has been offered the vacant post. Whoever takes it will not fill it like him who has left it—even for the brief period he is likely to be in possession of it.

[While we write (December 24th), we hear that Sir James Graham is likely to take the office. It is also rumoured, with what truth we know not yet, that Lord Palmerston has been induced to return to the Ministry. Should this intelligence turn out to be true, we may be satisfied that the noble viscount's opinions have become those of his colleagues, either on the Turkish question or Parliamentary Reform.—ED].

The Literature of the Quarter Classified and Reviewed.

I. THEOLOGY.

The Future Human Kingdom of Christ; or, Man's Heaven to be this Earth. Vol. II. By the Rev. D. J. HEATH, Vicar of Brading. London: J. W. Parker. 1853.

THE appearance of the second volume of this work, so soon after the publication of the first, seems to argue a degree of favour which, we presume, is in part attributable to its very happy title. Although the author has called this a second volume, it might rather be styled a continuation of what he had before given to the world; for he has gone over the same ground again, with fresh arguments and illustrations.

We are disposed to question the wisdom of writing a book of this kind in the form of a commentary—that is, of partially disconnected essays on successive verses of the New Testament; for one is apt to lose the thread of the argument, and to forget what the author is aiming at, and part of his certainly valuable reasoning and many of his striking interpretations thus lose much of their force; while, at the same time, we are ready to acknowledge that to some minds this mode of composition is very acceptable; and it has this advantage, that the reader can take up the book and go through a few pages of it without being obliged to peruse the whole volume from the beginning.

Whether the results at which Mr. Heath arrives are correct or not, we feel that the subject of which he treats is so important that any bold and honest attempt to throw light upon it is entitled to our greatest respect. Many minds of the highest order, and of the most opposite modes of thinking in other matters, are contemplating the doctrine of restoration as the only one upon which all Christian sects may be in agreement. The notion that this earth, now under a curse, may hereafter be reinstated to its former paradisiacal condition; and that human society, now disorganised and unhappy, may become pure and perfect under the leadership of the Lord Jesus, is so attractive and beautiful that most men who are not committed to other theories like to think of the possibility of such a consummation, and would rejoice greatly if straightforward and logical reasoning could render it evident.

It is because we are persuaded that this view is one that ought to be properly weighed and considered that we notice

Mr. Heath as being certainly one of the ablest, most learned, and most resolute advocates of the earth itself being the only heaven to which man's attention is directed in the Bible.

Mr. Heath's opinions upon Christ's judgment may very fairly be gathered from the following quotations:—

"Four meanings, at least, of this English word 'judgment' are really distinct. The first is a thought, the second a word, the third an act, and the fourth a series of facts.

"A man may form an opinion or judgment which he may keep wholly within his own mind. Nothing more is necessary to its being his judgment than that it should have been formed by his mind. Such judgments are by the wise but seldom, though by the foolish but too often, revealed. Spoken words are no part of them. The judgment of Christ, in this sense, is clearly nothing to be fled from by either good men or wicked ones. It would be the greatest blessing to us to know it in all cases.

"Secondly, the verbal decision or judgment of a judge is to be distinguished, in many important points, from his mental opinion. A verbal judgment means a set of words of a very limited kind—viz., an order that, in consequence of this innocence or guilt, certain events are to take place. It is of very extreme importance to examine whether this verbal momentary judgment is the same thing as the *eternal* judgment which we, with surely some inconsistency, also preach.

"This phrase, eternal judgment, brings us, in fact, now naturally to the third distinct meaning of our word. Not only thoughts and words, but events also, are often called judgments. Of this sort are those physical phenomena which once befel the cities of our text (Matt. x. 15). Those cities are now said to be suffering the vengeance or judgment of eternal fire.

"The last generically distinct meaning I shall mention is one which many thought to be the correct one for the day of judgment. It comprehends a whole series of phenomena, whether mental, verbal, or actual. A judge may take an hour to form his judgment, a minute to give it, and a short or a long time to execute it; but during the whole of these events his office is that of judge, even as Sampson is said to have *judged Israel twenty years*. In common language it would be said that Sampson's day or period of judgment over Israel was twenty years. Very many have already maintained that the day of judgment means a period of judgment in this largest sense of the word.

We are brought, then, to the following question: does the day of judgment in Scripture mean a limited temporal period, during which Christ or his agents shall speak a hundred thousand million judicial sentences, after which human affairs are to end, and the Son of Mary to give up his kingdom to the Father, together with his human sympathies, interests, work, and nature.

"Or, secondly, does the day of judgment in Scripture mean

eternity, wherein Christ is to keep executing certain acts by which men are to be made ecstasically happy or very miserable?

"Or, lastly, in a sense not at all excluding these two, does the day of judgment in Scripture mean a period when the *mind of Christ*, or judgment of Christ, upon all human affairs, as they roll on, shall be known by saints and seen by sinners, clear as noon-day, and shall be an all-sufficient guide to men according as they judge likewise?"

A View of the Evidences of Christianity ; in Three Parts : and the Horæ Paulineæ. By WILLIAM PALEY, D.D., Archdeacon of Carlisle, &c. *A New Edition, with Notes, an Analysis, and a Selection of Questions from the Senate-House and College Examination Papers. Designed for the Use of Students.* By ROBERT POTTS, M.A., Trinity College. Cambridge: Printed at the University Press. 1849.

The Evidences of Christianity, as Exhibited in the Writings of its Apologists. An Essay which obtained the Hulsean Prize for the Year 1852. By W. J. BOLTON, of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1863.

No subject so earnestly commends itself to a reflecting mind as that set forth in these volumes. Its importance is commensurate with the importance of religion. Deprive Christianity of the evidences, so to speak, which adorn and solidify the majesty of the glorious structure, and you strip it of an invaluable charm—you expose it to every bitter blast of the sceptic, and render its shelter impossible. These great groundworks—these indispensable accompaniments—afford a basis for all appeal, and yield the believer an inexhaustible and irrefragable armoury in his contest with unbelief. He may safely challenge investigation, because the abundance of testimony he stands upon gives strength to his position, and no fatal opening for an adversary's shafts, however keenly pointed. The practical application of Christian evidences not only secures an indestructibility to the believer's convictions, but a proportionate becalming over his conscience.

Attaching, as we do, so vast a value to evidences of this nature, Mr. Potts' edition of Paley's most excellent work is hailed with no ordinary welcome—not that it almost, but that it fully answers the praiseworthy purpose for which it has been issued. In whatever light we view its importance—by whatever standard we measure its excellences—its intrinsic value is equally manifest. No man could be found more fitly qualified for the arduous task of reproducing, in an attainable form and in an intelligible

dress, the work he undertook to edit, than Mr. Potts. By an industry and patience, by a skill and carefulness of no common kind, by an erudition of a high order, he has made "Paley's Evidences" (a work remarkable no less for its sound reasoning than its admirable perspicuity) adapted to the Christian student's every requirement in the sphere it enters on. To these "Evidences" the "Horæ Paulinæ" has been added, inasmuch (we quote from the preface) "as it forms one of the most important branches of the auxiliary evidences of Christianity." It is further added :—"To the intelligent student, no apology will be necessary for bringing here before him in connexion with the 'Evidences' the 'Horæ Paulinæ'—a work which consists of an accumulation of circumstantial evidence elicited from St. Paul's Epistles and the Acts with no ordinary skill and judgment; and exhibited in a pellucid style as far removed from the unnatural as from the non-natural employment of language."

Without this volume the library of any Christian man is incomplete. No commendation can be more emphatic nor more just.

Of a kindred nature is the second work heading our notice. Mr. Bolton very properly assigns much importance to the writings of the Christian apologists of the early era of the Church. From them he has judiciously collected many powerful arguments establishing the sacred grandeur of Christianity. No mean tokens of considerable research are exhibited by the laudable result of his labour now before us. The volume forms a very suitable companion to the work with which we have here associated it. Both merit a success we hope they will reach.

Truth Spoken in Love; or, Romanism Refuted by the Word of God. By the Rev. H. H. BEAMISH, M.A., Minister of Trinity Chapel, Conduit-street, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Bandon. London: J. F. Shaw. 1853.

THE vast importance rightly given to the great principle involved in the combat between Tractarianism and truth has elicited a myriad of remonstrances meant, if not "spoken, in love." None of these is unattended with use—all have their assigned mission. That of Mr. Beamish's work embraces a larger sphere than many which have yet appeared, as it grapples with the fundamental sections of the Tractite controversy, and touches on most of the *questiones veratæ* of modern times. He probes the mischief judiciously and with a master's hand. Not less skilful is the mode of treatment which justifies the title of

his work: it emphatically contains "Truth spoken in Love." Although it claims to refute Romanism to the same extent as Tractarianism, it really only investigates the truth of such doctrines as both hold in common, without reaching into the heart of the Papal system for the doctrinal extravagancies which the Tractite party has not yet reduced to practice. The subjects discussed are the Rule of Faith, Baptismal Regeneration, Catholicity, Auricular Confession, Schism, and Apostolical Succession. Each of these topics is brought into contact with the Bible test, and, by the aid of that, is awarded its meed of worth or worthlessness. The work is not only calmly and ably written, but elegantly "got up."

Mr. Beamish is so truly scriptural a writer, and there is so much that we admire and love in all his productions, that we touch on anything very gently when we disagree with him; but he has plainly proved one thing—that either our Church has two senses for the word *regeneration*, or that she is inconsistent with herself—that, in fact, her articles say one thing and her devotional services another. Now, while we would gladly see the apparent inconsistency removed, and would wish the baptismal service made to agree with the articles, yet we would willingly claim the benefit of the double sense before referred to; and, while we must either accept the phraseology of the Prayer Book or cease to be Churchmen, we would thus interpret every portion of that book in a *natural* and evangelical sense. This would render unnecessary the proposal made by Mr. Beamish of leaving a discretionary power with the clergyman as to the use of certain portions of the liturgy. What clergyman would dare to undertake such a responsibility? And where would be the Christian feeling of fastening it upon him?

Benedictions; or, the Blessed Life. By the Rev. J. CUMMING, D.D. London: J. F. Shaw.

ALREADY a circulation of three thousand has been reached by this work—a practical test, by the way, of its acceptability. Dr. Cumming's writings are now so familiar to readers generally that any dissertation upon their peculiarities might be deemed tedious and unnecessary. Habit, or, more correctly, frequency of performance, often engenders an unconscious negligence which has occasionally blemished some of Dr. Cumming's past productions. In one who had attained only an inferior degree of popularity as a writer, we would be less likely to detect any of those defects which may have been unwittingly admitted. But the very greatness of Dr. Cumming's reputation

sharpens the critic's investigation to a proportionate fineness. If, however, over-confidence, or, we will say, under-carefulness, dim the lustre of some of his former works, there is no such fault perceptible in that before us. It betrays close application and bears the full fruit of mature study. Its object is to teach that the elements of a truly blessed life "descends from above and can be collected from no earthly cistern, and touches the heart before it transforms the outward life." This mission it is framed to accomplish.

Christ our Passover ; or, Thoughts on the Atonement. By the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D.D., F.R.S.E., Minister of the Scotch National Church, Crown-court, Covent-garden. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1854.

All Dr. Cumming's works are eminently practical, and this is no exception to the general rule. Eloquent and convincing, he goes directly to the heart, and sets forth the atonement of our all-glorious Redeemer in a striking and experimental way.

The Sevenfold Book. Hints on the Revelation. By the Author of "The Gathered Lily." London: Seeleys. 1853.

WITH the commendable object of simplifying the Revelation, and making that divine book intelligible to youthful readers, this quaintly-titled little volume has been published. The author shows an intimacy with his subject, and therefore deals with it systematically and freely. He labours—not without success—by a quantity of excellent hints, thoughtfully and lucidly imparted, to reduce his aim to practice. We believe a careful perusal of this little volume will tend to improve any reader, and, not the least, those for whom it has been especially designed.

Manna in the House ; or, Daily Expositions of the Gospel of St. Luke, specially adapted for the Use of Families. By the Rev. B. BOUCHIER, A.M., Curate of Cheam, Surrey. London: J. F. Shaw. 1853.

MR. BOUCHIER has caught at what we may designate "an amiable style." It wins one as much for its graceful simplicity as for its profounder attractions. He introduces with pious artfulness a sublime and wholesome topic into the family circle, where it cannot but be appreciated as a really refreshing "Manna in the House." The unpretending commentaries before us on the

Gospel of St. Luke are, indeed, eminently adapted for the domestic hearth, and must greatly conduce to awaken many a slumbering spirit and re-animate many a weary heart. Not the least estimable feature in Mr. Bouchier's volume is a judicious arrangement by which each division of his subject is admirably classified, and rescued from the dignified confusion which often distinguishes more pretentious writings. An originality of method has been employed to good purpose; and the other merits of the volume demand our commendation.

The Youth's Safeguard against Popery and Tractarianism.

By Miss CHRISTMAS, Author of "Glendearg Cottage," &c.
London: Longmans.

IN these days, when Popery is striving to regain the ground it has long lost in Europe and Tractarianism aids its bold design, it is pleasing to observe the number of champions which enter the lists in defence of Protestantism: even ladies buckle on their armour in its defence. Among these defenders of the faith, Miss Christmas has long been one of the most zealous; and she has not only been zealous but successful. In the work before us—which is the produce of her lance—(i. e., her pen)—she has successfully portrayed the iniquities which Rome hath committed in England. The "Youth's Safeguard" is, indeed, a well digested history of the guilty career of Popery in our own beloved country; and we are much mistaken if any youth who reads her book will be induced to listen to the voice of the charmer, Popery, or that of its twin-sister, Tractarianism.

Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties Considered in Relation to their Natural and Scriptural Grounds, and to the Principles of Religious Liberty. By ROBERT COX. Edinburgh: McLachlan and Stewart. 1853.

THE object professed by this volume, which is characterized by much learning and moderation, is to vindicate the liberty of making such use of the Sabbath, in a secular way, as may conduce to the general welfare. The author more especially pleads for Sunday trains; but, while there is a party in Scotland, and not altogether unknown among ourselves, which looks on the Lord's-day as the exact counterpart of the Jewish Sabbath, yet there are others, and we must rank our author among them, who, with the best intentions, would soon make the Sabbath a dead letter.

Hora Sabbaticæ : or, the Sabbatic Cycle. The Divine Chronometer. A Dissertation to Prove the Original Sabbatic Ordinance to be Perpetual, but not Legal. By RICHARD BALL. London : Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1853.

MR. BALL enters into his subject with spirit, and discusses it with patience and candour. He exposes many false notions, and places the observance of the Sabbath on Christian and not Jewish grounds.

The Typology of Scripture Reviewed in Connection with the Entire Scheme of the Divine Dispensations. By PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, Professor of Divinity, Free Church College, Aberdeen. Second Edition, much Enlarged and Improved. Two Volumes. Edinburgh : J. and T. Clark. 1854.

THE work here noticed is not exactly new to the theological world. Professor Fairbairn has already put forth at different times the two volumes of which we have a second and more complete edition here. Among the clergy of the Established Church of Scotland the book has been long looked upon with much favour : here it is far less known than it ought to be.

The Professor commences with an enquiry into the principles of typical interpretation, in which his view is to determine the real nature and design of types, and the extent to which they entered into God's earlier dispensations. He then enters into a most interesting survey of the past and present state of theological opinion on the subject ; after which he proceeds to examine the nature and use of those types called " ritual." The historical types next claim his attention, and he discusses at some length and with great ability the double sense of prophecy and the prophetic types in general.

The second book treats of the primæval and patriarchal times, and examines the history of the trees of life and knowledge, the fall, the cherubim and flaming sword, the institution of sacrifice, and God's dealings with the patriarchs. It is needless to say that these subjects are discussed with reference to their typical character ; and the appendices to the first volume, of which there are five, are most important additions to the value of the work, and evidences of the care and research which the author has bestowed upon it.

The second volume is occupied with the consideration of those types which appear under the law ; and taking the history of Israel in Egypt as a startling point, the Professor examines successively the bondage, the deliverer and his commission, the march through the desert, and the arrival in

Canaan. That portion which relates to the law itself is peculiarly valuable; and we hope that this edition, thus complete, will make known to the clergy of our own Church a work of great merit on a difficult and most interesting branch of theology.

II. CHURCH HISTORY.

History of the Christian Church to the Pontificate of Gregory the Great, A.D. 590, intended for General Readers as well as for Students in Theology. By JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., Vicar of Bekesbourne, in the Diocese of Canterbury. London: Murray. 1854.

IT might seem as though amid the multitude of manuals of Church History there were no room for a new one, yet the demand rather outruns the supply.

The book here presented to us is calculated for the general reader, as well as the student in theology, and Mr. Robertson has borne this in mind throughout. We have examined it with great care, and can unhesitatingly recommend it as sound and accurate; it does, indeed, contain *multum in parvo*. We hope Mr. Robertson will go on, and give us in successive volumes the history continued to our own time.

A History of the Christian Church (Middle Age); with Four Maps constructed for this Work, by Keith Johnston. By CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catherine's Hall, and late Cambridge Preacher at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. Cambridge: Macmillan. 1853.

THIS is one of a series of manuals which are now appearing at Cambridge for the use of students of the university; and, if all are executed with the same care and ability, we shall be able to give the whole series our unqualified approbation. We find not only profound learning, but we find it popularized, and so well are the references arranged that the book is itself a guide to a more extended course of reading. Now and then Mr. Hardwick seems to look at a transaction from a somewhat different point of view than that which we should ourselves take; but his facts are always to be depended upon, his references are always faithful, and his work will be useful far beyond the limited circle of the university. The maps are a new feature and will much conduce to the acceptability of the work.

Memorials of the Most Rev. Father in God Thomas Cranmer, sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. By JOHN STRYPE, M.A. A New Edition, in Two Volumes, by PHILIP EDWARD BARNES, Esq., B.A., F.R.S., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London: Routledge. 1853.

AT last we see what the Church has been long looking for—a cheap and good edition of Strype. It is quite true, as stated in old Strype's title-page, that "the history of the Church, and the reformation of it during the primacy of the said archbishop, are greatly illustrated, and many singular matters relating thereto were first published" in these volumes; and equally true that they are "collected chiefly from records, registers, authentic letters, and other original manuscripts." Mr. Barnes has done real service by the timely republication of such a work as this, and Mr. Routledge deserves great praise for putting it within the reach of the great body of the clergy. Most truly does Mr. Barnes say—"It may not be too much, perhaps, to assert that, had such an elaborate history of the Reformation as is contained in the entire works of Strype been in general circulation among the clergy, it would have been impossible that so many of them could of late years have been so fearfully misled by the insinuations of designing men as to have been perverted by the doctrines of that Church the misdoings of which, previously to the era of the Reformation, Strype has so distinctly traced and unfolded."

III. BIOGRAPHY.

A Memoir of the Life and Labours of the Rev. Adoniram Judson, D.D. By F. WAYLAND, D.D. Two Volumes. London: J. Nisbet and Co.

MISSIONARY memoirs are invariably interesting. We are borne away in the zeal, and we are edified by the career, and we are startled and delighted by the many vicissitudes, which belong to the Gospel messenger when his labour is amidst appalling danger, or at best far removed from earthly comforts. The subject of this "Memoir" enables Dr. Wayland to present us with two volumes of no ordinary value, and he has creditably acquitted himself of the trust reposed in him.

On the 9th of August, 1788, Adoniram Judson was born in Malden, Massachusetts. His father was a congregational minister, whose appearance "left you at a loss whether to class him with a patriarch of the Hebrews or a censor of the Romans." Young Judson entered Brown University, then Provi-

dence College, in his sixteenth year. He fell into the prevailing infidelity at an early age; but was providentially restored by the death, in despair, of him who imparted to his young mind infidel notions. At this time he was summoned to Andover Theological Seminary:—

“In the calm retirement of Andover, guided in his studies by men the praise of whose learning and piety is in all the Churches, with nothing to distract his attention from the great concerns of eternity, light gradually dawned upon his mind, and he was enabled to surrender his whole soul to Christ as his atoning Saviour. This event occurred in November, about six weeks after his removal to Andover. On the 2nd of December, 1808, as he has recorded, he made a solemn dedication of himself to God. On the 28th of May, 1809, he made a public profession of religion, and joined the Third Congregational Church in Plymouth, of which his father was then pastor” (vol. i. p. 14).

The following extract must be useful to those who, like Judson at that time, fear to credit the reality of their conversion to God:—

“I have often heard Dr. Judson speak of his introduction to Andover, and of the state of utter darkness, and almost despair, in which he was at the time. I have also heard him tell of the gradual change which came over him; but there was nothing sufficiently striking in it to fasten on the memory.

“There was none of his characteristic impetuosity exhibited in his conversion; and he had none of those overpowering, Bunyan-like exercises, either before or after, that would be looked for in a person of his ardent temperament. He was prayerful, reflective, and studious of proofs; and gradually faith, trust in God, and finally a hope through the merits of Christ, took possession of his soul, he scarcely knew how; and from the moment that he fully believed I think he never doubted. He said he felt as sure that he was an entirely new creature, actuated by new motives and governed by new principles, as he was sure of his own existence. His old habits of thought and feeling to some extent clung to him, but they were made subservient to higher purposes; and, though he might still have his objects of ambition, they could never again be of the first moment. The change, though gradual, was too marked, too entire, to admit of a moment's doubt. He had no exercises on the subject of entering the ministry: it became a matter of course immediately on his indulging a hope” (vol. i. p. 22).

Having completed his course at Andover on the 24th of September, 1810, he addressed a letter on the subject of missions to Dr. Bogue of Gosport, asking counsel; and volunteering, with other young men, to proceed to any quarter of the globe for missionary purposes.

The consequence of further negotiations was the sending of Judson to England in 1811, in order to enquire into and arrange meet plans between the two countries for working in harmony in the missionary field. At that time, hostilities existed between England and France; and Mr. Judson, with all on board the vessel he sailed in, was captured by a French privateer and landed at Bayonne. His prison was dark and dismal, but he contrived to escape after this successful manner:—

“While leaning against the column for a moment’s rest the door of the cell opened, and he instantly recognised an American he had seen in the street. He suppressed a cry of joy, and, seeing that the stranger did not look at him, though he stood close by the lamp, tried himself to affect indifference. The American, making some remark in French, took up the lamp, and then adding (or perhaps translating) in English, ‘Let me see if I know any of these poor fellows,’ passed around the room and examined them carelessly. ‘No; no friend of mine,’ said he, replacing the lamp, and swinging his great military cloak around Mr. Judson, who slight figure was almost lost in its ample folds. Comprehending the plan, Mr. Judson drew himself into as small a compass as possible, thinking that he would make the best of the affair, though having little confidence in the clumsy artifice. His protector, too, seemed to have his doubts, for as he passed out he slid some money into the gaoler’s hand; and again, at the gate, made another imbursement, and as soon as they were outside released his *protege*, with the expressive words, ‘Now, run!’ Mr. Judson quite forgot his fatigue from walking in the cell, as he fleetly followed his tall conductor through the streets to the wharf, where he was placed on board an American merchantman for the night. The next evening his friend returned, informing him that his place of refuge had been only temporarily chosen; and, as the papers necessary to his release could not be procured immediately, he would be much safer in the attic of a ship-builder, who had kindly offered this place of concealment. Accordingly he removed to the attic, from which, after a few days, he was released on parole” (vol. i. 51).

His stay at Bayonne was very short. On the 3rd of May, 1811, he reached England, and immediately was received by the London Missionary Society.

His further career is deeply interesting and replete with edifying instruction. Having married on the 5th of February, 1812, he soon after sailed for Calcutta; where, however, the authorities prevented the establishment of a mission. After great hardships and increasing disappointments, the young missionary arrived at Burmah, the scene of his future labours. We make an extract from his journal which gives some insight into the social condition of the Burmese:—

“‘To-day, for the first time, I have visited the wife of the viceroy. I was introduced to her by a French lady who has frequently visited

her. When we first arrived at the Government-house she was not up: consequently, we had to wait some time. But the inferior wives of the viceroy diverted us much by their curiosity in minutely examining everything we had on, and by trying on our gloves, bonnets, &c. At last her highness made her appearance, dressed richly in the Burman fashion, with a long silver pipe at her mouth smoking. At her appearance all the other wives took their seats at a respectful distance, and sat in a crouching posture, without speaking. She received me very politely, took me by the hand, seated me upon a mat, and herself by me. She excused herself for not coming in sooner, saying she was unwell. One of the women brought her a bunch of flowers, of which she took several and ornamented her cap. She was very inquisitive whether I had a husband and children—whether I was my husband's first wife, meaning by this whether I was the highest among them, supposing that my husband, like the Burmans, had many wives; and whether I intended tarrying long in the country.

“When the viceroy came in I really trembled, for I never before beheld such a savage-looking creature. His long robe and enormous spear not a little increased my dread. He spoke to me, however, very condescendingly, and asked if would I drink some rum or wine. When I arose to go, her highness again took my hand; told me she was happy to see me; that I must come to see her every day, for I was like a sister to her. She led me to the door, and I made my *salaam* and departed. My only object in visiting her was, that, if we should get into any difficulty with the Burmans, I could have access to her, when perhaps it would not be possible for Mr. Judson to get access to the viceroy. One can obtain almost any favour from her by making a small present” (vol. ii. p. 128).

The success of his extraordinary efforts was slow but progressive. His trials and disappointments were indeed severe, but his fortitude was heroic. He expired on the 12th of April, 1815, on board the *Aristide Marie*, a French barque, and his body was cast into the sea:—

“The moment of the going out of life was indicated only by his ceasing to breathe. A gentle pressure of the hand, growing more and more feeble as life waned, showed the peacefulness of the spirit about to take its homeward flight.”

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of John Pye Smith, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Latin Theological Tutor in the Old College, Homerton. By JOHN MEDWAY. One Vol. London: Jackson and Walford.

It is our opinion that these “Memoirs” are not equal to their subject. Pye Smith had a truer and a nobler life than this volume brings into view. Though we confess to have never entertained those extravagant ideas concerning his talents and

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attainments which are common among our Nonconformist brethren, still we are compelled to admit that he has not received justice at the hand of his biographer. Granted, that nothing is more difficult than for one man to write the life of another—granted, that between the subject of a memoir, and he who undertakes to write that memoir, there ought to be a most perfect sympathy of mind and heart—granted, that in many cases the materials for such an undertaking are scanty and of a very promiscuous character—what then is the inference? Does it follow that we are simply to do the best we can, and palm upon the world an inferior book? On the contrary, the task of biography ought never to be attempted till we are sure that we can bring out our subject on the printed page as the true counterpart of the man as he was seen and known amid the activities and the doings of this lower sphere. Had this simple rule been observed the Church and the world would have been saved many a bulky volume, and thousands of admiring friends and kindred would have been spared the most bitter disappointment. In saying this, we mean not to depreciate the work now before us, nor by any judgment of ours to consign it to unmerited oblivion. There is in it just enough for a masterly sketch of the eminent Nonconformist divine and tutor; but far from enough to challenge a large octavo volume of about six or seven hundred pages; and with the following passage before us we wonder that more than this was attempted. In his preface the editor says:—

“To such a beginner as myself the difficulty [of preparing these ‘Memoirs’] was increased by an entire absence of anything like a diary or journal for nearly the whole of Dr. Smith’s life by the restraint laid upon his correspondence for many years—by the rareness of copies of any of the letters which he wrote—by a want of chronological order in those which he received—in a word, by a remarkable deficiency everywhere *visible* among his papers and books, serving to show that he never contemplated the preparing of a biography of himself, and never provided means for any one to do it on his behalf. Hence, in some parts, the comparative *thinness* of the thread of the narrative; and, in others, the aid which has been sought from his numerous contributions to the literature of his country. It behoves me also to confess that the failure of a class of documents, much and deservedly prized in the memoirs of eminent persons, and which greatly facilitate an editor’s duties, afford an inducement, not to say a reason, to endeavour by remarks of my own to furnish information respecting traits of character or lines of conduct which, indeed, belonged prominently to the man, but of which scarcely any or no information could be given from his own pen.”

Such being the state of the case, it only tends to confirm

our opinion that it would have been the wiser and the better course to have drawn out a lively and faithful portraiture of the distinguished subject, and prefixed it either to the syllabus of his lectures now in the press, or to a new edition of his "Scripture Testimony to the Messiah," as the work on which his fame must mainly rest; and, had this been committed to the hand of a master, we should have had a truer idea of the man, the scholar, and the divine.

Mr. Medway is far too minute and circumstantial in his details. The incidents in a man's history should be grouped around some central element of being, or some commanding trait of character. On this principle, the first six chapters would admit of no small degree of compression. The seventh chapter should have never seen the light, and many of the *puntilla*, connected with his academic position and duties, are unworthy of any such permanent record. Not only is there a great deal inserted which might to advantage have been left out, but the deficiencies of the work are most marked. For example, a reference is made to the origin of the *Eclectic Review* at the beginning of the present century; and yet we are left in total ignorance of the grounds assumed by its projectors for the necessity of such a periodical at such a time. An enquiry into the literary history of this period could not have failed to have been intensely interesting, and especially if it had taken up the higher branches of philology, biblical criticism, and the science of theology. Again: we have unnumbered allusions to his published works; but we miss everything like a bold, manly, independent critique upon his writings; nor does it appear from this volume what effect they had on the literature and the religion of his times. We also desiderate the fact as to the extent to which he impressed his own mental and moral character on his students; and what was the peculiar power which went forth from the professorial chair to those who daily gathered round his feet as admiring and confiding disciples. That his scholarship and varied attainments fairly entitled him to be ranked with the literati of his age is one thing; but it is another thing to speak of him as one of the guides of that age. In no sense could he be called a leader in any great national or public movement. He rather followed in the train of others. He knew but little of the great world of men and things. He was a man of reading rather than of observation. He was better qualified to pronounce a judgment than to project a scheme. The civic and Christian economies of Chalmers he could admire and applaud, but he could never have originated or brought them into play. He was

emphatically a student; and yet his intellect was united to a heart filled with the truest sympathy, and solicitude, and affection. If his sphere of action was limited, his benevolence was as wide as the world and as unconfined as the race.

We have brought before us, in Dr. Pye Smith, an amiable and accomplished man—a Christian in the highest sense of that word—a theologian of no mean pretensions—a writer of great depth and reach—one whose works will follow him, and whose name will be revered and his memory cherished for ages yet to come. Nor this only—in him there were some fine, noble, commanding features of character. His personal religion was of the first and highest type. In him, the life of God was a sublime reality. The depth of his humility was in proportion to the elevation of his faith. His devotion was one pure and ever-burning flame, and all his motives to action were gathered from the Cross of Christ. He had a profound love of revealed truth, and amid the disclosures of redeeming mercy he expatiated with a freedom and an ecstasy of soul known only to the pure and benevolent heart. His private personal virtues were never obscured or rendered invisible by the blaze of his public life. He was not only a servant of Christ—he was also a man of God. His path as a Christian, as well as his course as a minister, shone more and more unto the perfect day. And as he lived so he died. His faith proved triumphant in death. Nor will these “Memoirs” of his life fail to instruct and quicken and stimulate the Church of God. To the scholar, to the Christian, and to him who sustains the sacred office of the ministry, they supply a model for study and imitation. If the volume can only command a patient and prayerful perusal, the effect cannot but be salutary and sanctifying. Its contents are adapted not to the head only, but also to the heart; and, if left to exert their legitimate influence within this more sacred domain, they cannot fail to draw the whole nature into closer conformity to the image and the will of God.

The price of the book brings it within the reach and the purchase of many thousands, and we hope that it may obtain a wide circulation within every section of the Christian Church. Good men are the common property of the whole body, and to the whole is their life bequeathed.

The Private Letters of Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., Rajah of Sarawak, Narrating the Events of his Life from 1838 to the Present Time. Edited by JOHN C. TEMPLER, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and one of the Masters of her Majesty's

Court of Exchequer. Three Volumes. London: Bentley. 1853.

THAT we speak in high commendation of this book may appear strange when we fully admit that there is nothing which we consider so unwarrantable as the publication of private letters. This is, however, a perfectly exceptional case. It will be remembered that, in 1849, an attack as malignant as it was ungrounded was made on the character and proceedings of Sir James Brooke; and, unfortunately, the Peace Society drew the veteran reformer Joseph Hume into it.

The allegations made were fairly rebutted. Sir James was put in his true light before the public as a great and good, and now also an ill-used, man. The whole country seemed to respond to his defenders, and it appears lately that no more would ever be heard of the calumnious charges.

Now, we confess to great liking for Mr. Hume, and are sorry to see him in the wrong; but in this case he is most entirely and unmistakeably so. He has rescuscitated these old calumnies, and moved for a parliamentary commission to examine and report on them. Sir James Brooke is once more, therefore, put on his trial; and by his consent—nay, indeed, by his request—these letters, narrating all the events in that portion of his life which is under discussion, are given to the public.

Not only are they deeply interesting in themselves as furnishing us with an insight into the workings of a mind of the very highest order as revealing the man in the most unaffected manner, but they afford proofs perfectly unanswerable that Sir James is in no respect chargeable with the offences attributed to him. His friends will rejoice at the appearance of a work in all ways so satisfactory. His enemies (and no great man is without them) will find their tactics foiled, and society at large will rejoice in the triumphant vindication of one of its greatest benefactors.

We purpose, ere long, to bring before our readers the state and prospects of Borneo, and then we shall have occasion to refer again and again to the letters of the Rajah of Sarawak.

Jacqueline Pascal; or, Convent Life at Port Royal. Compiled from the French of Victor Cousin, Faugère, Vinet, and other Sources. By H. N. With an Introduction by W. R. WILLIAMS, D.D. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1854.

THE name of Pascal is dear to all lovers of truth, and the

book before us makes us acquainted with a very interesting member of his family; besides throwing much light on the world-celebrated controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. The convent of Port Royal was, as every body knows, the seminary of the Jansenists; and the sketches of life among the sisters there cannot fail to excite attention, now that all the phases of conventual discipline are undergoing so much discussion.

As we read, mingled feelings arise in our minds: admiration of much that is undoubtedly high and noble and self-devoting, and sorrow that there should be so much of error in doctrine—so much of folly and triviality in practice.

The introduction, by Dr. Williams, is an important addition to the value of the book; and the evidence of such a man as Vinet, to the services rendered to religion by the Port Royal community, will, perhaps, silence some too hasty critics.

Glimpses of Great Men; or, Biographic Thoughts of Moral Mankind. By A. J. MORRIS, Author of "Religion and Business," &c. London: Ward and Co., Paternoster-row.

THESE are most agreeable and useful sketches of such men as should be known to all, young and old. They are brief, but in their way perfect; so that to enlarge them would involve the destruction of their identity. The author very confidently, and with much justice, commends them to the young. We heartily join in the commendation.

IV. SERMONS.

1. *Sermons.* By WILLIAM EDWARD RAWSTONE, M.A. In Two Volumes. London: Hatchards.
2. *Plain Sermons to the Blind.* By the Rev. B. G. JOHNS, Chaplain. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.
3. *A Valedictory Offering. Five Sermons, &c.* By CHARLES PELLIT M^cILVAINE, D.D., Bishop of Ohio. Seeleys.

It is pleasing to observe the number of sermons which are issued from the press. It is at once an evidence that they find readers, which fact shows us that there are a goodly number of real Christians in our land; and the sermons which are published—although they may not attain to the excellence of those penned by our old divines—are nevertheless, for the most part, of a sound and practical character. Mr. Raw-

stone's sermons may be numbered among these; and they recommend themselves to our notice, not only for their intrinsic value, but for the reason that the profits arising from their issue are to be devoted to the erection or support of schools for the poorer class. We hope those profits will be great, and that our readers will increase them by purchasing the volumes. If the sermons are not characterized by any remarkable eloquence, they do, at least in a plain and simple manner, set forth the great truths of the Gospel.

A still more touching interest is connected with "Plain Sermons for the Blind." These sermons (twelve in number) were preached in the chapel of the Blind School, St. George's-Fields—one of those noble monuments of charity which adorn our metropolis and are the great glory of England. "Plain Sermons to the Blind" are plain; but they are sound and good, and not only calculated to do those good who with sightless and upturned eyes heard them delivered by the preacher, but those who, blessed with the precious gift of sight, may read them.

Bishop McIlvaine's five sermons are published in token of Christian love and remembrance towards his brethren in England. In the preface he writes:—"They speak all I know of the Gospel of Christ, and what all must know in their hearts who would attain unto Christ in his kingdom." Few sermons published contain so much of the fulness of the Gospel as these five sermons; their style is almost apostolic, affectionate, and faithful. In a word, this "Valedictory Offering" is a rich treasure of Gospel truth.

Twenty Sermons for Town Congregations. By CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catherine's Hall, and Cambridge Preacher at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1853.

MR. HARDWICK was appointed last year by the Bishop of London to be the Cambridge preacher at Whitehall. These twenty sermons, dedicated to his lordship, are the fruits of that appointment. Like all that proceeds from Mr. Hardwick, these discourses are calm, clear, practical, and convincing: they are full of the Gospel as brought home to our hearts and business. On one point, however, we differ from him: he supposes that our Saviour stood in a different position from ourselves when he was tempted, inasmuch as it would have been *impossible* for him to yield to the tempter. This we cannot admit, for then his example would have been no longer applicable to us. "He was tempted in all points like as we are, *yet* without sin."

Four Sermons Preached before the University of Cambridge in the Month of November 1853. By the Rev. H. GOODWIN, M.A., late Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, and Minister of St. Edward's, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deighton. 1853.

MR. HARVEY has long been known as one of the ablest, and, to the university, the most acceptable preacher in Cambridge. Some call him the head and leader of the High Churchmen there: if so, so much the better for them, for the sermons before us give unmistakeable evidence of evangelical truth. The subject of the present course is the young man's spiritual life, and it is treated in the following order:—First: "The Young Man Cleansing his Way." Secondly: "The Young Man in Religious Difficulties." Thirdly: "The Young Man as a Churchman;" and lastly, "The Young Man Called to Christ." The volume would make an admirable present to any well educated young man. Here and there, perhaps, he might have adopted a different phraseology, but everywhere we recognise the spirit of the Gospel.

V. FICTION.

The Colonel: a Story of Fashionable Life. By the Author of "The Perils of Fashion." Three Volumes. Hurst and Blacket. 1853.

WHEN "The Perils of Fashion" appeared, we gave it a place in a somewhat extended review which, last year, we took of the character and tendency of modern novels. It claimed that distinction by its sparkling wit, its rich stores of racy anecdote, and the knowledge of the world which every page displayed.

The present work is well calculated to maintain the rank among novelists for its author which the first asserted. Somewhat less sparkling, and decidedly less sarcastic, it is more uniformly pleasing; and there is a vein of profound feeling running through it more natural, as well as more tranquil, than we generally find in works of this description. Another feature is the thoroughly dramatic style in which it is written. There are no artifices palpable to the reader to make the characters speak: they are men and women—they speak as such—speak naturally, sensibly, and often religiously. The religion, again, of this story is no namby-pamby sentimentality: it is the pure and wholesome breathing of genuine

Christianity; so that, without being that generally abominable thing, a religious novel, it is a story of fashionable life—just what it pretends to be—but told by a lady. There is no mistaking that—a lady of talent, accomplishment, and real religious feeling. Since novels we must have, by all means let us have such as this; and we shall hope, therefore, to meet again and again with the author of “The Colonel” in a field so congenial. Why not try the historical novel? There are indications in these two works that the author might win a very decided triumph in that class of writing.

Norah Dalrymple : a Woman's Story. In Three Volumes.
London: Newby. 1850.

THIS is indeed a woman's story: it is the history of a woman's heart, and evidently the production of a female hand. While the author fully portrays every female character, and depicts the thoughts and conflicts of Norah's mind and heart with truth and fidelity, she never attempts to give us the height and depth of the inner world of her masculine characters. Arthur Melville, Colonel St. John, and Gardiner, all are admirably sketched in outlines, which are not, however, adequately filled up.

Norah herself is always interesting, though very often extremely provoking, while the gentle Lucilla is always generous and amiable. Lady Elphinstone and Anna Maria are true to nature. Anna Maria, like the serpent in Eden, is full of jealousy and mischief.

We like the description of the bridal splendours of Lochaw: coming, as it does, after there tirement and quiet of Glenorme, it contrasts well, and Norah's blunders on her *debut* are very amusing. The author is equally at home with her subject, whether climbing the Scotch mountains and involved in a Scotch mist, or mingling with the high-born graceful throng; now gliding through the rich saloons of D—— House; now sauntering amid the floral treasures of Binstead-park.

The tale was composed long ago, but from some unexplained cause cast aside. It now, however, finds its way to the public eye through the hands of an author of fair repute, who has deemed it too faithful a delineation of feelings to be consigned to oblivion. We will not, by entering into minuter details, spoil the pleasure of those who may be disposed to read the work for themselves.

Blanche Neville : a Record of Married Life. By the Author of "Faith in Earnest," &c. London : Sampson Low and Son. 1853.

MEANING to illustrate the prophet's question—"Can two walk together except they be agreed?"—the author of "Faith in Earnest" has given to the world this production. He alleges that, though he has known instances in all ranks of life "of alliances contracted by the children of God with the children of men," he has known none of them to be productive of real happiness! We cannot conceive what the author intends by the phrase "real happiness." Surely he will not say that such—as the notion is generally received—belongs to "life" here below. We agree with him that not every marriage realizes the hopes and wishes of the contracting parties; but, constituted as our nature is, what thinking man expects "unspotted peace?" The author of this work seems to consider the purest domestic harmony generally attainable. We seriously doubt the possibility of finding even rare cases of what he would call "matrimonial felicity." Until the disposition of *human* nature undergoes a complete metamorphosis, we do not look for uninterrupted calm in all the concerns of life, and certainly not in "bonds of matrimony." But, while refusing to credit the practicability of any *unbroken* harmony, such as this author and every one else yearns for, we by no means deny the existence of much peace and comfort in the "holy estate." Peace and comfort, too, as nearly akin to that desired as it is possible for man to secure; and we also believe that this arises from a *spiritual* equanimity—so far we agree with the author. But not necessarily from a perfect similitude in the natural disposition: here we differ from him.

The plan selected to enforce the moral intended by this tale is good, and, we can add, cleverly executed.

Margaret; or, Prejudice at Home, and its Victims. An Autobiography. Two Vols. London: Bentley.

THIS novel is chiefly remarkable as being the first issued by Mr. Bentley under the new plan, by which the usual prices of ordinary works of fiction are reduced to about one-half. The tale itself is certainly not calculated to detract from the popularity the new system is likely to obtain: indeed, we question whether the design could be inaugurated under more promising auspices. Our commendation must, however, be accepted in a qualified sense. While admiring the general scope and style of the narrative, we do not approve of the many strained recur-

rences to the bleaker side of life which so often appear, and which evidence no small degree of bitterness of spirit in the author. From the following passages—which occur at the end of the work—the reader will collect the nature of the prejudices which it is the object of the book to expose. The heroine, let us premise, has become Madame de Beausset and gone to Australia, and is represented making this appeal to the “down-trodden” ladies of England:—

“Come to this land! Come from the slavery of whatever kind that is a disgrace to others, and a wearing down of life with its energies to yourselves! Come from the contempt that makes even honest bread bitter to the taste! Here the educated and the sensitive will not be tried beyond endurance by the meanness and the insolence of power: here the ignorant will not be debased by the grovelling teachings of conventionalism. If England has sent out to us many imbued only with a sordid spirit of gain, these either hurry back with their gold to the home where it promises them most consideration; or, by their reckless extravagance and want of intelligence and principle, give fair promise of coming to nothing where they are. We have a nobler population, made up of earnest strugglers for independence: men and women, who have passed through an ordeal that has purified their dross, and prepared them for an earnest pursuit of noble purposes: plans and views worthy of immortal creatures, whose course here was not meant to be impeded by bans and difficulties that drag down and confine flesh and bone, and every sinew of the spirit, to an inadequate providing for the most sordid of all wants. I glory in the country of my adoption—I have great hope for it in the future that is to come; and, though I think less than nothing of the chance prophecy of Morgotte, I believe that a noble empire will arise in this land, whose chief power will be derived from the teachings of men, who, by endurance and struggle, have learned to be just; and amongst the generations of these will be found the descendants of Thomas Marples and Victor de Beausset.”

In any brief outline, we should do injustice to the plot, which is admirably constructed. We shall, therefore, be content with one or two more disjointed extracts, which will suffice as a specimen of the manner in which it is carried out. Margaret is a teacher, and as such daily exposed to painful trials. She has often to go in search of employment, and not unfrequently to encounter such a reception as this:—

“Mrs. Reynolds, the lady upon whom I called, resided in Portland-place. There was no evidence of self-denial about this abode of piety which appeared to be sumptuously furnished, or in the gaudy livery of the servants, or in the luxurious dress of the lady herself. I underwent a strict examination, especially with regard to my religious principles, and here I could assure her that I had been strictly brought up to the Church. This lady stated her terms to be sixteen pounds

a-year, out of which I was to pay for my washing. Still, scarcely sufficient to provide me with decent clothing, and the great hope of my heart was as far from being realized as ever, I gave my reference, and was desired to call on the following morning.

"On the following morning, when the footman opened the door, I fancied his look portended no good. He left me standing in the passage while he went to announce my arrival, and presently Mrs. Reynolds walked down stairs. She paused at some distance from me, and surveyed me with a look of virtuous indignation. 'I am really astonished, young woman (she said), that you should have had the assurance to refer me to Mrs. Wilton. She tells me that she found you very deceitful and unthankful—that she raised you from a state of great poverty—and that you requited her by worming yourself into the confidence of her friends, and spreading reports about her as false as they were scandalous. I don't want to hear any reply: an attempt to justify such conduct could only be worse than the conduct itself. I am satisfied that I have had a lucky escape. John, open the door.'"

One of the most excellent characters, a poor clergyman, makes some very shrewd comments on life and gentility: of the latter to wit:—

"This curse pursues one from the lowest class to the highest (he said)—this eternal craving for gentility. None enquire after worth, and the consequence is that few care about it. This woman began life as a servant: her husband was, in his lifetime, a porter in the city: now she gets her livelihood by letting lodgings, and she and her daughter clean feathers and furs for the shops. Yet for all this, and notwithstanding her pretensions to piety, you see she cannot tolerate anything that is not respectable. How can a poor ignorant woman, who has seen nothing better all her life, help it? We have our respectable churches, to which poverty and shabbiness are not admitted; these are filled by fashionable congregations, who have a fashionable preacher, a man of family, to match. As to our city churches, I once heard an alderman's wife observe that she considered the irreligion of the very poor a great blessing, quite a providential circumstance, as their presence in the church in large numbers would not only be unwholesome, but so very disreputable. The feeling, my friends, is universal—at least in this 'nation of shopkeepers'—and there is nothing for it but to submit with a good grace."

The sketches are cleverly executed; but the characters of the wealthier personages, with hardly an exception, all are very far removed from any share in courtesy, not to say kindness.

John; or, Is a Cousin in the Hand Worth Two Counts in the Bush. By EMILIE CARLEN. Two Volumes. London: Bentley.

ONE may peruse this tale without, at all events, being quite

displeased. It will be taken up and laid down with something of the same feeling which is not exactly discomfort, and yet is not comfort. It is pretty, but not instructive. The pleasure it imparts—if some are susceptible enough to be acted on by it—is not substantial. It is a romance without a particle of what may be termed positive harm in its composition, but it is a romance of the exclusively sentimental sort. It describes, with all the ease and sweetness of an agreeable novel, what appears in a novelist's imagination, rather than by any means what is likely to occur in this prosaic world we inhabit.

The Ephemeris ; or, Leaves from the Journal of Marian Drayton. Imprinted in London for ROBERT and GEORGE SEELEYE, Dwellynge in the Flete Strete, near Saint Dunstan's Church.

IN a quaint old style, and in quaint old type, we have here a volume of tender pathos and genuine religious feeling. The diary purports to be written in the time of the Marian persecution: the sufferings of the martyrs are touched upon, and the manner in which the minds of men in general were afflicted by the portentous events going on around them is skilfully portrayed. The book is a good one—true, pure, and practical.

Louisa Von Plellenhaus ; or, the Journal of a Poor Young Lady. Edinburgh: Constables. 1854.

THIS work, small and unpretending, is written in a pleasing and pious tone. It may be recommended as well for its narrative as the religious spirit which pervades it; and it will tend also to familiarise those into whose hands it falls with the peculiarities of German life.

Entries ; or, Stray Leaves from a Clergyman's Note Book. London: Cash. 1853.

A PLEASING and well-written book, of excellent practical tendency, by a dissenting minister, of what denomination it is impossible to discover.

VI. HISTORY.

The History of Servia and the Servian Revolution ; with a Sketch of the Insurrection in Bosnia. By LEOPOLD RANKE. Translated from the German by MRS. ALEXANDER KERR. To which is added "The Slave Provinces of

Turkey," chiefly from the French of Cyprien Robert. London: Bohn. 1853.

At a time like the present, when the attention of all Europe is directed to the Danubian provinces, a work like that of Ranke is peculiarly valuable. It is not necessary now to speak of the faithfulness and elegance of Mrs. Kerr's translation: that has been long acknowledged, and this is the third edition of her work.

But, together with this, she has now given us Ranke's brief account—too brief—of Bosnia, and an excellent sketch of Bulgaria and Montenegro by M. Cyprien Robert. All who wish to understand the Eastern question ought to study this volume carefully; they will then have something on which to build. But it must be remembered that the whole tone of the book, a tone with which Mrs. Kerr thoroughly sympathises, is unfavourable to Turkey; and the reader must not, therefore, forget that Russian dominion would be far worse than Turkish rule, and that until a really powerful Eastern empire can be founded (and how can Greeks and Slaves be fused together?) *Turkish* protection is the best thing that can be secured to those provinces. Let them be free by all means: if Bosnia and Bulgaria could be brought into the same condition with Servia, so much the better; but at all risks let all be kept out of the reach of the great bear. The Christianity of the Eastern Churches is a far less Christian thing even than Islamism itself; and there is much truth in the jest, "The Sultan is the only Christian Potentate in the East of Europe."

Israel in Egypt; or, the Books of Genesis and Exodus Illustrated by Existing Monuments. London: Seeleys. 1854.

It having appeared to the author of this work that, if there were truth in Biblical history, and reality in the discovery by Champellion of the mode of reading the inscriptions that cover the remains of ancient Egypt, then "we must of necessity illustrate the other," he has devoted thirty years of his life to the task of reconciling the one with the other. There is sufficient evidence before us to indicate a vast deal of successful research, and a masterly intimacy with hieroglyphic lore. To the very simplest student the author's meaning of passages, which in less able hands would be obscured, is made pleasingly distinct. Indeed, he takes the most creditable pains to convey and impress his ideas, and yet exhibits no redundancy or strained efforts. Apart from the main design of this admirable

book, a student interested in this grand subject will find much to admire :—

“ According to our Greek authorities, the first process in the embalming, after the body had been disembowelled, was to steep it for thirty days in a solution of the salt called natron. This was the practice in the times of both Diodorus and Herodotus, 450 B.C. It had also prevailed at an earlier period : for the flesh of the mummy of Sa-amun, 1000 B.C., is saturated with this salt ; but, to judge by the effects, some change in the mode of application had taken place, even in that interval. The flesh of Sa-amun is entirely adipocire, which suggests the inference that at the earlier epoch the mummy was not steeped as in the days of Herodotus ; but the natronized fluid was incessantly poured over it by attendants. The flesh of the priestess Asrui, ‘ the portress,’ at Manchester, is in the same state. She lived in the days of Sesonchis, about a century later than Sa-amun. Here then is a change in a custom of embalming, which prepares us for the inference to which we have been driven by the facts which have been presented to us. So powerful an antiseptic is ‘ this solution of natron, so perfectly imperishable does it make the body, that had it been earlier known the whole of the mummies of all epochs alike would have come down to this time. This conviction first occurred to us as we were standing ankle-deep in the black dust, to which all the mummies of the old kingdom have mouldered away, in one of the pits of Ghizeh. Gems, rings, amulets, all of the remotest periods, are constantly found among the dust. The articles of wood, the baskets of bread and fruits, in these tombs are scarcely altered ; but the bodies, their swathings, and their coffins are all dust. The conclusion seems inevitable. The art of embalming was then in its infancy, so that the bodies have decayed, and communicated their rottenness to the wood and linen that were in contact with them. This process, we conceive, would in the climate of Egypt have been impossible had the practice of applying to the body the natron, so universal in the deserts around Egypt, then existed.

“ The next process in the embalmer’s art consists, according to our Greek authorities, in anointing the body with palm wine and oil of cedar, and filling up all its cavities with a mixture of fragrant gums, resins, and woods. Myrrh and cassia, or cinnamon, are specified, with other spices not named, as entering into the compound which was used for this purpose. These practices likewise prevailed in Egypt more than five hundred years before the times of Herodotus, the earliest of our written authorities. The linen cloths next to the body of Sa-amun are deeply stained with some strong astringent, like palm wine or oil of cedar. We have already mentioned that cassia, or cinnamon, and myrrh, were most distinctly perceptible in the spicery that filled the cavities of the body, as well as *ladanum*, which is mentioned along with them in the Scripture account of the imports of spices from Canaan.”

Every antiquarian, young and old, will thank us for commending to their notice this work.

A Gospel History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ; or, a Life of the Man of Sorrows. By THOMAS STEPHEN. London : Dean and Son.

THE design of this volume is to narrate in a chronological order all the events of our Saviour's life. The work commences with a brief summary of all the various prophecies that foretell his incarnation and nativity ; his cross and passion ; his precious death and burial ; his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension. All those persons, institutions, and circumstances, that have been types of his sacred person and exalted offices, have also been recounted ; because they prefigured and pointed him out to the faithful Israelite as the Prophet, the Priest, and the King of the spiritual seed of Abraham—the Israel of God. In prosecuting this narrative, Mr. Stephen has shown a deep acquaintance with the events of our blessed Lord's life—events that are the most marvellous and memorable on record. True, our blessed Lord did not come into the world in royal robes, nor in any way that would attract the eyes of the world towards his sacred person. He was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief ; yet the fame of the greatest monarch or the greatest hero which this world has ever produced sinks into insignificance when compared with the fame of the Man of Sorrows. Though he had not where to lay his head, yet was he King of heaven and earth : though he took upon himself the form of a servant, yet was he conqueror of death and hell. A life, therefore, of our great Redeemer, must ever be of the deepest interest to the Christian world ; and we know of none more lucidly written than the one before us. It has our cordial recommendation.

The Pilgrim Fathers ; or, the Founders of New England in the Reign of James the First. By W. H. BARTLETT. London : Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1853.

A BOOK likely to be equally acceptable on both sides of the Atlantic must possess many points of interest. Here this work of Mr. Bartlett will be read with pleasure as giving a well-written account of many eminent Christians, relating a deeply interesting narrative of adventure and colonization, and setting forth the devotedness of that band of men who founded what is now one of the first of nations. In America it will appeal to all the sentiments of patriotism and justifi-

able pride; and everywhere it will be regarded as a graceful tribute to the memory of men whose glory is embalmed in the hearts of millions. The illustrations are pleasing: coming from Mr. Bartlett, they could hardly be otherwise; but there is, with all their delicacy, a want of depth and fulness of tone.

VII. PHILOSOPHY IN SCIENCE.

Philosophy of the Sciences. Translated by HARRIETT MARTINEAU. Two Volumes. London: Chapman. 1853.

UNDER the specious guise of an "attempt to make popular the leading ideas of the greatest thinker of modern times," this work is introduced to a people, not alas! altogether exempt from the dangerous doctrines it is calculated to propagate. Comte is the lineal representative of the Materialists, whose false and pernicious theories inundated France during the best part of the eighteenth century. He differs from them only so far as he admits the necessity of moulding his principles to the age he lives in. There is therefore nothing startlingly fresh—nothing peculiarly bold in the philosophy which occupies M. Comte, and impels him to the flimsy subterfuge of an altered name to shield an unaltered purpose. Materialism has grown somewhat obnoxious, not *in reality*, but in designation. Like the unstable Monarchy of his fickle nation, it recedes before logical adepts, who see not so wide a difference between name and name:—for instance, between monarchy and empire—between, in this case, Materialism and Positivism. This last "ism" has been trimmed, trussed, and pressed into the degrading service of the modern Materialist, whose penetration sees more in a "distinction without a difference" than mere common sense folk dare imagine. Not of yesterday's growth are the reflections which have been exhaled and scattered about from this "great thinker's" mere earthly mind. Their hoary antiquity robs him of all honour in them, and leaves him but the mischief of abetting their promulgation. The old Latin poets have put forth some strange notions which flavour largely of Comte's scientific religion; but he only agrees with their theories while recognising a great LAW, and turns disdainfully away from the notion of a great LAW-GIVER. So profound is he on this point that his ideas are too weighty to be lifted up; and all true philosophy ascends far beyond his clogged comprehension. No doubt they assert—philosopher and disciple do—that *things* exist. Perhaps there is an abode which for convenience may be called heaven; *no doubt*

there exists what is called a universe spangled with its brilliant stars and planetary system—*no doubt* there is an earth and creeping things thereon—*no doubt* there is such an animal as man owning the noblest capabilities, but not a knowledge of himself: *no doubt* all these things *are so*, because M. Comte has tested the fact by every one of his *senses*; but beyond that he has resolved not to tread. Here his “Positivism” rests—all he next beholds is but a confused phantasma that vanishes before his philosophic frown. He will not accept what he cannot measure and weigh—what will not submit itself to his sceptical touch, to his Materialistic instinct. All that comes not within that test are abnegated—cast off as mere child’s musings, distasteful to man!

Comte denounces mere metaphysicians as abominable pests, while he can afford to tolerate mere theologians. With the former his combat is more deadly than with the latter, because more danger threatens his “profound thoughts” from the transcendentalists. He repudiates any “Godly First Cause,” and has no favour for open Theism. Religion is meat adopted the juvenile palate, but not of that stern stuff adapted to maturer age. Nothing in Comte’s mind affords such grateful recreation to the tender thinker as playing with solemn doubts; but the attraction of the game perishes when the mind becomes seasoned by experience. The pivot on which the “fresh” philosophy, like the ancient, turns, is marked by an explanatory paragraph:—“The true *positive* spirit consists in always substituting the study of laws for that of causes—the *how* for the *why*.” This is merely the echo of Aristotle’s dreamings, and the reflection of Bacon’s thoughts. Not content with adopting this theory, and exhibiting a most commendable proficiency in such sciences as astronomy, chemistry, and dynamics—not satisfied with the truly masterly comments suggested by the sundry topics running in the train of such main subjects—they (philosopher and disciple) bound over every barrier to lay sullied hands on the throne of God Himself: they dogmatize with fearful freedom, and endeavour to tear to pieces the immateriality of spirit. When attempting flight in such regions, M. Comte and his disciple are pitiable objects. On *terra firma*—here, with us, bringing their cherished senses into direct contact with matter, they do not gravely perplex and thoroughly dissatisfy us. But when carrying their inuendoes—for they do not boldly protest—beyond that, it is painfully distressing to listen to their half-uttered theories—their melancholy blasphemy. Comte fails to appreciate what does not square with his own intelligence. He exhibits great ingenuity, but

deplorable perversity of mind : he divides and classifies man's history into three transition stages—theological, metaphysical, and positive. His own pet stage, the positive, belongs to the stern mind of age ; while the first distinguishes the softness of childhood ; and the second, youth before it reaches manhood ; and as it marks the stages of life, so he holds it does those of whole generations. As an illustration of this last we are directed to the East, where, in primitive times, only the feeble doctrines of Fetichism and Polytheism are visible to M. Comte. We are then carried to the era of Scholasticism and Aristotelianism, in which the author discovers but vague and uncertain longings after the definite : then, approaching the next, he casts away futile efforts to understand the incomprehensible, and walks erect “as a Man of Positivism.” While M. Comte labours to fix this transition theory on educated minds and on social progress, he has lost sight of an important element essential to it. Fact is absent from the structure, and it therefore lacks stability. Neither science, nor the tendencies of the past age, contribute a particle of evidence to support so sweeping a position ; but on the contrary, from both sources is there sufficient to upset its value utterly.

But we must quit these learned vagaries for the uneccentric portion of M. Comte's work. Strongly as we denounce his sensuous philosophy in its intended application to the supernatural, we can warmly eulogise those portions which treat exclusively on the connexion of the sciences—of inorganic and organic phases of the progressiveness of matter. Here M. Comte is worthy of attention : here his philosophical ingenuity and profound reasoning is pleasingly discernible : here he glides quite happily in a sphere, out of which nothing should tempt him. We do not need any extraneous wanderings calculated to tarnish the purity of our true philosophy, or react in favour of the scholastic importance of Aristotle and the extension of Infidelity ; but we have no objection to logical speculations and profound research on the sciences—strictly so called.

Historical Development of Speculative Philosophy, from Kant to Hegel. From the German of Dr. H. M. Chalybaus, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Kiel. By the Rev. ALFRED EDERSHEIM, Free Church, Old Aberdeen. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 1854.

It must by no means be supposed that, because we give but a small space to the consideration of this work on the pre-

sent occasion, that therefore we consider it as one of small importance. We have long wished for a book which would give us an account of the gradual progress of metaphysical science in Germany, and here we have precisely the thing required. As to the qualifications of the author they are of the highest order, and the lectures which are translated in the volume before us were delivered at Dresden to a circle of statesmen and philosophers.

Such a book scarcely needed the "*imprimatur*" of Sir William Hamilton; but it may add to its value in the minds of many to know that it has the approbation of that profound thinker.

Mr. Edersheim's translation is well executed: his task was an arduous one, but he has accomplished it with credit to himself and to the great service of all students of metaphysical science.

The Organon; or, Logical Treatises of Aristotle: with the Introduction of Porphyry literally translated: with Notes, Syllogistic Examples, Analysis, and Introduction. By OCTAVIUS FREIRE OWEN, M.A., of Christ Church, Oxford, Rector of Burstow, Surrey, and Domestic Chaplain to the Duke of Portland. Two Vols. London: Bohn. 1853.

It is our intention at no very distant period to examine the present condition and estimation of the Aristotelian philosophy, and then we shall have occasion to refer more largely than we can now do, to those extremely interesting and important volumes. Of one thing we are quite certain, that the more closely the writings of the great Stagyrice are studied the greater will he appear; and in these two volumes Mr. Owen has done no small service to the cause of philosophy in general. It would be absurd to speak of the charms of style when treating on such a subject as logic; yet, we may say that the translation is elegant as well as scholar-like; and, as a friend of Wilkes once said concerning him, that he did not squint more than a gentleman ought to squint, so we say of Mr. Owen, that his version is not more dry and abstruse than a translation of Aristotle's "*Organon*" ought to be.

Euclid's Elements of Geometry: the First Six Books, chiefly from the Text of Dr. Simpson; with Explanatory Notes; a Series of Questions on each Book, and a Selection of Geometrical Exercises from the Senate-House and College Examination Papers; with Hints, &c., designed for the Junior Classes

in Public and Private Schools. By ROBERT POTTS, M.A., Trinity College. Corrected and Improved. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1853.

EVERY one is familiar with the great utility of geometrical knowledge. Every one can, in some way, appreciate its usefulness; but it is not every one who will select the best medium of obtaining so confessedly valuable an acquirement. Mr. Potts, with his usual ability and carefulness, has given in the above work, which has already met with a justly favourable reception, a most desirable means of facilitating an acquaintance with this absolutely necessary science.

VIII. VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

The Land of the Forum and the Vatican; or, Thoughts and Sketches During an Eastern Pilgrimage to Rome. By NEWMAN HALL, B.A., Author of "Come to Jesus," &c. London: J. Nisbet and Co. 1854.

INTERESTING records of an excursion which occupied eleven weeks during the spring of last year. The author, anticipating objections to a new work on a topic so frequently discussed, contends that each fresh observer narrates what he has seen through a different medium, "with an object and in a style in some degree distinct from those of others." The reader will readily detect such a distinct object and such a style in Mr. Hall's volume, if not in those which have already appeared on a kindred theme. We cannot, however, avoid thinking that the phrase "Pilgrimage to Rome," which occurs in the title, will suggest to many, as it does to us, a comparison with the labour of one former traveller in the same path. There is, in truth, something besides in the plan and style of Mr. Hall's excellent book to remind us of Mr. Seymour's volumes. Passing by such a coincidence as, after all, of trivial import when much substantial difference is manifest, we accept this volume as truly valuable and equally delightful. He has literally run and read. No object worth attention has been unseen; no feature in his journey worth recording has been omitted; and to all is attached pointed and practical reflections. The work is so constructed that you may open any page and meet something quite ready for extraction. We do so now at random, and here find ourselves in the midst of "indulgences:"—

"In walking through Rome the stranger will be astonished to see the number of churches which display over their principal entrance a notice promising a plenary and perpetual indulgence both

to the living and the dead! The following is the usual form:—*'Indulgentia plenaria et perpetua pro vivis et defunctis.'* Just as some traders parade on their shop-fronts the peculiar advantages of their establishment, so do the Roman churches seem to vie with each other in the matter of relics and indulgences, as if to secure the greatest number of devotees, and of pious offerings. I transcribe from my note-book some of the advertisements of indulgence which I copied from the walls where they are publicly exhibited.

"In a church in Trajan's Forum this notice is suspended just inside the door—*'Masses celebrated for the defunct at any altar of this church. One soul may be liberated from purgatory by privilege granted by Benedict XIV., in a brief, dated September 15th, 1741.'* Near this was another notice, stating that, *'by grant of the Popes Sixtus V., Innocent XII., &c., every visitor to this church, fulfilling the other works enjoined, acquires all the indulgences annexed to visiting any other church in Rome.'* Another board gave a list of privileged days and churches, to which plenary indulgence was attached in case the devotee had confessed and communicated; but even when he had neglected this, *'if he firmly resolved to perform it, he might obtain ten years, and as many quarantines (forty days each) of indulgence for every visit.'* It is added that these indulgences are applicable also to the *'blessed souls in purgatory.'*

"A notice in the church, occupying the site of the Temple of Esculapius, announces that *'Pope Pius VI. granted a plenary, perpetual, daily, indulgence for living and dead, to any who should visit that church, confessing and communicating.'*

"In the Church of S. Croce, I copied the following—*'By celebrating the holy mass at this altar a soul is liberated from purgatory as the result of the bull of Gregory XIII.'* *'On the last Sunday of January, in memory of the discovery of the title over the cross in 1492, plenary indulgence and remission of all sins is granted by the bull of Alexander VI.'* To those who visit the said chapel are granted *'twenty-seven years, and as many quarantines of indulgence.'*.....*'On the second Sunday in Advent may be obtained eleven thousand years of indulgence (undici mille anni d'indulgenza) and the remission of all sins!'*

Having copied several other substantially similar notifications, as is his custom, he questions the soundness of the doctrine on the grounds of Scripture and reason. The simplicity, yet pungency, of his style, can be judged from the following passages in reference to the system of papal indulgences:—

"I ask, thirdly—Is not the Roman Church unscriptural in teaching that there is any such state as purgatory, in which Christians are prepared for the subsequent enjoyment of felicity with Christ? For the Saviour said to the penitent thief, who certainly had no opportunity of doing any good works to atone for his past life—*'To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise!'* In other passages immediate bliss is spoken of as the portion of a departed saint—

'To depart and be with Christ is far better'—'Absent from the body, present with the Lord!' For, notwithstanding our many imperfections, believers are *already* qualified for heaven. Thus the apostle calls upon the Colossians to 'give thanks unto the Father *who hath made us meet* to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light.'

"I ask, fourthly—Is not the Church of Rome self-contradictory in what she teaches on the subject of indulgences? She tells us that purgatory is necessary to purify souls not destined to hell, but not at present good enough for heaven. Thousands of years of suffering may be needed for this process! And yet the simple act of kissing a certain cross, worshipping at a certain altar, or giving a small sum of money, will do as well! One of their own notifications, just quoted, informs us of eleven thousand years of suffering being thus commuted! If purgatory be necessary to purify, certainly these indulgences must be delusive, as no one can imagine that compliance with such easy conditions can have an equal effect. But if, on the other hand, these indulgences are efficacious, what becomes of the doctrine of purgatory? And what necessity can there be for a future period of thousands of years' duration before the soul can be fitted for heaven, when such trivial penances in the present life can answer the same purpose? Moreover, if a certain prayer, or kissing a cross, can purify the soul equally with a certain period of purgatorial pains, how is it that the very same act performed at some other place can be equivalent to a much longer period? How is it that at one altar a hundred days can be secured, and at another altar eleven thousand years? How is it that the same act at the same place is often so very differently efficacious on different days? Romanists may say it is uncharitable; but surely, in the face of so much that is unscriptural and self-contradictory, they cannot deem it surprising if some persons should think that the doctrine of indulgences was invented for the purpose of binding the souls of men to the priesthood by the terrors of the world to come, and of securing an unceasing revenue to the Church from those who would think no sums of money too large for the purchase of masses to deliver their own souls, or their departed friends, from purgatory."

The book abounds in illustrations of Papal absurdities, and if for no other reason than its large and judicious collection of such matter will repay perusal.

Sea Nile, the Desert, and Nigritia. Travels in Company with Captain Peel, R.N., 1851, 1852 Described by JOSEPH H. CHURI, Maronite of Mount Lebanon. London: Published by the Author, 31, King-street, Holborn. 1853.

In 1851-2, Captain Peel journeyed through the Nubian Desert in order to reach the kingdoms of Darfur and Bargu, and perhaps further still, with the idea of being the pioneer of

Christianity and civilization in those darkened regions. His companion on this perilous journey was M. Churi, whose diary is now given to the world. It is perhaps, on the whole, the most Oriental book ever written in the English language; and certainly, to one who intended to travel through the countries described, it would be of considerable use. Yet it is the *travels* that are described and not the *countries*; and we hear far too much of failures in the commissariat, of bad food and warm water, of vermin and discomfort, to make the record one quite palatable to an European taste. Then we must remember that it is not by an European; and we must thank M. Churi too for the Arabic songs of which he gives thirteen specimens with translations, and a great deal of curious information about the Arabs of the Nile. In recommending the book we do so mainly on the ground that it is in itself a literary curiosity, and that its purchase will be an act of kindness to a stranger sojourning awhile, afar from that land after which every page of his book shows him to be sighing. We understand that M. Churi is giving lessons in some of the Eastern tongues, and supporting himself by this means till an opportunity offers for his return to Syria.

Anadol: the Last Home of the Faithful. By the Author of the "Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk."
London: Bentley.

THE author ably and familiarly describes what he has seen in the Ottoman territories of Asia Minor. Anadol is one of the most intensely Turkish portions of the Sultan's dominions:—

"The Turk is strong in Adadol: he is at home in Anadol. Here are no eight Slavonic millions to be worked upon by designing co-nationalities, and no intelligent fifteen hundred Greeks to burn for the impossible and, if possible, undesirable revival of a Byzantine Empire: no warlike million of Albanians, and hundred and twenty thousand brigand Montenegrines, to fight and pillage for foreign corn. No overwhelming majority of Christians over Mussulmans, and of one Christian Church over the others, is here to sit under a preaching Nicholas, to respond to the crusading call, not of a holy hermit as of old, but of an ambitious Czar, and to stretch out a mercenary hand to many paying Muscovite diplomats."

The author has no very great confidence in the strength of Turkey:—

"We have seen somewhat of European Turkey on a previous occasion, and we had caught a glimpse of Asiatic Turkey during this excursion. The results, which we necessarily arrived at on drawing a comparison between two limbs of the Moslem giant and the convictions thus forced upon us, completely disconcerted

all our preconceived ideas on the subject. The ascendancy of the Turks had appeared to us to be menaced by darker storms on the western horizon; but we now perceive that an undercurrent of dangers flows also from the east, the natural home of Islam, which, though of a different nature, may prove not less formidable to it. We believed that, albeit their power has been hitherto maintained in Europe, a sudden outburst might possibly destroy it there for ever; but we were unaware of its being in so sinking a state in Asia, where we mistook its relative safety from a violent overthrow for absolute security."

This description of Armenian Christianity does not present it in a very favourable light:—

"A sordid priesthood, clothed in tinsel vestments and offering multiplied and unscriptural sacrifices—a blinded people, adoring wooden crosses and painted saints in tawdry temples, believing scholastic sophisms and receiving venal sacraments—external ceremonies full of futile types and shadows, but altogether devoid of acceptable reverence and worship—a whole fabric of human devices, the offspring of imposture and ignorance, and without any divine warrant or rule, falsifying a part of the sacred oracles, neglectful of the rest—must all disappear surely at last before the resistless might of truth and revelation plainly told. And the attempt has not been wanting. About 9,000*l.* per annum are contributed by the United States for this remarkable work; and their pious offerings have not been made in vain; nor have the arduous efforts of the praiseworthy individuals employed been fruitless, for a Protestant Church has risen in the Ottoman Empire. Its members, actually enrolled as such, amount to upwards of twelve hundred; but the congregations consist of many more, for those only are formally received into the Church who devote themselves, body and soul, their time and their property, to the extension of Christ's kingdom, ceasing to live for selfish and worldly ends, and consecrating all their energies to his service, while great numbers attend their ordinances without having yet decided on following that course. Some of the Protestant communities are already under the charge of native pastors, several of the converts having been judged fit to preach and minister to their fellow-countrymen; and, if cultivated to the maturing of its fruits, so rapid a growth must surely be the harbinger of a comprehensive eastern household of faith."

As a mere narrative of an adventurer's journey the book is full of interest, but its value in an historical sense is of far higher importance. Would we could compliment the author equally on his style.

Abbeokuta; or, Sunrise within the Tropics: an Outline of the Origin and Progress of the Yoruba Mission. By Miss TUCKER. London: Nisbet. 1853.

In recommending this elegant and beautiful illustrated book

to our readers, we do not forget that the stamp of acceptability has already been set upon it, and that this is a third edition. It is equally valuable as a record of successful missionary exertion, and an account of a deeply interesting country and scarcely less interesting people.

The Kafir, the Hottentot, and the Frontier Farmer : Passages of Missionary Life. From the Journals of the Ven. ARCHDEACON MERRIMAN. London: Bell. 1853.

WE welcome this unpretending volume as equally agreeable to the ethnologist, the politician, and the Christian. It gives us a most interesting account of some remarkable races, shows us the real position of an important colony, and relates some striking and instructive adventures of missionary life. We ought to have all the Venerable Archdeacon's journals published.

Victoria, late Australia Felix ; or, Port Philip District of New South Wales : being an Historical and Descriptive Account of the Colony and its Gold Mines. With an Appendix, containing the Reports of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce for the last Two Years, upon the Condition and Progress of the Colony. By WILLIAM WESTGARTH, late Member of the Legislative Council of Victoria. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1853.

THIS book fulfills the promise of the title-page: it is merely mentioned here to direct attention to it. We shall probably, in our next, take up the great question on which it treats.

IX. PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

The Journal of Sacred Literature. New Series. Edited by the Rev. H. BURGESS, Ph. D., Member of the Royal Society of Literature. No. IX. October, 1853. London: Blackader and Co.

THIS "Journal" has now reached to twelve volumes, and it is not too much to say that, with the exception of the "Classical Journal," no such set of books has before been produced in Great Britain for the varied learning of their contents. It was originated and conducted up to the present number by Dr. John Kitto, whose devoted labours in Biblical learning have secured him a world-wide celebrity. The work has now passed into the hands of the Rev. Dr. Burgess with the full concurrence and warm wishes of Dr. Kitto. It remains, as

before, the organ of no party ; but endeavouring to concentrate in its pages all that is valuable in Biblical knowledge and science. Dr. Kitto is a lay member of the Church of England, while his successor is one of her ministers, engaged in rather heavy parochial work as one of the curates of the parish church of Blackburn. It is probable that the circumstance of the editor being a clergyman, actually moving in the midst of the religious world, will give a marked character to the work. As a layman, and moreover shut out from intercourse with men by an entire destitution of hearing, Dr. Kitto could scarcely recognize the relative positions of parties ; and his broad candour and generosity of spirit made him, perhaps, hold the reins somewhat gently, so as to admit many things which his own judgment did not approve of. But that the "Journal" has always been a firm friend of evangelical truth is evident from a casual inspection of its pages.

It cannot be doubted that such a work is wanted, and it would be a reflection on us, as Churchmen, if it were allowed to languish from want of support. The present number has contributions by several eminent scholars, members of the Church of England. An article on Clerical Education, of some length, suggests much for the practical increase of the biblical attainments of the clergy. No expense is spared in the printing and other arrangements of a mechanical kind, and much learned matter is admitted, which makes it a costly affair to the publisher. A short extract from the editor's introductory address will give an idea of the spirit in which he enters on his labours :—

"We shall feel it incumbent on us on no account to admit anything that would unsettle the faith of our readers in what is understood to be orthodox in this enlarged sense. Our literature will not be intended to undermine the foundations of the temple we have referred to, but rather to give them greater subjective firmness—not to bring a cloud over the magnificent scenery to which we have likened divine revelation—but rather to remove any mists which may hang over it, and bring even its latent beauties into greater prominence.....

"The Journal will be conservative, not destructive, in its tendency ; for it will neither bring forth novelties for their own sake, nor neglect the antiquities of Christian thought because they are old. It is only in this enlarged view of our operations that we hope to be understood : to a short-sighted and minute criticism we shall probably be a stumbling-block. Conscious that both ourselves and our fellow-labourers would rather lay down the pen for ever than write a line that could tarnish God's glory, or hinder the humblest spirit in its heavenward course, we shall have our reward in our

own integrity of purpose, although we may be sometimes misconstrued.....

"We appeal, therefore, to all who may read this address to do something to enlarge its circulation, and thus add to its usefulness. No pains shall be spared on our part to make it subserve the interests of true religion and piety, to make it a blessing to the Church and the world. May He without whom nothing is wise or holy direct our minds into the truth by His Holy Spirit, that all we do may tend to the glory of His great name!"

To this we have little to add, save that the promise has been fulfilled to the utmost in the present number, and will no doubt continue to be so in those that shall follow.

Home Thoughts : a Magazine of Literature, Science, and Domestic Economy. Vol I. London : Kent and Co. 1853.

THIS is the first volume of a cheap and excellent periodical taking a very high rank among the somewhat numerous family to which it belongs, and pervaded by a sound and devotional Christian spirit. Tales, poems, literary essays, scientific information and of very considerable merit, abound in its pages, and the lady-reader will find all the mysteries of crochet and its kindred employments.

X. POETRY.

The Poetical Works of Robert Montgomery, M.A., Oxon. Collected and Revised by the Author. One Vol. London : Chapman and Hall. 1853.

The Christian Life : a Manual of Sacred Verse. By ROBERT MONTGOMERY. Sixth Edition. London : Rivingtons. 1853.

It is quite unnecessary at the present time to enter into any critical disquisition on the poems of Mr. Robert Montgomery. A favourable opinion would come somewhat late in the day ; and, in answer to an unfavourable one, the author would point with just pride to his "new editions" by scores. The collected edition now put forth by Messrs. Chapman and Hall is a very beautiful one, and will be very acceptable to the writer's numerous admirers. The small edition of the "Christian Life" is adapted for the pocket, and is very prettily got up.

Sketches of Character and Other Pieces in Verse. By ANNA H. POTTS. Cambridge : Deighton ; Macmillan and Co.

THERE are many exquisite pieces in this charming little volume.

To say that a Christian spirit is blended richly with the poetic fancy, is rather to enhance than diminish our eulogy. Space forbids any indulgence in extracts; yet, as it is so temptingly small, we cannot avoid culling this flower:—

“SUCCESS.

“He who has nobly won his way to fame,
 When he surveys the past from that proud height,
 Will oft recal her dear and honoured name,
 Who had foreseen his course with fond delight;
 It was her love that watched his early days;
 First to perceive the cheek's bright glow depart,
 First from the little couch his head to raise,
 And welcome health again with bounding heart.
 Oh, wonder not, if in his bright career,
 Her image to his grateful mind should rise,
 And prompt the fruitless wish that she were near,
 To see him standing with the good and wise.
 Her love and hope once pictured that young mind,
 Like some fair streamlet leave its narrow bed,
 Beheld its course through lowly valley wind,
 Till with expansive sweep its waters spread.”

Jones's Dream; and other Poems. By JANE EMILY HERBERT, Author of “The Bride of Imael.” Pickering.

MISS HERBERT exhibits the sublime fancy, the sweet pathos, and the graceful freedom of a true poet. Her admirers in the sister land very justly claim for her a lofty niche in what Crofton calls the “poetical pyramid.” Some even think that it is imperfect praise to say she wears the mantle of the late Mrs. Hemans. The larger piece before us fully justifies their friendly verdict, and the smaller poems do not tarnish its justice. The dirge on Wellington is really beautiful. Let the reader test our opinion by examining the volume.

XI. EDUCATION.

A Complete System of Arithmetic, Theoretical and Practical.

By JAMES TROTTER, of the Scottish Naval and Military Academy. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

THIS is an age of advancement. Even our old school books, which, as regards arithmetic, used to puzzle our brains sadly, are no longer sufficient for the purposes of instruction. Happily, however, authors and the press are not idle; and works in every department of knowledge are continually receiving fresh accessions. The new work on Arithmetic by Mr.

Trotter, now before us, is one of the most valuable with which we are acquainted. The author's aim has been not only to teach the mechanical part of the science, but real arithmetic, by framing the exercises in such a manner as to lead the pupil to reason upon the matter, and thus to become a self-instructor. In this he has well succeeded, and we can confidently recommend his system of arithmetic to those classes for which it is designed—namely, the heads of schools and private students.

Landmarks of History. Middle Ages, from the Reign of Charlemagne to that of Charles V. By the Author of the "Kings of England," &c. London: J. and C. Mozley. 1853.

WHERE there is so much well and carefully done as we find in this unpretending little volume, it is with extreme unwillingness that we find fault, especially *serious* fault; but we must urge every parent and teacher, who may place these "Landmarks" in the hands of children, rigidly to expunge the sentence concerning Wycliffe (p. 190), wherein a slur is attempted to be cast on that eminent reformer; and he is classed with "men of less reverent tempers, who hastily stretched out their hands to alter what they saw amiss, without considering whether it was their duty or not!"

Outlines of Universal History. Edited by HENRY WHITE, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1853.

A VERY useful little manual, one which may be placed with confidence in the hands of the young as both safe and accurate.

Miss Corner's Scriptural History Simplified, in Question and Answer, for the use of Schools and Families. Edited by JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A. London: Dean and Son. 1853.

THE chief use of such a book as this, which is exceedingly well compiled, is to fix on the most important truth or fact to be conveyed, and to prove that the child really understands what he reads. This little work derives additional value from the authority of Dr. Kitto.

XII. BOOKS FOR THE YOUNG.

Stories and Catechizings in Illustration of the Collects ; or, a Year with the First Class Boys of Forley. Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM JACKSON, M.A., Oxon. Three Vols. London: J. and C. Mozley. 1853.

IN this book we have found, after a careful examination, no extreme views. It may be safely trusted in the hands of all young persons, and they will find the collects of our Church—often carelessly committed to memory and then straightway forgotten—full of deep meaning and most interesting instruction. It will be impossible for the child who has read this excellent book, at the same time when the collect was learned, either to forget or mistake the lesson. It appears that Mr. Jackson is not the author of the volumes; but it must have been a pleasure to him to edit so sound a production, as it is now to us to recommend it.

The Redeemed Rose ; or, Willie's Rest. By A LADY. London: Hatchards.

THE "Redeemed Rose" is one of those pretty and instructing tales of early piety which are constantly issuing from the press for the benefit of the youthful world. In its composition, there is nothing remarkable to attract the young reader; but it nevertheless has charms of an enduring nature. The story is told in a quiet and affectionate manner, which is well calculated to improve the youthful mind. We gave it into the hands of some young persons to read, and were delighted to see the interest with which they perused its pages. There could be no better proof of its power to please, and we cordially recommend "Willie's Rest" to the young in general.

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1. *Agnes : a Franconia Story.* By JACOB ABBOTT. London: Ward and Co.
 2. *Caroline : a Franconia Story.* By J. ABBOTT. London: Ward and Co.
 3. *Stuvysant, a Franconia Story.* By J. ABBOTT. London: Ward and Co.

THESE pleasing tales have been written with a view to their "moral influence on the hearts and dispositions of the readers," but they do not formally communicate any exhortation or instruction. They pretend only to portray peaceful domestic scenes which, of themselves, will express the desired and intended sentiments.

XIII. MISCELLANEOUS.

Religion and Business ; or, Spiritual Life in One of its Spiritual Departments. By A. J. MORRIS. Second Thousand. London: Ward and Co.

THE author has properly estimated this attempt as fragmentary and imperfect. It is certainly not what the subject demands, but it is a publication *sui generis*, and the author merits much for having taken the initiative in such a topic.

Sights and Sounds : the Mystery of the Day ; comprising an entire History of the American Spirit Manifestations. By HENRY SPICER, Esq. London: Bosworth. 1853.

Facts and Fantasies : a Sequel to "Sights and Sounds." By HENRY SPICER, Esq. London: Bosworth. 1853.

A Review of the Spiritual Manifestations read before the Congregational Association of New York and Brooklyn. By CHARLES BEECHER, Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Newark, New Jersey. London: Bosworth. 1853.

As we purpose in our next number to examine at some length into the strange subjects of which the above-named volumes treat, we shall here only call attention to their appearance, observing *en passant* that Mr. Spicer's two publications give the best and most connected account with which the world has yet been favoured of what he very happily calls "the mystery of the day."

Homœopathy Fairly Represented : in Reply to Dr. Simpson's Homœopathy Misrepresented. By W. HENDERSON, Esq., M.D., Professor of General Pathology in the University of Edinburgh. Second Edition. Edinburgh: T. Constable and Co. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THE author of this work makes no unmerited claim to fairness. Whatever be the genuine pretensions of homœopathy, he defends it with a good spirit, yet without shrinking from the real duties of a manly champion. To those desirous of weighing the respective worth of the causes which have wrought such differences in the medical profession, and doing this through the honest representations of a partisan, the book will be acceptable, as it embodies the sincere advocacy of one side and the most stringent objections of the other.

Conversations on Choral Service. London: Harrison. 1853.

A CLEVER apology for cathedral service, showing its beauties and answering many popular objections to it.

Work ; or, Plenty to Do, and How to Do It. By MARGARET MARIA BREWSTER. Second Series. Edinburgh: Constables. 1854.

A VERY useful as well-intentioned little manual, laying before the mind many duties too often forgotten. We are not surprised to see that this is the second series.

The Freemasons' Quarterly Magazine. Routledge. 1853.

WE wish to attract the attention of all members of the great body of freemasons among the clergy, into whose hands this notice may fall, to the very admirable periodical above-named : a periodical not only abundant in masonic learning, but replete with every kind of amusing and interesting matter. That the editorial department is in the hands of the grand chaplain of all England will be an additional guarantee for its excellence.

The Soul's Life : its Commencement, Progress, and Maturity, Exhibited in a Series of Sermons Preachd at Various Times in the Episcopal Chapel, Grays-inn-Road, London. By the Rev. Edward Garbett, M.A., Minister of the Chapel, and of the District of St. Bartholomew, St. Pancras. London: Thomson. 1853.

THIS book has reached us too late to be made the subject of such a notice as it deserves. We must content ourselves with drawing the attention of our readers to it, as a very luminous and beautiful exposition of that deeply interesting subject on which it treats.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Irish Sunday Magazine, Dublin: S. B. Oldham. A well-intended and not inelegantly executed monthly. The number before us has appropriated as its "leader" an honest Christian tract, entitled "Protestant Work to be Done," by a young gentleman of undoubted talent and stern Protestantism.

The Curability of Consumption. By F. H. RAMADGE, M.D., Oxon. A series of papers reprinted from a medical journal, prescribing several very "important and practical points in the diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment of the disease."

Causes of Cholera : its Treatment and Cure. By W. G. GRADY, M.D., M.R.C.S.I. S. Highley. Few medical pamphlets will fix more general attention at the present time than one on this topic. Mr. Grady has had opportunity of acquiring a practical intimacy with the several features of the fatal malady he writes upon, and deserves well of his fellow men for communicating the results of his experience.

VOL. XXXV.—2

The Early Irish Church Independent of Rome until A.D. 1172: Embodying a Reply to the Rev. Dr. Rock, and "a Recusant." With a Letter Dedicatory to the Rev. F. Oakley, Roman Catholic Priest in Islington. By the Rev. R. MAGUIRE, B.A., sometime Irish Scholar and Moderator T.C.D., Clerical Secretary of the Islington Protestant Institute. J. H. Jackson. An admirable pamphlet, placing beyond the power of any "Recusant's" logic the fact of the independence of the ancient Irish Church. Not the least interesting feature in Mr. Maguire's publication is the "Letter Dedicatory," and the evidences he gives of an audacious plagiarism, perpetrated by the individual forced into the contest, instead of the real disputants—the wily priests. The forgery, so well detected and so ably exposed, is quite characteristic of the system; and whether it be a Dr. Rock, or his feeble and unscrupulous plunderer, the weapons used in Rome's defence, and the errors shielded in that system, remain, in fact, still wedded to evil and the means to attain it.

Willich's Income-Tax Tables. Fourth Edition. Longmans. The title of this pamphlet suggests the contents: they fully sustain the author's reputation in the useful path to which he directs his talents.

Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers. By his Son-in-Law, Dr. HANNA. Cheap Issue. Part I. Edinburgh: Constable. We hail with pleasure this creditable reissue of an excellent work in a form which places it within the reach of the masses.

Table-Turning. A Lecture by the Rev. R. W. Dibdin, M.A., delivered in the Music-hall, Store-street, on November 8, 1853. Aylott. The rev. lecturer merits much for his sincerity, if not for the solidity of his reasoning. If "table-turning" be the result of Satanic influence it is more than has yet been proved; while close investigation will go far to sustain the pretensions of those who ascribe it to known natural causes, and fairly account for the abuses to which, like every other discovery, it is subject.

The Christian Diadem. A Monthly Series of Doctrinal Essays. Ward. The four numbers of this serial which have reached us contain useful dissertations, respectively on "The Interior of Life," "The Great Atonement," "Wordly Conformity," and "Patriarchal Piety." The first three are from the pen of Mrs. H. B. Stowe—sufficient guarantee, we apprehend, that they are entertaining.

A Letter to the Rev. J. C. Ryle, A.B., in Reply to his Lecture on "Baxter and his Times." By A CLERGYMAN OF THE DIOCESE OF EXETER. Exeter: Holden. A remonstrance to Mr. Ryle on the ground that he has overwrought his praise of "Baxter and his Times" written respectfully and dispassionately.

A Fifth Letter to the Rev. S. R. Maitland, D.D., &c., on the Genuineness of the Writings ascribed to Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. By E. I. SHEPHERD, A.M. Longmans. Pointed, and, judging from the specimen before us, well polished weapons, dexterously wielded in an important contest.

THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
Quarterly Review.

APRIL, MDCCCLIV.

- ART. I.—1. *Society for the Revival of Convocation : Report of Proceedings at a Meeting of the Rochdale Church Institution. Address from the Council to the general body of the Clergy throughout England and Wales.* London: Rivington.
2. *Opinions of Sir F. Thesiger, Sir W. P. Wood, and Dr. R. Phillimore, &c.* London: Rivington.
3. *The Jerusalem Chamber ; or, Convocation and its Possibilities.* By the Rev. H. CASWALL, M.A. London: Rivington.
4. *Synodal Action in the Church of England unseasonable and perilous. A Charge.* By Archdeacon SINCLAIR. London: Wertheim & Co.
5. *Convocation—what is it to be, and what is it to do ? A Charge.* By THOMAS WILLIAMS, Archdeacon of Llandaff. London: J. W. Parker.
6. *The Appeal to Convocation. A Charge.* By Archdeacon WILBERFORCE. London: J. Murray.
7. *Primary Charge.* By Archdeacon DENISON. London: Masters.

WE are afraid that many of our readers will turn away with a sensation of weariness, if not of disgust, from any further consideration of a subject which has, in their opinion perhaps, already received at least its full share of notice and regard. We are not without sympathy in this feeling ourselves; but while there exists a society, organized for “the Revival of Convocation,”* who “feel it their duty, to cause the Convocation question to be more widely discussed,” we

* Society for the Revival of Convocation—Address, &c. p. 1.
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must not shrink from our task ; desiring, as anxiously as they can do, " that its real merits and bearings may be better understood by the public at large." But, for this end, both sides must be heard ; assertion must not be taken for proof, nor declamation received in lieu of argument. Nor must they who are, by the very nature of their organization, pledged already to a foregone conclusion, be permitted to marshal in perpetual array those considerations which favour their own cause, without some attempt to draw up in an opposite rank such as may counsel a different decision.

Reasons no doubt there are, and it may be good ones, to be urged on either side ; but a practical result can only be arrived at, by testing and weighing them together, and then suffering the balance to incline, as an impartial judgment shall decide. For a just verdict is founded, not on the unilateral statement either of plaintiff or defendant, but on a patient review of their several pleas ; while a prudent line of policy is adopted, not on a mere enumeration of the reasons which suggest one single course of action, but on a careful comparison of whatever can be alleged on either side. For human conduct is after all, in very many instances, but a choice of difficulties, and human action the result of a moral calculus, where the difference, and not the sum, decides the question in debate.

With these views we will approach the subject of Convocation, and in this temper seek to elucidate the course which, under existing circumstances, it behoves the Church to pursue. We, at least, will not " refuse to reason upon the subject."* We will " raise no mad dog cry : " we will impute no sinister motives, nor ulterior aims, to those who differ from us on the question : nor will we seek to excite a prejudice against such as advocate the restoration of the active power of our Synods, by endeavouring to connect this movement with the introduction of Auricular Confession ; for there is certainly no closer resemblance, no nearer affinity, between Convocation and Confession than between Monmouth and Macedon ; and if fair discussion fail us, we will not have recourse to " alliteration's artful aid." We deprecate, indeed, the taunts which have been but too freely used on either side. We acknowledge that the subject is one fairly open to debate, and we know not why that debate should be other than calm and friendly in its course. We see neither justice nor reason in charging those " who withstand the

* Society for the Revival of Convocation—Report of Proceedings, &c., p. 3.

revival of the Church's synodical action"* with "the usual tenacity of self-interest," or with having "a vested claim in abuses;" with regarding "with jealousy the Church's progress,"† or being "directly opposed to the Church's teaching." Nor can we think it fair on the part of those who seek the immediate restoration of the powers of Convocation to say, that they demand "truth instead of falsehood; reality, in the place of an indecent and almost impious sham."‡ Such language will not help to unravel the intricate question which is now before us. We will therefore approach it in another spirit, ready to discuss the subject in all its bearings; prepared to give due credit to the motives, and due force to the arguments of those from whom we differ; though we may not, as they do, lose sight of the reasons which lead to an opposite conclusion.

But the first point which meets us, in considering the expediency of "the revival of Convocation," is the nature and constitution of that body itself. What is it that we are going to revive?—to recall from its long sleep once more to life and energy again? The answer to this inquiry must have a very important bearing on the whole subject in debate; and we naturally seek a reply to this preliminary question, before we proceed further in the general discussion. To many, however, of those who are challenging the immediate restoration of the active powers of our Synods, our very inquiry will perhaps be matter of surprise. They have probably never entertained a doubt but that they are asking for the reassembling of a body, whose form and constitution is well known, and whose powers and privileges are accurately defined. Such, no doubt, has been the popular impression amongst those who looked no deeper than the surface. They have considered Convocation as an ecclesiastical assembly analogous to the civil legislature of the land, and they have dreamt of no more difficulties attendant upon the gathering of the one, than are found to appear when the other is summoned to its annual session. But the analogy is more specious than real; and while with Parliament, from long and unbroken usage, all is plain and clear—the qualification of electors, the mode of exercising the franchise, the functions and powers of the assembled body, the rights of its members, the relations of one House with the other, and of both with the Crown, all accurately defined, and placed by precedent

* Archdeacon Wilberforce's Charge, 1852, p. 19.

† Report of Proceedings, &c., p. 23.

‡ Trevor on Convocation, p. 227.

well nigh beyond dispute;—with Convocation, on the other hand, all is vague, conjectural and uncertain. Difficulties and doubts were rife, even when it reassembled at regular and stated intervals; while long disuse, and the lapse of ever-changing time has, of course, not tended to lessen those doubts and difficulties now. It is not authoritatively decided who are the electors to Convocation; the very constituency is unsettled yet. Is the franchise to be confined to “parsons, vicars and perpetual curates?” or are licensed curates, ministers of proprietary chapels, and incumbents of district churches to share the suffrage? These are all embarrassing inquiries, and they still wait a solution; for the committee* who have so recently examined the question are not of one mind in their opinion, and precedents are alleged on either side; but if the law, having respect to the ancient use of Convocation—the raising a revenue from Church property for the service of the Crown—should admit those only who were of old liable to subsidy, would the large class thus excluded, many of them occupying posts of influence and usefulness, in important spheres, be satisfied with the result?

Is it, again, a provision suited to existing circumstances that, in the lower house of Convocation, in the province of Canterbury there shall sit ninety-nine† of the cathedral, and but forty-four of the parochial, clergy? Would this really be “the Church of England by representation?” Would it furnish a Synod identified with the views, and wants and feelings of the great body of the clergy? This anomaly, no doubt, had the same origin as that to which we have before alluded; and when Convocation met chiefly for purposes of taxation, there might have been no striking injustice in these relative proportions; since, between the cathedral and parochial clergy, there was probably no great disparity in wealth, though their numbers, even then as now, could bear no comparison one with the other. But this use of Convocation has passed away. The clergy, by our altered system of taxation, are placed, as to all fiscal burdens, in the same position as the laity;‡ and, with the changes that have taken place alike in the numbers, the wealth, and the influence of the several parties, no satisfaction could result from the assembling of a Synod in its present form, when the representatives of the great body of the parochial clergy would be so

* Proceedings of Convocation, Feb. 1st, 1854.

† Burn's Ecclesiastical Law.

‡ Hallam's Constitutional History, vol. ii. p. 405.

far outnumbered by the official members, combined with the proctors of the chapters.

But if there are difficulties and anomalies with reference to the electors, so are there as to the mode of election too. This is different in different dioceses, and there seems to be no uniform and well-established rule of action. In some instances a diocese elects its two diocesan proctors; in others, each archdeaconry is severally represented; in others, the various archdeaconries choose each a proctor; while from these, in one diocese, the bishop selects two, but in another, the proctors from the several archdeaconries choose from their own number the future members of the Synod. So that, in some cases, the mode of election is immediate and direct; but in others it extends only to the selection of a limited electoral college, or to the nomination of candidates for another's final choice. By the increase in the number of dioceses, the change in their ancient limits, and their recent division into new archdeaconries, fresh complications are introduced; and additional questions will hence arise, should Convocation again be called together for the transaction of real business.

And, when assembled, by what difficulties and perplexities will the Synod be surrounded! Its rights and privileges, its powers and duties are all alike subjects of contest and dispute. Its forms of procedure, its traditionary rules, are all unsettled and undefined. The relations of the upper and the lower house one with the other, those of the metropolitan with his comprovincials, those even of the Convocation with the Crown,—are all topics still open to debate. Amidst these discussions, in a former century, the last active hours of the Synod past; and their renewal at the present era have been amongst the earliest signs of its returning life. The advice sought by the Society for the Revival of Convocation, from counsel learned in the common and the canon law, on some questions touching the rights and powers of the Synod, have but elicited conflicting opinions;* while the declaration of the Bishop of Oxford in the upper house, that if the Archbishop exercised what his Grace deems his undoubted privilege, to prorogue the assembly at his own discretion, “it would be their painful duty to sit in his absence,”† is not unsuggestive of the vexatious controversies which may surround the Synod at every step.

We have, however, but glanced at some of the chief perplexities in which the subject is involved. A host of minor

* Opinions, &c.

† Guardian, Nov. 17, 1852.

difficulties still remain, which, whenever Convocation shall assume real life and vigour, will assuredly make themselves both felt and heard.

But we have spoken of Convocation as if it were a single Synod, and our remarks have had special reference to Canterbury, as the more important of the two. *Two*, however, there are, independent each of the other, and dissimilar alike in their character and constitution; Canterbury having its upper and its lower house; York, its single chamber, where prelates and proctors sit, debate and vote together: while it is matter of history that canons have been passed at York, which have never been received by Canterbury; and though York has been wont to accept the resolutions of Canterbury, it has been rather in voluntary deference, than in legal submission to the larger and more important Synod. But is it any very improbable conjecture, that their different organization might lead to serious differences in their relative proceedings, and to strange divergence between the future decisions of the two ecclesiastical provinces of the same kingdom?

On questions connected either with the Irish or the Colonial Church we have not even touched; and yet they are neither few nor unimportant, and would certainly press for solution whenever Convocation assembled for real work. Already, indeed, has one of our colonial prelates claimed his place as a suffragan of Canterbury, in the Synod of the province, and prayed for "the issue of his writ of citation, or his immediate admission."*

Is then the call for the "revival of Convocation" that plain and simple thing which many, who have looked no deeper than the surface, have been led to suppose? Do they aim at the restoration of a Synod surrounded with all these difficulties, subject to all these doubts, involved in all these anomalies? If not, the word "*revival*," at least, is misapplied: it may be a Church Convention, or a Church Assembly, which they desire, but it is not the Convocation of the olden time; and we shall then be discussing another question, and considering the expediency of a new and untried constitution for the Church, which may have its own advantages and its own perils, its own recommendations and its own defects; but which will certainly not be the thing contended for—"a revival of Convocation." Into that large and speculative discussion we have no design to enter. The committee† re-

* Guardian, Nov. 17, 1852.

† Proceedings of Convocation, Feb. 1st. 1854.

cently appointed by both houses of the province of Canterbury, will perhaps furnish us ere long with their plan for the reconstruction of the Synod, since church constitutions are, no doubt, as easily manufactured on paper as civil schemes of polity; but they may prove as intractable in working, and as evanescent in duration, as the numerous offspring of the teeming brain of Sieyès.

One point, however, of deep and vital importance we must not pass unnoticed by. It is the suggested introduction of lay delegates into the Synod of the Church, an element which seems to pervade all the schemes which have been recently put forth for the reconstruction of Convocation; and yet it is one which would entirely change the character of that assembly, and has certainly no prescription of the past to plead in its defence; neither do the analogies which are produced to sanction such a course, really serve to strengthen the case: they are imperfect and therefore inconclusive.

The position of the American Church, whose usage we are invited to follow, is far different from our own; so that what may be desirable, or even necessary, in their case, may be quite otherwise in our own: and it should not be forgotten, that the admission of the laity into their Diocesan and General Conventions was the acknowledged result and consequence of that very difference. When American churchmen were called upon, after the separation of the Colonies from the Mother country, to reconstruct the platform of their Church, and to decide upon its future organization, they endeavoured, as far as practicable, to adhere to the principles of the Church of England; even when they were obliged, in some measure, to depart from her practice. And as the laity could not, as amongst ourselves, have any voice in things ecclesiastical, through their representatives in the civil legislature of the land, they assigned to them a seat in the church assemblies themselves: which, says Bishop White of Pennsylvania, (to whom, more than to any other man, the Church of America is indebted for its present polity) "was a natural consequence of following the Church of England in all the leading points of her doctrine, discipline, and worship; we could not otherwise have had a *substitute* for the parliamentary sanction to legislative acts of power."* This course then was a substitute for something which we in England already possessed; and it seems somewhat strange, that though still in enjoyment of the original we should now be called upon to adopt the sub-

* The Jerusalem Chamber, p. 45.

stitute too. The laity have with us, as they ever had, their own recognised position and rights. For no laws can bind the Church at large which have not received their sanction, through their representatives in Parliament assembled; a principle which, remarks Judge Hoffman, (a distinguished American jurist) is affirmed by the "English decisions, exempting the laity from the obligation of canons passed without their assent."* Would the laity abandon these rights, that they may receive such a measure of power as may be conceded to them in the affairs of the Church, by the framers of her new constitution? Would they resign their present position and accept the "fundamental principles"† of Archdeacon Wilberforce? 1st, "That all questions which involve doctrine should be decided by the spirituality; 2nd, That it should belong to the spirituality to determine what questions do and what do not involve doctrine;" or be content with the character, allotted to them by another advocate, for their admission to Convocation of "counsellors and assessors?"‡ These are grave questions for the consideration of the laity themselves. While innumerable other difficulties would arise, should such a constitution ever be seriously contemplated for the Church. The proportion of representatives for the laity and spirituality—the propriety of sitting in a single or in separate chambers—of voting by numbers or by orders—would all furnish important topics of discussion. The petition of a large body of the laity, in the diocese of Sidney, lately presented by Lord Monteagle to the House of Lords, is probably indicative of a feeling not confined to that distant colony alone. They "protest against any system in which bishop, and clergy, and laity shall not meet and vote in one council, with equal and concurrent authority and jurisdiction." Would no such claim arise at home?

Are there no difficulties again attendant upon the admission of lay delegates, both as concerns the qualification of candidates and the condition of their constituents? What tests are to be required from each of their attachment to the Church? What degree or length of connexion is to give to one the franchise, to the other the right of admission to the Synod?

A passage in Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors" is not unsuggestive as to the class of men who might some-

* The Jerusalem Chamber, p. 45.

† Charge by Archdeacon Wilberforce, 1852, p. 23.

‡ Jerusalem Chamber, p. 52.

times appear as representatives of the laity, and take an active part in the business of the reconstructed Convocation. "Next to the venerable Fathers of the Kirk," he says, "the great speakers were young advocates, who contrived to be sent up as elders; less with a view to further the objects of religion than to gratify their own vanity, and to show how well qualified they were to manage causes before the Courts of Session and Justiciary."* And, speaking of the early years of Lord Chancellor Loughborough, he adds, "My southern readers will be astonished to hear, that the great theatre of his rhetorical displays was the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; not as counsel at their bar, but as a ruling elder; leading their deliberations on grave questions of heresy and church discipline."

But how far would the admission of the laity into our houses of Convocation accord with that system of Church polity which we believe to be apostolical, alike in its origin and character? The working of the system in America, as we catch glimpses of it in the graphic narrative of Mr. Caswall, may enable us to form some opinion on this point: such as where he tells us of the Conventions of Ohio, where "opposite principles were at work;"† and where the professors of Gambia—who "were disposed to show great deference to the spirit of the age," and "to sink, in some measure, the distinctive features of the college as a church institution,"—received, "in these and similar plans, the support of a large portion of the clergy and laity," who "believed that episcopacy in Ohio was practicable only in the mildest and most liberal form;" or, where he informs us, that the earlier general Conventions "seemed to partake in the general dread of something terrible in the episcopal character,"‡ and so "surrounded the bishops by many close restrictions and precise limitations," that "though the constitutional prerogatives of the episcopate have been considerably extended since that early period, yet even now an European reader of the canons might be led to infer, that American bishops require strict control to prevent their breaking out into some dreadful act of tyranny."

Nor is an anecdote, related by Lord Carlisle, in a lecture on his recent travels in America, without its own significance as to the natural tendency of church assemblies as constituted in that land? "I attended," he says, "a meeting of the

* *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol vi. p. 18.

† *Caswall's American Church*, p. 61.

‡ *Ibid.*

Convention of the Episcopal Church of South Carolina, whether it may be for encouragement or warning to those who wish for the introduction or revival of such Synods at home, I mention the point then under discussion; it was, 'How far it was proper to shew deference to the opinion of the bishop.'** The very suspicion of such a tendency, a few short years ago, would at once have chilled the sympathies of those who are now foremost in advocating the reconstruction of Convocation. Then the Ignatian maxim, *οὐδὲν χωρὶς ἐπίσκοπου*, was ever in their mouths; bishops were the "centres of the Church's unity;" they were "on a level with the apostles in religious authority;" their "jurisdiction was to be obeyed and never questioned;" but now,† when even the collective declaration of the Primates of England and Ireland is treated as the unauthorised opinion of four private individuals, the circumscription of episcopal authority and the transference of episcopal discretion to other hands, which would probably result from such a change in the constitution of our Synod, may suggest no warning against the introduction of lay delegates within its walls. Those, however, who have thought more soberly and more consistently on the theory of our Church, will weigh with caution any plan which would introduce discordant elements into its constitution, and risk the depression of that office which they think to be even now invested with no undue powers for its government and administration.

But there is yet a grave subject for consideration connected with the admission of the laity into the Synod of the Church. Would not such a course be at once a virtual resignation of her national character? and must she not henceforth be content to take her place amongst the numerous contending sects, who by the very fact of their private assemblies confess their separate existence? Her's is, indeed, as yet a higher position. She is national still; and national she will remain so long as the representatives of the nation are called together to take counsel for her interests, and permitted to have a voice in her affairs. But once summon a Synod with delegates to represent the laity of the Church, and withdraw all her concerns from the cognizance of the Imperial Legislature, and she shrinks, of course, from national to sectarian proportions—her present position and privileges are gone—she is national no more.

* Lectures, &c., p. 54.

† Proceedings with reference to Bishop Gobat.

Some, however, there are, who consider that such a change has already taken place, and that "the relations by which the Church was formerly bound to the ruling power of this realm" are already "cut asunder."* In their view, the constitution of our legislature is so far altered, that our Parliament is no longer a body meet to consult for the interests of the Church; and that it is therefore time for her to secure a separate organization of her own, whereby her members may assume the management of her affairs, apart from the great council of the nation. But is this suggestion really justified by facts? It may be true, that since the union with Scotland, and the repeal of various disabling statutes—statutes, however, of comparatively modern date—the legislature contains an admixture of those who are "not in communion with the Church;" who are "unacquainted alike with her system and her wants; in many instances arrayed against her in undisguised hostility, and avowedly bent upon her humiliation, nay, if possible her destruction."† But an overwhelming majority still are of her faith;‡ and while it is the majority and not the minority which determines and decides, it cannot be said with truth that Infidels, Romanists, or Dissenters are permitted to legislate for the Church; nor has she yet to seek a new and untried constitution for herself. There may have been indeed, occasionally, on the part of the civil government, too little regard for the claims and the position of the Church; while measures affecting the interests, and touching the feelings of the whole body of the clergy have sometimes been introduced, without due concurrence sought and secured from them; and hence have arisen feelings of jealousy and suspicion, inseparable, perhaps, from our complicated relations between Church and State. But the recent current of debate, on subjects connected with ecclesiastical affairs, has shown no unfriendly spirit to the Church, nor any rash desire of change; but rather a disposition for temperate and practical reform, which may give greater efficiency to her existing organization, instead of imperilling her existence.

The legislature, we must recollect, has afforded its solemn sanction to our forms of prayer, and to our confession of faith. They are part and parcel of the law of the land; they still stand

* Archdeacon Wilberforce's Charge, 1852, p. 14.

† Address, &c., p. 1.

‡ The Guardian, Sept. 1, 1852, gives the result of the late election—Independents, 13; Baptists, 2; Unitarians, 11; Presbyterians, 3; Free Church, 4; Wesleyans, 2; Friends, 1; Plymouth Brethren, 1; Jews, 1. Total of Dissenters, 38; Roman Catholics, 60;—in a House of 656.

on the statute-books, and no attempt has been made to tear them thence, nor yet to tamper with their integrity. They have been received and adopted by those who, as the national representatives, had full right to act in the nation's name, and on the nation's behalf, and by this deed the Church became national herself; and, until the nation shall in like manner repudiate its former work, national she will still remain—united to the State by strong and by enduring bonds. The severance then, at any rate, is not yet come. There are, however, amongst the foremost advocates for the revival of Convocation, those who would be well content to dare this issue, and to rend asunder at once all the links which yet bind things civil and ecclesiastical together, if they could thus secure what they deem the freedom of an assembled Synod, and the unrestricted management of spiritual affairs. But are they correct in their appreciation of our present position? Are we really “crippled, manacled, betrayed, and trammelled by the State?” Is not this the language of imagination, rather than that of sober reality? And when they speak of “chains,” and “gags,” and “fettters” in connection with the Church, is it not in the very vein of the leading demagogues of the day, who apply just such expressions, and with just as little reason, to the constitution of the State itself? For the British Church and the British State in our day possess a practical freedom unknown elsewhere—a freedom which the very utterers of these complaints establish, by their own unbridled liberty of speech. And what let or hindrance is ours? Who controls us in the exercise of our ministry? What interference do we experience in our work? We know neither censor of the press, nor minister for ecclesiastical affairs. We are responsible for our teaching to no man, save to our own spiritual superiors. We may testify the gospel of the grace of God in all its freeness, fulness, and simplicity, none making us afraid, and with no tribunal to scare or to deter us. Is this “slavery?” Are these “chains?” If so, then have words changed their significancy and lost their former import! Would that those who speak in this exaggerated tone would compare our true position with that of any national church—Romish or Protestant,—where the censorship either binds the press, or a minister for ecclesiastical affairs exercises his surveillance over the pulpit itself, or where “the laity have almost absolute control over a clergyman,” “and sometimes use it most mercilessly.”*

* Caswall's History, p. 300.

Thralldom there may be there, but assuredly there is none with us.

And are the solid advantages of the union of Church and State to be so lightly cast aside for fancies such as these? Our endowments, and consequent independence in our ministry—our territorial position—our parochial system, which gives us free access as of acknowledged right to every hearth—our possession of sacred edifices—our connexion with each public institution, and thus our multiplied means and opportunities of usefulness—are all (however originally acquired) more or less dependant on our identification with the nation through our union with the State; and would surely, perhaps speedily, cease, were once that connexion shaken and dis-severed: and dissevered it would undoubtedly be, on that day when the Church assumes a separate constitution, and shrinks from her national proportions to a voluntary assembly of self-constituted delegates of her own. This is no Erastian theory; no recognition of the Church as the creation of the State; or as owing her origin or existence either to parliament or princes. It is but to own her national establishment, and to realize to ourselves the advantages of which a severance of state connexion might deprive her, though it must still leave her possessed of the element of life. This separation is what her foes have long laboured for, but happily, hitherto, laboured in vain. They, at least, can appreciate the vantage ground on which she at present stands; and can any of her own children really believe that good can accrue to the professed object of their love, from that which is the one ardent desire of all her foes?

“*Hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atridæ,*”

ought, surely, to be warning enough for friends.

We have now considered the difficulties attendant on the present constitution of our Synods, as well as the most important suggestion connected with their reconstruction. Let us next advert to the reasons which are urged for their regular and periodical assembly.

Some of these, indeed, savour rather of rhetoric than of argument, and will need but a cursory notice at our hands. We are told, for instance, of “a time, since the suppression of the active powers of Convocation, when the Church slept;” of “the dark and dreary period of the Church’s history;” while a vivid picture is drawn of the corruptions and the

evils of that season. Even the "system of pluralities" is marshalled forth; and all in combined array are urged as cumulative arguments for the revival of Convocation. While we are gravely assured by an eloquent prelate, in the very house of Convocation, that "these abuses could not have existed if there had been that life in the Church which synodal action would have tended greatly to maintain."* As if the system of pluralities, for instance, was an evil peculiar to our own Church or to our own day, and not a corruption general in its prevalence, and early calling for notice and restraint. While with ourselves, it remained amongst the mischiefs inherited of Rome; and, having survived through centuries, which had witnessed the regular assembly of Convocation, it has been only effectually suppressed, in an age which has known no Synod of its own.† Or as if the days which succeeded the abeyance of the active powers of Convocation were really more marked with coldness and deadness in spiritual things, a more general relaxation of morals amongst the people, a more worldly spirit amongst the clergy, than those which preceded them,—an assertion which sounds strange in the ears of the student of history, who calls to mind the period of the Restoration or the reign of the first George, when the Synod in its last days gave busy signs of life. Or as if the growth and spread of true religion, the deeper sense of responsibility, the far higher moral standard, the life and energy which pervades the Church in our own day, does not prove that the evils of the past, can scarce be traced to the want of that influence, which has certainly had nothing to do with the improvement of the present, generation.

But another picture is submitted to our view.‡ Not only are all the evils of the past set forth in the darkest colors, as if their origin could be distinctly traced to the abeyance of the active powers of Convocation, though their abatement has not waited for its reassembling; but we have also a vivid representation of the present wants and necessities of the Church, and the inadequacy of her existing resources to meet the claims of an ever increasing population. We are told of scenes of spiritual destitution—of fields of spiritual labour waste and uncultivated, both at home and abroad; and we are then assured, without any reference to the real powers of

* Bishop of Oxford's Speech, reported in *Guardian* for Nov. 17, 1853.

† 13 and 14 Vict. c. 98.

‡ *Proceedings, &c.*, p. 10, &c.

Convocation, that all this is the result of its suspended animation : that because the Synod is no longer periodically assembled, the Church is not permitted to "enlarge her lawful agencies"* or to extend "her mission." Of the powers of Convocation we shall speak hereafter : nor will we deny that a great work yet lies before the Church. Her parochial system, the best and wisest ever planned for carrying true religion to every home and hearth within the circle of the land, is crippled, from the vast growth and irregular distribution of our abundant population. Thousands and scores of thousands are left to the spiritual provision intended but for hundreds and for tens ; all due proportion in such scenes between the fold, the pastor, and the flock, is lost and gone. In our Colonies again, thousands of emigrants are yet to be supplied with the ministrations of the Church ; while, amongst the distant heathen, she has still to execute her divine commission to evangelize the world.

But has the Church really stood by with folded hands waiting for the awakened powers of Convocation ? or has she not girded herself, of late years, to her work, with a vigor never witnessed in our Synod's busiest period of existence, whose energies were never, as far as we know, devoted to such ends as these ? What strikes the eye of an intelligent Nonconformist at home ? Is it the carelessness and inactivity of the Church ? No. "New churches, new normal schools, new school houses, Pastoral Aid Societies, and almost endless expedients."† What is the testimony‡ of a recent official document, severely impartial in its religious sympathies ? It tells of "the wonderful, almost unparalleled, achievements" of the Church of England "in the way of self-extension," by which "she has lately proved her inexhaustible vitality." What again meets the view in our vast colonial possessions but the stately progress of the Church—her prelates, not one of whom was to be found in the palmiest days of Convocation, surrounded by an ever enlarging band of pastors, in each of the many settlements wherewith this little land of Britain now girdles earth ? Or speak we of the

* Proceedings, &c., pp. 24, 26, &c.

† British Quarterly Review, edited by Dr. Vaughan. It appears too from the Supplement to Census Returns, that in 1831 the number of churches and chapels of the Church of England were 11,826 ; in 1851, 13,854 : an increase of more than 2000 in 20 years, at a cost of £6,087,000 ; and from the decennial inquiry of the National Society, that between 1837 and 1847 the number of day schools in connexion with the Church had increased from 10,856 to 17,015, and the number of scholars from 558,180 to 955,865.

‡ Census 1851,—Religious Worship, p. 31.

heathen? Has the Church shewn no signs of activity there? Are not her vast missionary enterprises, the results of which are palpable to the world, proof that she stays not for Convocation; whose hand was never stretched forth to this work, and whose aid has not been waited for either in its vigorous commencement nor in its steady prosecution? We must seek other reasons than these for the revival of Convocation, for we have here but topics for popular declamation.

The antiquity of Convocation is naturally pleaded as an argument for the restoration of its active powers, while it is urged, that a strange anomaly is permitted, if all forms connected with its assembling are scrupulously observed; its summons regularly issued; its members duly elected; its preliminary proceedings carefully conducted; and yet no session for real and serious business is allowed to follow. Such, however, has now been the case for near a century and a half, a period which may well nigh establish a prescription of its own, and almost reverse the position of those who rely on the force of ancient custom; nor must we forget that, however we may reverence the institutions of our ancestors, a servile adherence to ancient precedents would not enable us, in altered times and circumstances, to work for the best interests of the age in which we live. It will not do to plead simply the antiquity of Convocation; for the same plea might be urged for the revival of the ordeal, or for the restoration of the wager of battle. We must be prepared to prove its present usefulness, its adaptation to the present wants and existing condition of the Church. What in a former age has had its use is not necessarily of service still; nor does it follow, that because Convocation has met in times past, and that good may have occasionally resulted from those meetings, it must still hold its uninterrupted sessions; or that, if it did, good must be always anticipated as the result of its assembling.

Nor is the preservation of all the forms attendant on the gathering of Convocation, of itself, a sufficient ground to call for the immediate restoration of its active powers; for it is no consequential argument, that because a certain machinery exists it must ever be kept in exercise and use. "Nor does even long intermission furnish a sufficient reason whereon to challenge the hasty alternative of entire extinction or instant action: neither one nor the other may be the fitting or expedient course. The machinery may be well worth preserving, though the time for its actual employment is not yet come, nor even the season of its future use-

fulness accurately foreseen.”* We need not destroy, though we are not at once disposed to use; and anomalous as it may seem to the hasty glance to retain anything which we do not employ, such, at least, was not the philosophy of the wisest and most gifted of British statesmen, who ridiculed the illogical conclusions of those who deemed it “absurd that powers or members of any constitution should exist rarely or ever to be exercised.”† He reminds us that, in our complicated constitution, there are powers and prerogatives indisputable in theory, whose existence it is prudent to maintain, but from the exercise of which it is equally prudent to forbear. Such is the acknowledged but long dormant veto of the Crown; “*Le roy s’avisera*,” has not been heard for many a year, but the privilege remains; its “repose may be the preservation of its existence, and its existence may be the means of saving the constitution itself on an occasion worthy of bringing it forth.”

The very case, too, which we are now considering is brought forward by Burke in further illustration of his own argument, which had reference to a far different subject—the difference between the constitutional power of Parliament to legislate for the Colonies, and the propriety of exercising that right on each particular occasion. The one he would not have questioned; of the other he would claim the privilege to judge. The following words deserve deep and thoughtful consideration; they are pregnant with suggestions on the subject now before us. “We know that the Convocation of the clergy had formerly been called, and sat with nearly as much regularity to business as Parliament itself. It is now called for form only. It sits for the purpose of making some polite ecclesiastical compliments to the king, and when that grace is said retires, and is heard of no more. It is, however, a part of the constitution, and may be called into action and energy, whenever those who conjure up that spirit will choose to abide the consequences. It is wise to permit its legal existence; it is much wiser to continue it a legal existence only.”

But there are those who claim for Convocation a position in ecclesiastical, analogous to that of Parliament in civil affairs. It is in their view an assembly of independent jurisdiction—the standing legislature of the Church—which should be regularly convened to look to her interests, and to take

* Archdeacon of Llandaff's Charge, 1853, p. 7.

† Burke's Letter to Sheriff of Bristol; Works, vol. iii. p. 181.

counsel for her welfare; so that any interruption of its session is, in their sight, as unconstitutional as would be the abeyance of the Imperial Parliament itself.* Such a theory, however, has no foundation in the record of history, while the analogy is rather specious than real: for the powers and the functions of Convocation are very different from those of Parliament, by whose side, only in later days of civil strife, it sought to range itself, as a collateral and independent assembly. But its real position has been rather that of advice and recognition, than of primary movement and original action. Even at the great crisis of the Reformation it played but a secondary part. It was summoned to set its constitutional seal to changes already determined, and to register, more like the ancient parliaments of France, acts already prepared by a Royal Commission of Divines, than as our own Legislature, to deliberate and to decide.

With an old historic name, and with occasionally high pretensions, it is disappointing to those who are led by theory, to see how little Convocation has ever really done. "All my days (says Sir Thomas More), as far as I have heard, nor, I suppose, a good part of my father's neither, they came never together to Convocation but at the request of the king, and at such their assemblies concerning spiritual things, have very little done."† Its subsequent history may be briefly told.‡ In the reign of Edward its consent was not even sought to the second Service Book, which came forth on the authority of the Parliament and Crown. More respectfully treated by Elizabeth, its advice was even then more sought than its decision; while in the Court of High Commission, rather than in the Convocation, was vested as well the legislative as the executive authority of the Church. In the reign of James it was more frequently consulted, and more deference was yielded to its counsels; while the character of that monarch led him to take a greater personal interest in its session. In the troubled days of Charles it raised yet higher claims, and, amidst political excitement, gained for a season a temporary and factitious importance. Its attempts, however, at legislative authority had but an unfortunate issue; while, in the language of Clarendon, it "did many things which in the best of times might have been questioned, and therefore were sure to be condemned in the worst;" and its devotion to the king, marked by generous sacrifices in his support, served

* Hallam's Constitutional History.

† Burnet's Introduction to third part of History of the Reformation.

‡ Preface to Cardwall's Synodalia. Hallam's Constitutional History.

but to involve the Church in the ruin of the Crown. But during the whole of this period, from the Reformation downward to the Great Rebellion, it had little business, but to grant such pecuniary aid as the clergy yielded for the necessities of the State. New articles of religion were not wanting; the formularies of public worship were fixed; both had been sanctioned by Parliament, and could therefore be neither modified nor repealed by the sole authority of the Synod. The executive power of the Church was in other hands; so that the work of taxation was the main purpose for which Convocation met.

After the Restoration, however, this use of Convocation ended too. The clergy were henceforth taxed as others by their representatives in Parliament, and their separate subsidies now ceased, and Convocation became hereafter but an empty pageant. At the Revolution, when great principles were at stake, and when the Church, through its individual members, took so strenuous and influential a part, and mainly contributed alike to the preservation of her own liberties and of those of the nation, Convocation was silent—its voice was never heard—it had no part in that stirring and important scene. Again, however, in a divided realm and with a disputed succession Convocation raised its claims; and its pretensions were, from political motives, carried higher than ever heretofore. The Lower House especially asserted privileges of an unwonted character, and made large use of its supposed analogy with the Commons House of Parliament. Its relations with the Upper House, and even with the Crown, became matter of warm and serious discussion, until at length, in the reign of the first George, its powers were suspended by prorogation, and it has never since sat for the effectual dispatch of business.

Even this hasty sketch of the later history of Convocation will show the correctness of the resolution of the Upper House, that "the constitution of a Provincial Synod and Convocation is in many particulars very different from that of Parliament;"* while a fuller investigation must serve to correct the hasty and unfounded notions entertained by those who take for granted, what they have heard constantly asserted, that Convocation is the Parliament of the Church, whose regular session is therefore but a matter of right, and whose duty it is to watch continually over our ecclesiastical

* Cardwell's *Synodalia*, Preface, p. 16.

affairs and interests. History at least bears no such testimony, nor sets her impress to such a claim.

But is it not essential that Convocation should meet to supersede "the irregular Synods which have been established by Church Unions, in consequence of the true Synods of the Church having been suffered to sleep; and which have brought the clergy together in a false synodical action, without the superintendence of the bishops, whom God has constituted to be at their head?"* The argument—the words are those of an eloquent prelate of our Church, addressed to the Upper House in the last year.

Is it, however, so sure, that the reassembling of a lawful Synod would still the discordant action of self-constituted societies? Is such our experience in civil affairs? On the contrary, in a neighbouring kingdom the formation of political clubs, and organized political assemblies, did not precede but follow the gathering of the States-General—the recognised legislature of the land. And does the regular Session of our own Parliament prevent the establishment of Birmingham Unions or Manchester Leagues, of Brunswick or of Conservative Clubs? All, like their fellows on the other side the Channel, constituted for the very purpose of acting upon our assembled Parliament, and influencing its decisions and debates. And would not Convocation, whenever it shall sit again for real work, find "Church Unions" and "Church Protestant Defence Societies" still existing, and bringing all their energies to bear upon the deliberations of that venerable body? The skirmish of pamphlets, meetings, and declarations would still attend the more serious conflict of the legislative Synod. Its Session would be anything but a signal for the dissolution of the present self-constituted organs of the Church; our civil experience would lead us, on the contrary, to expect their prolonged and more vigorous existence.

Another advantage which is sometimes anticipated from the revival of synodical action, is the removal of dissensions and the establishment of unity in the Church; but this is an ideal remedy for a real evil, and they who entertain such hopes from such a source, build at least without an historical foundation. The record of the past tells of no such results from Councils. Their session may have been needed to vindicate the purity of the faith, and so have been stern necessities of the times; but those who have carefully scanned their annals, will

* Bishop of Oxford's Speech, *Guardian*, Nov. 17, 1852. See Archdeacon Denison's Charge, 1852, p. 22.

scarce venture to rank them amongst "the things which make for peace," or to anticipate from their revival other than their former fruits—fiercer and more angry strife.

Mutual recriminations disturbed the first General Council, and had well nigh broken up its session. The president of the second turned almost in despair from such a remedy for the future : while the strife and confusion which characterised the third, elicited a stern rebuke from the emperor under whose auspices it met. Nor do the records of later Synods reverse the warning : they were all marked by the same discord which attended on their predecessors ; and if ever good has resulted from Council or from Synod, it has assuredly not been in the promotion or in the exhibition of brotherly and Christian love.

The stormy debates and unseemly contentions which characterised the last days of our own Convocation, and which provoked and justified its prorogation, are but too well known. And could we venture to anticipate other scenes, amidst our present religious excitement, when the swift record of debate, and the high-seasoned comments of party periodicals would add daily fuel to the flame of controversial strife ?

Convocation may be needed, as were Councils of old, but not assuredly for the promotion of peace. *That* is the very last result which we should hope for from its Session. It should be, too, not the normal but the exceptional condition of the Church, called as were Synods in ancient times, for occasional purposes and with a specific object ; but that purpose should be clear and that occasion urgent, which would lead us to risk the recurrence of such scenes, as the world in past times has witnessed and deplored in the assemblies of the Church.

We may, we do lament our present unhappy divisions ; but before we attempt to apply a remedy let us at least have some well grounded assurance that it will really heal, not irritate or inflame the wound. There are those amongst the advocates for the revival of Convocation who would, we are sure, "seek peace and ensue it ;" but there are also those who make themselves ready for battle, and look to the Synod as an arena, wherein they might strive for the prevalence of their own peculiar opinions. Earnest and hasty spirits they would encounter on the other side ; and when we think "how great a matter a little fire kindleth," how perilous might soon become the condition of the Church. For in a large assembly, such as that of Convocation, it is not the meek and gentle and reflecting spirits (should they even far exceed in number)

which lead and guide its councils ; but the warm and earnest and eager partisan, who kindles and excites by his own enthusiasm, and prevails by his own firm and steadfast purpose. In times of civil strife it is not the voice of Falkland, in seasons of religious division it is not the tongue of Leighton, which wins attention, and whose accents fall with persuasive eloquence on willing ears.

But are divisions and differences the peculiar curse and characteristics of our own Church ? Or does not the source lie deeper ? in the infirmity of human nature, which bears the same fruit in all times, in all places, and amongst all people ? How endless the divisions of the various sects, who, differing yet again, divide and multiply dissent in some fresh form. And with all the boasted unity and outward uniformity of the Church of Rome, how certain the fact, that controversies as fierce, differences as wide, as any which prevail amongst ourselves have been rather silenced than settled within her pale ; while another "*Histoire des Variations*," as ample as that of the famous Bishop of Meaux, would be needed to describe her numerous schisms, or to detail her many dissensions. Even in this very year we learn from the ordinary organs of intelligence, that "the contests between the Gallican and Ultramontane parties amongst the French clergy has acquired a degree of virulence which cannot be exceeded in any other part of Christendom."*

It is said again of the Church of England, that she, in the abeyance of her Convocation, is deprived of a right and power which all other bodies of Christians possess ; and their example is pleaded as a reason why we should claim the future regular recurrence of our Synods. We are, however, reminded by the Bishop of St. Davids, that "this statement, taken in the sense in which alone it is relevant and important, appears to be at variance with unquestionable facts. It is true that there has been no cessation of synodical assemblies in the Church of Rome, though these have for many ages been of rare occurrence ; but there has been no Synod of the Church of Rome since the Council of Trent ; and it is not universally agreed, even amongst Roman Catholics, that the deficiency is sufficiently supplied by the supreme authority of the Pope ; and, however urgently required, such an assembly could not be brought together without the sanction of the civil power, not in one only, but in many states." We must dismiss then the Church of Rome from our series

* Times, March 15, 1853.

of examples, and we turn to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which has also been held up in invidious contrast with our own long silent Synod. But without reference to the difference between the constitution of the established Church of Scotland and our own, and the very different functions which have hence devolved upon its Assembly from those which belonged to our own Convocation, is there nothing in the recent history of that Assembly which sounds a note of warning as to the result of such an organization kept in perpetual exercise and use? It met year by year, deliberated, discussed, decided, and all without let or hindrance; but what have been the consequences? Strife and debate ever waxing keener and more keen; party combinations, rival factions, forming within its bosom, until at length disruption has taken place, and the widest rent in modern days has been made in a religious community, whose differences after all were scarce so marked as those which unhappily exist amongst ourselves.* And who that has traced the progress of this schism in the recent *Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers*, will not be forced to confess that the General Assembly—which “brought into collision the two great parties into which the Church of Scotland was divided”†—which furnished the arena, where, we are told, that one of the clerical combatants “rushed into debate as the war-horse into the battle, rejoicing in the conflict; merciless indeed in his onslaught, but generous to the honourable foe”—which led to such bitter revilings between “Christian men devoted to the same object;”‡—which heard the “irrepressible cheer of gallery spectators”§ following the exciting and protracted debate—and which witnessed the final departure of more than four hundred ministers in sad and solemn procession from amongst their brethren,—furnishes no encouraging example to rescuscitate our own long dormant Synod.

We have heard again the Wesleyan Conference cited as another instance of that synodal action and power of self-government which is said to be wanting only amongst ourselves. Results, however, are scarce more favourable here than with the organization of the Church of Scotland; peace,

* *Chalmers' Life*, vol. iv. p. 344. “What had divided them? It was no difference as to any of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity; for the creed and confession of both were identical. It was no difference as to church order or government; for the forms of worship and methods of rule and discipline were in each instance the same.”

† *Chalmers' Life*, vol. iii. 71.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. iv. pp. 12 and 14.

§ *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 106.

and unity, and love do not seem to have followed upon its deliberations. Four sections already divided the followers of the original Founder; and we have read of late, in the usual organs of public intelligence, the record of fresh and bitter disputes. We have seen rising in various places the chapels of another wide secession, which has again parted asunder the Methodist Connexion; while against the Conference, its functions and its powers, the anger of the seceders, in this, as in every other instance, seems to have been specially directed; and its proceedings are now, as heretofore, openly alleged as the very pretext of separation.*

But the Church of England, in the absence (may we not almost say in the providential absence?) of regular synodical action—even as of old, she had room for Latimer and for Ridley, for Taylor and for Andrews, for Tillotson and for Ken,—still tolerant and comprehensive, holds in her yet undivided communion those who cannot in all points—such are the diversities of human intellect—see eye to eye; but who have lived, and who may live, in brotherly union and concord, provided that no rash or hasty step shall bring them into irreconcilable and fatal collision.

But it is the precedent of the American Church which is chiefly urged in comparison with our own. “To learn how a church in these days can work when her organization possesses the completeness which we desire for our own, let us look to America. There we have a fair example in the Episcopal Church. She has her annual Conventions and her diocesan assemblies, where her condition is discussed with a view to its improvement, and her wants considered with a view to their being supplied. And what has been the result? Why, a measure of success almost unexampled in the history of the churches in modern times.”† We have already remarked that the position of the American Church is very different from our own; and the organization which may be best suited, or even necessary, for her different circumstances, may not be equally well adapted for ours. In the pros-

* Census, p. 10—85. “The usual course of things has hitherto been thus: a controversy on some unimportant matter is originated, and a minister expresses views upon it contrary to those prevailing in the Conference; in the ardour of controversy he is urged to what is thought to be a violation of some Methodist rule: for this he is arraigned before the Conference, found guilty, and expelled; his cause, but more especially his fate, attracts the sympathy of many of the laity;” “the dispute results in separation.” Had Convocation been in session of late years, would not similar effects have followed from similar causes amongst ourselves? Would no condemnation of books or their authors have resulted in secession?

† Report, &c., p. 24.

perity and extension of that Church we take a deep and lively interest, and we must ever regard her as bound to us in the nearest and closest relation. She is the first graft from our own parent stock—"the beginning of our strength." But we do not fear to compare the life and vigour yet manifest in the old trunk, with that which we rejoice to behold in our young and fruitful scion. Nor can we see, as others seem to do, that greater results—more peaceful progress—has attended upon her organization than upon our own. In the field of missions, we have gladly marked and welcomed her recent progress; but though it is matter of thankfulness, that with her humbler means and large domestic claims she has already done so much, her efforts can surely bear no comparison with our own.* Nor in her exertions to cultivate the waste places in her own land (great as these may have been compared with her inadequate resources) will she match those which have of late years been made to overtake the domestic heathendom of our own vast and crowded scenes of manufacturing life. Nay; we are but just informed, by one of the ablest and most distinguished of the American clergy, that at the last general Convention, "that all important department of their operations would exhibit a very unsatisfactory state of things."

The American diocesan and general Conventions have, moreover, work to do, which never did and, with our view of Church government, never could belong to Convocation. Through their standing committees, composed both of the clergy and the laity, they take an active part in the management and administration of the Church.† They meet at their own pleasure; are empowered not only to give advice when requested by their diocesan, but to tender it "when its members think expedient." They even receive and sanction the application of candidates for orders, who must be furnished with their testimonial before they can be accepted by the bishop; and not unnaturally, perhaps, display throughout, in the working of their system, a sympathy accordant

* Without reference to "some other important institutions (such as the Bible and Tract Society, &c.), in supporting which the Church of England largely shares, and *independently of local efforts*—of the many district and parochial societies for household visitation, and for other methods of diffusing moral and religious influence—the Church of England, by its separate centralized exertions, raises above £400,000 per annum for religious objects, out of which £250,000 is applied to foreign missionary operations."—Census 1851—Religious Worship, p. 41.

† Colonial Church Chronicle, Dec. 1853, p. 208.

‡ Caswall's History, &c., p. 107, &c.

rather with the democratical character of their own civil constitution, than with the more strictly episcopal and, as we believe, apostolical organization of our own Church, which may perhaps be more congenial also to our own secular institutions.

Nor does the candid and graphic narrative of Mr. Caswall, though himself a zealous advocate for the revival of synodal action at home, leave a decidedly favourable impression of its working in America. Take, for instance, his account of the diocesan Convention at Ohio, which terminated in the resignation of Bishop Chase, which both illustrates the excitement generated at such assemblies, and the sway which a few earnest spirits may exercise over the calmer yet less quick and energetic number. "It was very clear that a few able persons were the real performers; the rest were too bewildered by the rapidity with which events succeeded each other to bestow any calm consideration or impartial judgment upon particulars."* We hear of "subsequent criminations and recriminations" as being "freely interchanged." And read again, of his regret that "Conventions are generally held in churches, the members of which are frequently indulged in a latitude of speech by no means in keeping with a sanctuary of religion."† Nor is the following candid passage without its moral or its warning: "Although in a perfectly united church synodical action might be an unmixed benefit, it is very certain that where divisions on matters of principle exist, it does not accomplish so much as sanguine persons might anticipate. Hence, in times of controversial excitement, American churchmen look forward to the meeting of their Conventions with anxious apprehension, and regard them as a subject of earnest prayer and supplication to the Almighty."‡

But, after all, what are the functions which Convocation on its revival is to bring into exercise and use? Is it to sit in a judicial capacity, as a tribunal of ultimate appeal or of original jurisdiction? The former claim has recently been made,§ and with such an intent, no doubt, chiefly originated the present call for the "revival of Convocation;" the latter power has been already employed, when the Synod proceeded, with the sanction|| of the highest legal authority, to censure books and their authors. Such functions then it may of course claim to exercise again, though the result of their

* Caswall's History, p. 92.

† Ibid. p. 281.

‡ Ibid. p. 392.

§ Proceedings of Meeting at St. Martin's Hall, J. H. Parker, p. 340.

|| Lathbury on the Convocation, p. 340.

former use is not encouraging ; and of all courses into which a newly awakened assembly might hurry, this would be assuredly the most dangerous, and the most certain, if pursued, to end in the early disruption of the Church.

It is the united opinion of the wisest statesmen, that judicial authority in civil things cannot safely be entrusted either to a legislative or to a representative assembly. It is not there that we can expect a strict attention to legal forms ; the due observance of the laws of evidence ; a calm and impartial examination of conflicting testimony ; and that absence from passion, prejudice, and party spirit, which can alone secure real and substantial justice. History, with unwavering voice, condemns the attempt to administer justice through large and irresponsible assemblies ; it is the never failing source of tyranny and wrong. " The unrighteous decisions of the fickle democracy of Athens, and the judicial murders of our own parliamentary attainders, all tell the same tale. So that even our House of Peers, less subject than more popular assemblies to prejudice and impulse, whilst it theoretically retains the right of judging in the last resort, has yet practically forgone its existence ; and leaves its decisions exclusively to those few members of its body who have been wont to discharge judicial functions in the realm."* Nor does the experience of the Church differ from that of the State. Synods are as ill suited as Parliaments to administer calmly and impartially judicial functions. The experiment has been before our eyes. " A learned living judge, Lord Cockburn, although himself a Presbyterian, speaking of the General Assembly of the Scottish Establishment as a court of justice, pronounces it ' essentially defective ;' bluntly designates it ' a mob ;' expresses compassion for the helplessness of the moderator ; and remarks, that ' the Assembly's forms of procedure are framed as if the object were to aggravate the evil.'"+ Our own Ecclesiastical Courts may require alteration and improvement ; but if a wrong exists, the remedy is not to be sought in the transfer of any of their functions to such a body as Convocation—for judicial authority it is manifestly unfit.

Is, however, executive authority more within its scope ? *This* must be vested somewhere, for the daily control and administration of the Church ; and while judicial and legislative powers are for occasional, executive are for continual

* Charge of Archdeacon of Llandaff, 1853, p. 22.

† Charge of Archdeacon Sinclair, 1852, p. 16.

use. Have we hitherto then been without guidance and direction? or are we dissatisfied with that which we already possess? On which ground do we now desire to invest Convocation with functions which it has never hitherto discharged? We have an organization of our own, apostolical, as we believe, in its origin and character. In our diocesan episcopacy, founded on the ancient models—in our subordinate authorities—we have due provision for the proper administration of the Church. We have not been drifting on the wide ocean of accidents; nor have we yet seen any reason to desire a change, such as would assimilate our ecclesiastical constitution either to that of the Church of Scotland, whose centre of administration is the General Assembly; or to that of the Church of America, whose general and diocesan Conventions, as we have already seen, share largely in that diocesan control, which with us is vested in the prelates of our Church, and which we still desire to see entrusted to their hands.

But it is, above all, the legislative functions of the Synod which those who seek “the revival of Convocation” are most anxious again to see in exercise and employ; while the supposed analogy with Parliament—an analogy, however, which we have already seen to be but specious and imperfect—gives a measure of importance to the claim. How limited, however, are the legislative powers of Convocation! how widely different from the almost omnipotent authority of our Civil Legislature! When the Synod is met, it must have the royal license even to treat about the making of new canons or enactments. These again, when sanctioned by the Upper and the Lower House, must be ratified by the sovereign; and even then, though they be not against the prerogative of the king, nor the common nor statute law, nor any custom of the realm (all essentials to their legal control over the clergy themselves), have no power, when pleaded in the civil courts, until confirmed by Acts of Parliament, and embodied amongst the statutes of the realm.*

But how are these limited powers to be employed? Is Convocation to crave permission from the Crown to reexamine either our standards of faith, or our forms of worship? Here we had fain hoped that the work of legislation was complete. These hopes however have been rudely shaken when one of our prelates, in the recent session of the Convocation of Canterbury, shadowed out designs which startled even the warmest

* Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, vol. i. p. 404.

advocates for the revival of the active powers of the Synod;* while a reference to some recent publications of those who are most forward in the movement for "revival," prove that they, at least, have this thought and this design in view. They propose that the Synod shall deal with "questions of doctrine;"† that by its "legislative powers,"‡ the Church "should counteract her judicial acts;"—condemn, that is, what the ecclesiastical courts have decided to be within the limits of divergence permitted by our present formularies, and impose a narrower and a stricter interpretation on those articles of faith, which are comprehensive, but not latitudinarian,—emulous (with reverence be it spoken) of the breadth and largeness of God's own most holy Word. But with what spirit would such a proposal be received in the Synod itself? and how would it be dealt with in the halls of the Civil Legislature, where it must undergo a discussion too? And suppose that stricter definitions, narrower terms of communion, were the work of Parliament and Synod, would the minority bow to the decision of the majority, and submit their judgment in matters of faith to the determination of such a tribunal? or would not immediate disruption be the inevitable result?

And might not the same event be surely anticipated from any attempt to alter our existing forms of public worship? Some may desire a closer approximation, others a still more marked separation from the language and the ritual of Rome; but if either should prevail the Church of England would be rent asunder in the fatal victory.

But if moderate counsels prevail, and all thought of touching our Articles and Liturgy be laid aside, are there no practical evils for which the Synod might legislate with advantage to the Church? It is no doubt easy to collect and to present "gravamina" and "reformanda;" but it is quite another thing to show *how* Convocation is to apply the remedy. On the one subject we have heard much; of the other, marvellously little. The evils may be clear and palpable; but when we approach the panacea, we can learn nothing of its operation, nothing of its efficacy; for their removal or cure, all is vague, shadowy and unreal.

Is it pastors—folds—that are needed for our present scattered and unprovided flocks? How can Convocation supply the need? It has no funds to devote to such a purpose. It

* Bishop of Oxford's Speech—Proceedings of Convocation, Feb. 1st, 1854.—Times.

† Charge of Archdeacon Denison, 1852, p. 20.

‡ Charge of Archdeacon Wilberforce, p. 27.

has no longer power to tax the clergy for the service of the Crown. It never possessed the right to levy imposts for any other purpose, or on any other parties.

Is it the great work of education, which has to be forwarded throughout the land? How does it lie within the competence of Convocation to do anything either for its extension or improvement? Here, as in the former case, it is the silver and the gold that is lacking, and these the Synod has no power to supply. Discussions and agitation, such as have of late disturbed (we might use a stronger word) the proceedings of the National Society, we might have, but real assistance we should look for in vain. We must depend for the furtherance of such objects on that awakened Christian zeal, that deeper sense of individual responsibility, which has not waited for Synods, and is not connected with their revival.

Is then Convocation never again to reassemble? Is synodical action an impossibility for ever? We say not so; but what we do say is this: that neither in its actual constitution nor in the proposed method of its reconstruction—neither in its past history nor in its former conduct—neither in its supposed analogies nor in its alleged precedents—neither in its existing functions nor in its real powers—do we see any prospect of advantage from its revival *at the present season*. We say, too, that we do not recognize in Convocation a normal, but an occasional element of the constitution of the Church, like as were Synods and Councils of the elder day. For when it assembled regularly for business with every session of Parliament, it was chiefly for purposes fiscal, not ecclesiastical; and such frequent recurrence, with such an object, can furnish no necessary precedent in the altered circumstances of our own day.

We dare not however speak of the yet unborn future. We live in strange and eventful times, and we know not even what a day may bring forth. The season might arrive when the Church, as one man, would call for the reassembling of her Synod; when danger from without might stifle the working of dissensions within; and when the sense of common peril might suggest the necessity of providing in a public assembly for the common good; when "the bishops and pastors of the Church must resolve to hazard all in the discharge of their duty;"* when "they must meet, consult, and resolve on such measures as, by God's assistance, they shall think their unhappy circumstances to require, and be content to suffer any loss, or run any danger for their so doing."

* Archbishop Wake—State of the Church.

Such emergencies, however, are no subjects for present discussion, nor even for future anticipation; but should they ever arise, those who now recognize no immediate necessity for the revival of Convocation, and who have no hope of its present usefulness, would not be one whit behind their brethren in the zeal, the energy, or the self-denial which such a crisis might entail.

Meanwhile, though without the regular session of Convocation, the Church has practically full power to meet and to deliberate on all which concerns her real interest. Her prelates take frequent and familiar counsel together for her welfare. Each of them possesses the inalienable right of calling around him the clergy and the laity of his own diocese to assist him in all his efforts for its spiritual improvement, and to aid him as his need requires with their experience and advice; while the recent assembly in the diocese of Exeter proves, at least, that the very form of synodical action is not altogether wanting to the Church.

A word, too, may awaken the slumbering energies of Convocation itself; and we know not when some political or ecclesiastical crisis may cause that word to be spoken. Already, indeed, an unwonted concession has been made, and even as we write the long-established usage of the Synod has been changed; while a measure of action has been permitted—irritating, if it is to issue only in disappointed hopes; perilous, if it is to be followed out to its natural conclusion. For not only have debates been renewed on the reassembling of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, and a report been received from a committee which sat during the prorogation; but another committee has been appointed to sit in the same way, and “to consider and report to both Houses, with a view to address her Majesty thereon, whether any, if so what, reforms in the constitution of Convocation are expedient to enable it to treat, with the full confidence of the Church, of such matters as her Majesty may be pleased to submit to its deliberation.” This is to enter at once upon a question of the gravest import; for it is really nothing else than a proposition to remodel the assembly of the Church, and to give to her Synod a new and untried constitution. It involves too many serious conclusions; it assumes—and with that assumption at least we will not quarrel—that Convocation in its present state does not possess the confidence of the Church, and is a body unmeet to be entrusted with legislative powers. But it implies much more; and the implications are of a far more questionable character. For is it not a natural inference from the words of the resolution, that the

session of a Synod is at present essentially requisite for the interests of the Church, and that Convocation is competent to entertain, discuss, and settle the question of its own reconstruction, and the form which our new Church constitution is to assume? And yet, a resolution involving all these difficult and delicate considerations has been passed without notice, and without time for thoughtful deliberation; and has been hastily pressed upon a Synod which, as far at least as the elective element is concerned, was certainly chosen for no such purpose, nor with any such prospect in view. One thing then is clear: its elections must no longer be treated as a mere unmeaning form. The clergy must henceforth choose their representatives as if they chose them for real work; and it is their bounden duty to select, at each recurring season, those who will reflect their own sentiments, and be the firm yet temperate advocates of those opinions which they believe to be sound, scriptural and just. The last election was a surprise; it was confessedly* in the hands of a party active and ubiquitous, with a regular organization, perfect and complete. The next must be conducted in a fairer spirit, and with a more awakened and general interest. Those who seek peace, and desire to devote themselves unreservedly to the quiet and unobtrusive discharge of their own appropriate duties, must yet so far exert themselves as to see that their own moderate and sober views are represented in Convocation. They must not leave to "the movement" the control of the Synod, nor permit them to speak with its voice in the name of the united Church. But, after all, agitation is not action; nor is it in societies and meetings, nor yet in Synod or Convocation, that the real work of the Church is to be done: that lies in the daily labour of the pastor's life; amongst the homes and at the hearths of the poor; by the bedside of the sick and of the dying; in the cottage and in the school; in the preparation of the study, and in the prayer of the closet. Here is the sphere of our clergy; these their duties and their calling. It has already passed into an apothegm, that "the world knows nothing of its greatest men." We are sure that it knows little of its holiest and of its best; but yet it is to their quiet and unostentatious influence, to their silent and devoted labours, and not to "the Revival of Convocation," that we look for the growth, the enlargement, and the final triumph of the Church; and for the accomplishment of those objects for which the Church herself has been chartered and commissioned upon earth.

* Report, &c., p. 15.

- ART. II.—1. *Artist Life; or, Sketches of the American Painters.* By HENRY S. TUCKERMAN, Author of "Thoughts on the Poets," &c. New York and Philadelphia.
2. *Chapman's American Drawing Book.* Parts 1 and 2. New York, Boston, and Cincinnati.

WHILE all nations who possess schools of painting have histories of the art and biographies of their painters, America alone, whose boast it is that she possesses "the finest school of portrait painting in the world," has no more perfect account of her artists than is contained in the delightful, though necessarily incomplete, sketches of "Artist Life," by Mr. Tuckerman. We say incomplete, because many artists of eminence are not included. Instead, however, of finding fault with Mr. Tuckerman because he has not done more, we must thank him for his present very valuable contribution to art-literature. These sketches evidence not only a deep love of art, but an intimate acquaintance with its most refined perceptions; and his reflections on art are not the least valuable part of the essays. We are inclined to surmise that, like Irving, Mr. Tuckerman had hesitated between art and literature. We have reason to rejoice that he has chosen the former, and that he has given the old country an opportunity of appreciating the merits of the American painters, many of whom are unknown to the English even by name.

We shall endeavour, with Mr. Tuckerman as our guide, to place before our readers a brief sketch of these artists, pointing out the particular branch of art they have respectively followed. Previously, however, to entering on this subject, it may be instructive to contrast the recent advancement of the Fine Arts in the New World with their rise and progress in the Old. In the latter, painting was the handmaid of religion, the medium by which instruction was conveyed to an illiterate people, and by which the remembrance of great historical events was frequently transmitted to posterity. The pictured walls of Egypt, the sculptures of Nineveh, the excavated temples of India, reveal the mysteries of their religion, the conquests and prowess of their sovereigns, and the domestic habits of the people. While the written records for the most part have perished; while generation after generation of the people have passed away like a tale that is told; while the cities themselves are be-

come heaps of ruins, and the thick grass has grown upon their palaces, these picture-writings, disinterred from the dust of centuries, have proved to succeeding ages, lasting memorials of past events and opinions. In some cases, the story is told so intelligibly that he who runs may read ; but with regard to others, in which the meaning is less plain, we are obliged to resort for their elucidation to the knowledge and research of the antiquary and the historian.

In ancient Greece and Rome also, the Fine Arts were first subservient to the cause of religion and of the commonwealth. In the advanced stages of civilization, they ministered to the luxury and pomp of private individuals.

When the Fine Arts arose in Italy, after the period which is known in history as the dark ages, they were employed solely in the service of religion ; many of the early artists were of the ecclesiastical profession. The monks were almost the only persons who, in those days, followed peace as a profession ; for at that period even bishops were men of war, and, like secular princes, wore armour, and conducted their warlike retainers to battle. The monks were the settlers and improvers of the land in which they dwelt ; friendly to the poor by whom they were surrounded, whose language they spoke, and whose religion they professed, their peaceful habits afforded them leisure for the cultivation of the arts and sciences ; and if any of the brothers showed a talent for painting, it was cultivated almost as a gift from heaven, and was devoted to the service of religion. In the convent, no private interest existed ; the monk was identified with his order ; he was dead to the world ; even the name which his loving parents had bestowed upon him in his helpless and happy infancy was abandoned ; and, from the time when he took the vows which separated him from the world, all his energies were directed to the aggrandisement of the monastic community to which he belonged, and to the promotion of the power of the Church. The soil once brought into cultivation, the conventual lands produced an ample supply of food and necessities for the consumption of their occupants ; whose number being limited, they were not obliged, like the colonists in the New World, to provide for their children and an increasing population. The gift of pictures by the wealthy laity to the Church was inculcated by the monks as an act of piety ; and a pardonable flattery frequently introduced into these votive pictures the portraits of the donors. This may be considered as the first commencement of portrait painting in modern Italy. Single portraits followed.

The increase of luxury; the study by the laity of the classic writers of Greece and Rome; the contemplation of the monuments of art of those great people, which exist in such abundance, not only in Rome but in all other parts of Italy, led to the introduction of mythological subjects; while to the decline of the papal power, the consequent ascendancy of the modern iconoclastic party, and the progress of domestic habits, may be ascribed the rise of landscape and *genre* painting. Thus, in the Old World, painting was of national before it was of individual interest. In the New World, it was otherwise.

Unlike the monks of the Old Country, the early settlers in America were men who sought in a distant land, either the means of obtaining a subsistence for themselves and their families, or a refuge from political troubles, or from oppression in the name of religion. Each had separate interests. Surrounded by a strange people, of whose language they were ignorant, and who viewed with anger and distrust the encroachments of the emigrants on their rights, they were united by no common tie but that of mutual defence against the attacks of the native inhabitants, and the peaceable exercise of that religion for which they had forsaken their fatherland. In leaving their native country, they had severed the ties which bound them to polished society; from the time they set their foot on the American soil, self-preservation and the necessity of providing for the immediate wants of life, absorbed all their energies. Each man thought and acted for himself and his particular family. As Protestant dissenters, they regarded with horror the works of art which adorned the religious edifices of Europe; and when, secure from the attacks of the natives, they had leisure to construct a place of worship for their little colony, their rigid notions of religion forbade them to lavish on it decoration of any kind. The house of prayer was distinguished from the dwellings by which it was surrounded only by its greater size and simplicity of construction. The younger members of the community, brought up amid the wild luxuriance of nature, and at a distance from all traces of former civilization, to labour for their subsistence, were totally unacquainted with the arts; and when, at a subsequent period, the peaceful rule and good faith of the descendants of William Penn had established security for life and property in the territory settled by their great ancestor—for great he was in all that concerns his settlement in America—art made its first appearance in the civilized portion of North America; “it was born,” as Mr.

Tuckerman poetically observes, "by the cradle of a sleeping infant." The first recorded effort of art in this part of the New World, was the sketch by Benjamin West, when a child, of his infant sister asleep in her cradle.

In the Old World, art was indebted for its rise and progress to religious zeal; in the New World, it received its first impulse from the domestic affections. In the one it was patronized by states; in the other it was encouraged by individuals. In the former its advance was rapid; in the latter slow and uncertain. The only successful path open to the American painter was portraiture. This branch of art has been more or less practised by the most eminent American painters. West's sketch of his sleeping sister was, as we have before observed, his first effort in art, and that which gave rise to his adopting it as a profession. It is true that he did not afterwards practice portrait-painting to any extent, but then he received his art-education in Europe, and there he passed his life. Copley, the first American who obtained any reputation in his native country, was a portrait painter. Stuart, Trumbull, Malbone, Vanderlyn, Morse, W. E. West, Sully, Inman, and Page, began their career as portrait painters. Mr. Tuckerman observes, "The call for masterpieces in the more elevated branches of painting and sculpture, is altogether too casual to afford the means of subsistence even to the most patient industry. Recourse must be had to designing and portraiture, and only the intervals of such labour given to more exalted views." In portraiture, therefore, as might be expected, lies the chief strength of the American painters. The only one of the early painters of history, who attained eminence and opulence in his native country, was Trumbull, who identified himself with the Revolution, and painted scenes illustrative of the struggle for independence. These interested the most powerful feelings and affections of his countrymen, and gained for him not only fame but opulence. Mr. Tuckerman alludes frequently to the want of encouragement experienced by native artists in their higher efforts. With reference to Vanderlyn, he observes, "He does not seem to have been fully aware, until sad experience forced the conviction upon his mind, that the stage of civilization, the history of the Republic, and inevitable circumstances, rendered it quite impossible for the cause of art to find its true position, and the practical acknowledgment of its just claims, at the period when he urged them upon his fellow citizens. Utility, the basis of national growth, still demanded an exclusive regard; and the time

had scarcely arrived when the superstructure of the beautiful could be reared upon it." (p. 67.) If it had not been so, would West, and Copley, and Stuart, and Newton, have resided in the Old Country? Would Leslie and Theed still continue to sojourn there? We do not allude to Hiram Powers, because he has identified himself with Italian art, and has fixed his abode among the chef-d'œuvres of Rome.

But if America has been slow to acknowledge and encourage the talent of her painters, she has been equally unjust to the merits of her literary men. Taste, in the New World, both for art and literature, has until recently been almost entirely European; and, whether from the pressure of business, the force of habit and old associations, or a want of confidence in their own judgment on matters of taste, many of the artists and literati of the New Continent were without honours or reputation in their own country, until their merit had been acknowledged in that of their ancestors. "What reflecting observer," remarks Mr. Tuckerman, "doubts that the foundation of Irving's success was laid in England? No general approbation was awarded the moral essays of Channing, until his transatlantic fame awoke an echo in the minds of his countrymen. One of the greatest historical painters of the age died a few months ago in an obscure village near Boston. While abroad, his society was deemed a treasure by men of wealth and rank; at home, he was scarcely noticed save by some accomplished foreigners, who sought out his retreat to do homage to his genius. Metaphysicians in the Old World say, that Edwards' 'on the Will' is the ablest work in its department which has been produced in a century. Its merit has scarcely been recognized by American philosophers." Since this passage was written, American literature has assumed a marked and more original character; and the graphic descriptions in the world-renowned "Uncle Tom's Cabin," will doubtless furnish many subjects for the pencils of transatlantic painters.

If national and political causes have exercised such influence over the rise and progress of art in general in both worlds, no less powerful has been their operation upon artists individually. In America, the early painters were, as to their artistic tendencies, of the earth, earthy; in Italy they were ideal and devotional. The former portrayed existing characters and events—portraits or the stirring scenes of their own times. The latter received their inspiration from the deeply religious feelings with which they were

imbued, and seldom exercised their talents on profane subjects.

The Italian painter, surrounded everywhere by objects of art of almost every age, from the refined emanations of Greek genius to the barbarous productions of the dark ages, early learned to appreciate beauty of form and countenance, combined with the highest intellectual development; and these high qualities naturally engrossed his attention to the exclusion of living characters and contemporaneous events. He was familiarized with art from his infancy: among its monuments he seemed to live and move and have his being. From their devotional and public character the chefs-d'œuvre of art were accessible to all ranks. The picture or the statue which commanded the intelligent appreciation of the refined and enlightened amateur, was also the object of admiration to the uncultivated peasant. In America, on the contrary, where the real, the actual, the *immediate* predominate to the exclusion of the ideal and the imaginative—where money-getting is the most important business of life—the past has little influence; the present is all in all. In the United States there are no relics to attest the religious zeal or the former power of the people; no remains of art, pictorial or architectural, awake the sympathies and stimulate the genius of the American painter. His notions of antiquities extend only to the log-hut of the early settler, and the deserted wig-wam of the tattooed and painted Indian, whose territories his ancestors had usurped.

An education so prosaic leaves little room for the cultivation of the imagination. It is not surprising therefore that the early American painters should be more distinguished for their powers of observation and reasoning than for the imaginative faculties. This was particularly the case with regard to West,—if, indeed, West is to be reckoned among the American artists,—to Copley, Stuart, and Trumbull. These masters appear to have possessed in a considerable degree the imitative powers, as distinguished from that appreciation of the beautiful and ideal which forms so important an element in the higher walks of art. The more lofty and ennobling feeling is recognized in painting in the works of Washington Alston; in sculpture, in those of Hiram Powers and Theed.

Amid much general dissimilarity, there is however one point of resemblance between the early Italian painters and the artists of the New World, namely, the versatility of their talent. This versatility appears to be developed only

in those countries where art is progressively advancing ; we do not recognize it in the decline of art. The early Italian painters, especially those to whom art is indebted for its greatest advancement, were men who would have been great in any profession ; and although better known to history as painters, their powers as sculptors, architects, engineers, mathematicians, and authors, would have obtained for them the highest eminence and honour, even had they been unknown as painters. Had Giotto never painted a picture he would have been celebrated as the architect of the Campanile at Florence. Michael Angelo, Raphael, and many of the early painters, exercised the three professions of painter, sculptor, and architect. " But the most remarkable person of his age," says a modern writer, " was undoubtedly Leonardo da Vinci, who was at once painter, poet, musician, mathematician, engineer, and natural philosopher, and, as some say, architect and statuary also ; whose sagacity anticipated Bacon in declaring that experiment should precede theory ; who had described the camera-obscura before it was made known by Baptista Porta ; who wrote on the descent or attraction of heavy bodies to the earth before Copernicus ; whose discoveries in hydraulics preceded by a century those of Castelli ; and whose observations ' on flame and air ' were made nearly three centuries before the modern theory of combustion was promulgated." Leon Baptista Alberti, his equal in talent although less known to fame, was possessed of almost universal genius. He was a skilful architect, an accomplished painter, sculptor, poet, and musician, a mathematician, an inventor of optical instruments, an author of treatises on the fine arts, which are still held in much esteem, and a moral and dramatic writer. Lorenzo Ghiberti, who is immortalized by his chef-d'œuvre, the gates of the Baptistry at Florence, was another of these remarkable men. He was not only a sculptor, but a goldsmith, a painter in oil and on glass, and an author. Salvator Rosa was a poet, painter, and musician. We could name many others who united these three professions. The American painters, although far inferior to their gifted Italian prototypes, are many of them remarkable for possessing great versatility of talent. They are no less remarkable for the vicissitudes of their career. For Morse, the sculptor and painter, and the first president of the National Academy of Design, is claimed the honour of having invented the electric telegraph. Fulton, the celebrated engineer, began his career as a painter. He was for some years the pupil of West, and practised portrait-painting

in England. He even executed an historical subject—"Louis XVI. taking leave of his Family in the Prison of the Temple"—which has been engraved. Stuart was at one time an organist in London. Trumbull's life was one of various action. Mr. Tuckerman remarks, "From schoolmaster of a Connecticut village, he became an adjutant; from secretary of legation, circumstances transformed him to a brandy merchant; and from a treaty commissioner abroad to a portrait painter at home." His practical turn of mind is discernable even in his painting, and he was more of an engineer than a poet. Chapman, again, "is familiar with all the processes of the artisan as well as those of the artist. Now at work on a mezzotint, and now on a wood-cut; to-day casting an iron medallion, and to-morrow etching on steel; equally at home at the turning lathe and the easel, and as able to subdue plaster and bronze as oils and crayons to his use." Edmonds, an associate of the New York Academy, is cashier of the Mechanics' Bank. His paintings are the occupation of his leisure hours in the intervals of business.

This versatility of talent, possessed by so many of the most eminent artists of all countries, appears to be a proof that painting and sculpture require a comprehensive mind, and intellectual faculties of a high order. The same mental powers do not appear to be essential with regard to music. Many painters have been eminent for their skill in this delightful art; but, as far as we are at present aware, none of our musical celebrities have been distinguished for the possession of any other accomplishment, or for their knowledge of the sciences. Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Weber, Beethoven, Rossini, are known as musicians only. Leonardo da Vinci was one of the best musicians of the day; and Benvenuto Cellini was first known and celebrated for his skill in playing on the flute; but in the one, the musical talent merged in the higher endowments of the philosopher and the painter; in the other, in the sculptor and statuary. It is not easy to assign sufficient reasons for this inferiority in the musician, although the fact is undeniable. We cannot, however, be far from the truth in asserting, that the superiority of the painter and the sculptor may in part be ascribed to their earnest contemplation of nature, to the cultivation of the powers of observation and comparison, of generalization and analysis, to the study of character, and frequently of the higher branches of mathematical science.

In the mere musician, on the contrary, none of these faculties are called into operation; his art is entirely independent

of all others with the exception of poetry, which, although adapted by the musician to his compositions, is in almost all cases the production of another person. Nor would he be the worse musician if his field of observation were limited to the four walls of his own apartment, and if he were utterly ignorant of the exact sciences. We have been taxing our memory, and cannot recollect any instance in which a musician has written the words to his operas; although we can enumerate many instances from the songs of Moses and Deborah to the graceful compositions of Moore, where the poet has set his own thoughts to music.

But it is time to leave our digression and give some account of Mr. Tuckerman's book. The subject of the first essay is Benjamin West, the successor of Sir Joshua Reynolds in the Presidency of the Royal Academy. Mr. Tuckerman relates shortly the history of his early life; how he sprung from the prosaic and unimaginative sect of Quakers; and "how the spirit moved a member of the fraternity to reconcile, with no little eloquence, the alleged vanity of painting with the requirements of the gospel—a triumph over bigotry quite extraordinary, considering the condition of society where it occurred." He then describes West's visit to Italy, and the attention it excited in that country.

"At the period when West visited Rome, the mere fact was calculated to excite attention. He came from a land round which still hung the charm of tradition and romance. It was deemed by the imaginative Italians a circumstance of great interest, that a handsome youth should have made a pilgrimage from the distant forests of the Western World to study art in Rome. The very day succeeding his arrival, a curious party followed his steps to observe the impression created by the marvels he encountered, and a friendly regard sprung up in their minds for the inexperienced exile. It is now a thing of common occurrence for an American to arrive in the eternal city bent upon the same objects: then it was a novelty, and one which operated favourably upon the dawning career of West."—p. 11.

West's comparison of the Apollo to a young Mohawk warrior has been often quoted. Mr. Tuckerman's observations on this subject are just. We cannot imagine that an artist who possessed a fine susceptibility for the beautiful and intellectual in art could overlook the "thrilling expression" and transcendent beauty of the head of the god; or forget that the fine form of the Mohawk warrior was covered with the barbarous disfigurement of paint of various colours, and

was accompanied almost universally with a compressed skull, a retiring forehead, and lank black hair, arranged in such a manner as to facilitate as much as possible the national practice of scalping. The one exhibiting the highest character of mental development, the other one of the lowest grades of humanity.

We have not space to follow West through his prosperous career—prosperous to an extent seldom experienced by artists; neither can we do more than direct our reader's attention to Mr. Tuckerman's candid and impartial estimate of his character as a man and an artist.

Copley, the father of the present Lord Lyndhurst, was the only painter of real skill of whom America could boast previous to the Revolution. He had no professional advantages, and had attained the age of thirty before he saw a good painting. This may, perhaps, account for the dryness of tone and formality of his pictures; the excellence of his drawing was the result of his own persevering industry. As might be expected, Copley, while resident in America, practised portrait-painting almost exclusively. He painted all the aristocracy of New England. Copley shares with Trumbull the doubtful honours of having introduced modern costumes into their historical paintings of military subjects.

The life of Stuart, and his career as a portrait painter, offered by its vicissitudes a striking contrast with the prosperous lives of West and Copley. He was "obliged at one time to become an organist in London for bare subsistence; at another, commanding prices second only to Reynolds and Gainsborough, and overwhelmed with profitable commissions." His misfortunes were chiefly attributable to his own perversity and imprudence. Without possessing the industry, he had, with much of the talent and conversational powers of Dr. Johnson, much also of the dogmatic spirit and inveterate prejudice which characterised that moral philosopher. Mr. Tuckerman relates the following anecdote of these two eccentric characters:—

"Stuart, while a resident in London, was accidentally introduced to Dr. Johnson, who, coolly expressing his surprise that an American should be so apt in his vernacular, asked the youth where he learned such good English. 'Not in your dictionary, sir,' was the indignant reply." We regret to observe, that Stuart's portraits of the first five presidents were consumed in the recent conflagration of the Capitol at Washington.

Trumbull's life was, as we have before observed, marked

by its vicissitudes. His social advantages were great ; " his official relations, as well as his pursuit of art, brought him into intimate contact with the most distinguished of his time. In the flush of youth he was, for a brief time, aid-de-camp to Washington. Fox and his illustrious rival visited him when incarcerated in London. He disputed Jefferson's atheistical philosophy at his own table ; and held long conversations with Madame de Stael, Talleyrand, Sheridan, and other celebrities. Sir Joshua criticised and complimented him ; Governor Hancock visited his sick bed ; Lafayette confided to him the secrets of French politics ; and David rescued him from the police of Paris." (p. 38.) He inherited strong national feeling, and to great integrity of purpose he united a keen sense of honour. His genius was practical ; and he possessed little of that love for the beautiful, or that enthusiasm for art, which distinguishes more gifted painters. His pictures, which are well known by engravings, are more remarkable for the correctness of the portraits and scenes they represent, than for their artistic beauty ; yet such is the esteem in which they are still held, that the engravings from them have recently been distributed to the subscribers to the New York Art-Union. Taking into consideration the stirring times in which he lived, and the general state of the arts at that period, he realised large sums by his artistic works. His four most remarkable pictures, which were placed in the Capitol at Washington, produced thirty-two thousand dollars. Trumbull attained a great age, since Mr. Buckingham saw him at New York in 1837, and he was aid-de-camp to Washington in 1775.

The artists we have hitherto named had been remarkable only for the correctness of their portraits and for the truth with which they had represented passing events. They were all deficient in the imaginative powers. With Washington Allston opened a new phase of art in America. To an exquisite sense of the beautiful and the ideal, he united the power of expression, not only with his pencil but with his pen. The greatest of all the American painters, he is *now* regarded by his countrymen with somewhat of the admiration and affection which the Italians entertain for Raphael. Like the great Italian, Allston was beloved by his professional brethren, to whom he never refused his advice and assistance.

Next to being a painter one's self, is the pleasure of initiating others into the mysteries of art. It was this feeling which animated the blind artists Paolo Lomazzo and Gerard

Lairesse, when they dictated to the attentive youth, who hung on their accents, the lessons on art which form the subjects of the respective treatises that bear their names. It was this feeling which induced the Carracci to throw open their academy to the Bolognese artists. It was this feeling which led Allston to encourage and watch over the dawning talent of his countrymen. Morse, Flagg, Greenough, and Clevenger are deeply indebted to his precepts and judicious encouragement for their subsequent advancement in art. Allston died in the year 1843, at the age of sixty-four; and his end was so peaceful and happy, that on reading Mrs. Jameson's affecting account of it, we are ready to exclaim in the language of inspiration, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." He expired without previous illness, almost in the act of blessing a young lady, whom he had just been urging to live as near as possible to perfection, and on whose head his hand was resting when his spirit departed. So tranquilly did death overtake him, that "for many hours," says Mr. Tuckerman, "it was difficult to believe he was not sleeping, so perfectly did the usual expression of his countenance remain." He was buried by torchlight in that most beautiful of all cemeteries, Mount Auburn, near Boston.

That a man so gifted as Washington Allston should obtain the respect and veneration of his own countrymen is to be expected; but the warm eulogium of Mrs. Jameson, whose authority in all matters of art is undisputed, proves that the name of Allston may be placed among those of the greatest modern painters. So high, indeed, is the opinion formed by this lady of his abilities, that she considers him the third greatest man whom America has produced. To George Washington she assigns the first rank as a statesman; to Channing the second, as moral philosopher; and to Washington Allston the third, as an artist. Mr. Tuckerman draws the character of Allston with the glowing colours of friendship, the language of a poet, and the pride of a compatriot.

Allston is known as an author as well as a painter. His *Lectures on Art*, his poems, and the tale entitled "*Monaldi*," are all distinguished for graphic power, deep insight into nature, and graceful style. It is to be regretted that, with the exception of the brief but interesting Memoir by Mrs. Jameson, and the Sketch by Mr. Tuckerman, there is no biography of Allston. We trust it will not be long before the promised

memoirs of this great man, by his relative Mr. Dana, will be in the hands of the public.

Malbone, the friend of Allston, practised as a miniature painter, and died in 1837 at the early age of thirty-two. He was a discriminating cultivator of music and poetry.

Vanderlyn studied in Paris, where he painted the "Ariadne" and "Marius on the Ruins of Carthage;" for the latter of which he received the Napoleon gold medal. He availed himself of the existent taste for panoramas to execute one on a large scale of Versailles. In 1815 he returned to America, where he exhibited several panoramas; but in a pecuniary point of view he was unsuccessful, and the building he had erected for exhibiting his paintings was converted into a criminal court. Vanderlyn died during the last autumn upwards of seventy years of age. His portrait of President Taylor, in the last exhibition of the National Academy of Design, shows a vigour of mind and hand, which few artists have retained at his age.

Morse studied in England, where he was successively the pupil of West, of Copley, and of Allston. He was both sculptor and painter. His "Dying Hercules" obtained the prize for the model of the best single figure at the Adelphi Society of Arts. His career exhibited those vicissitudes which have so frequently been the lot of men of genius, and in him also it called forth that versatility of talent which forms so conspicuous a trait in the character of American artists. To him America owes the first projection and establishment of the electric telegraph.*

Durand, now president of the Academy of Design, began his artistic career as an engraver, occasionally practising portrait and landscape painting. He excels in trees, his drawing of which is very fine, and to which he gives great individuality. Durand is esteemed not less for the excellence of

* The invention of the electric telegraph was one of those events which naturally resulted from the advanced state of the science of electricity; and, as is usual in similar circumstances with regard to other sciences, the discovery appears to have been made nearly simultaneously by different professors in different parts of the world. The principle of the electric telegraph was known; the problem was how to apply the invention beneficially to the public service; and, without in the least detracting from the honour due to Professor Morse, it may be observed, that the experiments of Haus and Weber (published in 1834); the electric telegraph, which Professor Schilling, of St. Petersburg, left imperfect by his death; the complicated apparatus of Heinheil, of Munich; the ingenious contrivance of M. Vorsselman de Hur, of Deventer; and the invention patented in this country by Professor Wheatstone;—prove that, as the minds of competent men were directed to the subject, the establishment of the electric telegraph would not have been long delayed.

his character and the goodness of his heart, than for his artistic talents.

W. E. West "is a loyal disciple of the English school, and one of those students of painting that never travel without a copy of Sir Joshua Reynolds's Discourses." He excels chiefly in cabinet portraits. When in Italy he painted Byron and the Countess Guiccioli. Mrs. Hemans also sat to him during his visit to Rhyllon. His subject pictures are "dreamy, quiet and graceful," and he is fond of illustrating Washington Irving's Sketches. Among his most successful pieces of this kind are "the Pride of the Village" and "Annette de l'Arbre."

The most successful delineator of the peculiar kind of fragile beauty which characterizes the American ladies is Sully. He practised for some time in England, and a few years since was sent here again with a commission from the St. George's Society in Philadelphia, to paint the portrait of our Queen Victoria.

Inman's vigorous, characteristic, and masterly portraits contrast forcibly with the more delicate paintings of Sully. Among his best works are the portraits of Lord Chancellor Cottenham, Wordsworth, Macaulay, and Chalmers. He also excelled—we speak in the past, for Inman is no longer living—in cabinet pictures of the school, although not in the manner of Leslie, and his landscapes are pleasing and effective.

The most eminent of the American school of landscape painting was Cole, who appears to have possessed much of the poetry of art. The pictures of this artist which were exhibited in England were far from being his best. All travellers speak in glowing terms of the gorgeous colours of the American autumnal landscape. "When," says Mr. Tuckerman, "Cole's autumnal landscapes were first seen in England, their gorgeous hues were regarded as an extravagant Yankee invention; so unaware were foreign amateurs of the brilliant freaks of the early frost on this side of the water." His "Dream of Arcadia" has been engraved for the American Art-Union; but it is said that the engraver has not done justice to it. It has also been engraved in the Gallery of American Art presented to the subscribers to the Art-Union of New York.

Cole's allegorical pictures are among the most popular of his works, although he did not excel in the human figure. His "Morning" and "Evening" were painted for Mr. Van Ranssalaer at the price of 1000 dollars each. Of these pic-

tures Mr. Buckingham says, that he had never seen any modern picture which surpassed them in beauty of composition, harmony of parts, accuracy of drawing, and force of effect. Cole's principal work is a series of five pictures in the possession of Mr. Reed, of New York, intended to represent the Course of Empires. We regret that our limits will only permit us to mention briefly the subjects of each of these fine pictures: for a detailed account of them we refer our readers to Mr. Buckingham's "Travels in America." The first represents the savage state; the second, the pastoral; the third, the meridian glory of a great city; the fourth, the elements of decay, a storm at sea, a battle in the city; and the fifth represents the same beautiful bay and city in a state of ruin. Cole was born in England; he died in 1848 at the age of forty-seven.

Leslie, the Royal Academician, so well and favourably known for his illustrations of genteel comedy, although born and now residing in England, is claimed by the United States as one of their best artists. The claim is founded on the circumstance of Leslie having emigrated when a child with his parents, and served an apprenticeship to a bookseller at Philadelphia. A sketch of Cooke, the tragedian, taken at the theatre, made him a portrait-painter. After practising this branch of art for some time in America he returned to England. An unavoidable inference from this fact is, that Leslie found greater encouragement in England than in America; and we can scarcely acquiesce in the claim of the Americans to a painter whose talents they had not the taste to appreciate while he resided among them.

The successor of Leslie, in the office of instructor in drawing at the United States Military Academy at West Point, was Weir. He studied historical painting in Italy, and his picture of the "Embarkation of the Pilgrims" has given him celebrity in his own country.

The great characteristic of Chapman is his facility in drawing, and his knowledge of the processes of the artisan as well as those of the artist. Mr. Chapman is the author of a work, the title of which is prefixed to the head of this article, which has an extensive reputation in his native country, and which has obtained the approbation of Durand, Edmonds, and other contemporary artists, entitled the "American Drawing-book." The first two numbers of this work are now before us. Philosophical in its plan, and at the same time essentially practical, we have no hesitation in saying that, for the carefulness of the arrangement, the clearness and earnestness of the lan-

guage, and the soundness of the principles which it inculcates, it ranks among the very best works on the subject. The excellent and numerous wood-cuts illustrate the power of lines, a point on which Mr. Chapman particularly insists. We know of no other elementary work besides Harding's in which the pupils are actually instructed *how* to draw. The moderate price (50 cents) places it within the reach of all ranks. Chapman is much employed in illustrating books.

Edmonds, an associate of the New York Academy is known by his *genre* paintings, which have generally a dash of humour, and which are universally admired. Among his most successful works are illustrations of Smollett, "the Comforts of Old Age," "the Penny Paper," "the Bashful Cousin," "Boy stealing Milk," "the Beggar's Petition," "the New Scholar," and "Facing the Enemy," a capital illustration of the temperance reform. "The New Scholar" is engraved in the "Gallery of American Art," and "Sparking," *Anglicé* Court-ing, for the Art-Union of New York.

Freeman's chief excellence lies in expression. The picture by which he is best known is "The Beggars," which Mr. Tuckerman says was the gem of the exhibition in which it appeared. A portrait of an Indian girl of rare beauty, painted before he went to Italy, established his reputation.

Leutze was born in Germany, and emigrated when young with his parents. He was educated in Philadelphia. His first step in art was as usual in portrait-painting. He visited Holland and the Netherlands, where he met with a warm reception, and studied the art with a degree of success which atoned for his disappointments in the land of his adoption. His paintings are reputed to be highly finished, and carefully studied in the accessories; and many of them unite good drawing and colouring with originality of treatment. His picture of the "First Meeting of Henry the Eighth with Anna Boleyn" has been much praised. His "Columbus before the Council of Salamanca" was purchased by the Art-Union of Dusseldorf; and his "Landing of the Northmen," was one of the most attractive pictures of the exhibition at the American National Academy in 1836. The picture which established his reputation in the United States was "Columbus in Chains." It was first exhibited in Brussels, when it received from the King of the Belgians the medal *à Vermeil*, as a "recompense nationale." It has been engraved for the American Art-Union. No less excellent and characteristic are his "Interview of John Knox with Mary Queen of Scots" and "Columbus before the Queen." His picture of "Sir Walter Raleigh

parting with his Wife" has been engraved for the Art-Union of New York.

Huntington's early pictures were of a humorous class, such as "a Toper asleep," "a Bar-room Politician," "Ichabod Crane flogging a Scholar." His later pictures have a religious tendency, such as "the Dream of Mercy," "Christiana and her Children escaping from the Valley of the Shadow of Death," both engraved for the Philadelphia Art-Union; "a Sybil," engraved for the New York Art-Union, "Early Christian Prisoners," "the Woman of Samaria at the Well," "the Communion of the Sick." With regard to the last, it has been said, that its effect on the devout mind is scarcely inferior to that produced by the celebrated "Communion of St. Jerome." Mr. Tuckerman appears to be partial to Huntington's paintings; but we must observe that there is a difference of opinion respecting the merits of this artist. His style is by some persons considered as showy and commonplace, his colouring meretricious, and his drawing often incorrect. His pictures, however, meet a ready sale; and it is said that he has more orders than he can execute. That his works are esteemed in America is proved by the commission he received to paint the portrait of Sir Charles Eastlake, the president of our Royal Academy. Of the merits of this picture we are unable to give an opinion on our own responsibility. Report speaks less favourably of it than we could have wished for the sake of both parties.

The scenery of the far West, and the wild sports and habits of the hunter and the Indian have afforded subjects for the pencil of Deas. Like Salvator Rosa, he infuses into his pictures that air of wildness and daring action, which ought ever to characterize paintings of this class, and which brings vividly before the spectator the scenes of border and forest life. In the sketch of this artist and his works, Mr. Tuckerman expresses his surprise that a field so peculiar to his country should not have been more ardently explored by native artists and authors. "There is nothing," he observes, "in the life of our cities which may be deemed original. Their comparative youth renders them far less suggestive than those of Europe, where a greater variety of elements, and a more intense social being, create ever new sources of inspiration. We are educated under the same influences as our English progenitors. Their poets and philosophers are ours also, and have their prototypes among us. In fact, the general culture is the same; and it is in our border life alone that we can find the materials for national develop-

ment, as far as literature and art are concerned. Yet, the greater part of what has been done in America in the way of writing and painting echoes the past, instead of representing a new present, or foreshadowing a great future. We are not advocating originality as alone desirable; on the contrary, a good poem in the style of Pope, a fine essay in the diction of Addison, or a portrait after the manner of Sir Joshua, for us have each their intrinsic merit, wherever produced. We can see no reason to complain of our artists or writers, if the scenes or the sentiments they illustrate have no peculiar 'native American' zest, provided they are in themselves noble and lovely. There is, indeed, no little cant prevailing on this subject; and it is absurd to expect from a mind educated in one of our northern cities any other than a Saxon development. Greater freedom of thought, a bolder reach of speculation should, indeed, distinguish men of talent in a republic; and there are a few local traits of climate and scenery which our poets should chronicle; but as a general rule, our tastes are formed on the same model as those of England, and our mental characteristics are identical with the race whence we sprung. It is with reference to the frequent complaints of the want of transatlantic appreciation, that we allude to this question. It is unreasonable to expect that any great interest will be excited abroad in the fruits either of the pen or pencil here, except so far as the subjects are novel, or the execution superlatively good. Tales of frontier and Indian life—philosophic views of our institutions—the adventures of the hunter and the emigrant—correct pictures of what is truly remarkable in our scenery, awaken instant attention in Europe. If our artists or authors, therefore, wish to earn trophies abroad, let them seize upon themes essentially American."—pp. 203, 204.

There is much truth in these remarks, but we think that it must require no inconsiderable skill and experience to impart general interest to pictures, the heroes of which are painted and tattooed Indians. The talent of Fenimore Cooper has invested the "Last of the Mohicans" with a halo of romance that rivets our attention to the noble bearing and character of the young Indian chief; while it casts into shadow those national peculiarities which stamp the tribe to which he belongs as inferior to the white races, The Outalissi of Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming" is another beau ideal of an American Indian, which we fear has no prototype in nature.

The horrors which have too frequently disgraced the intercourse of the two races should never form the subject of paintings. The taste for crucifixions, martyrdoms, and similar atrocities, is happily extinct in the Old Country. We hoped it was so in America; but a coloured lithograph, which we observed on the walls of the American department of the Great Exhibition, representing in all the vividness of colour, and with a circumstantiality that still makes us shudder, a native Indian scalping a prisoner, induces us to fear that such things are still tolerated in American art.

Flagg is the nephew and pupil of Washington Allston. His pictures of familiar subjects are treated with great simplicity and sentiment. Of this kind are "The Match Girl" and "The Mouse Boy." His "Jacob and Rachael at the Well" evinced so much merit that Allston said to him, "Now you may consider yourself an artist." A full length of a boy, exhibited at New York, caused him to be elected an honorary member of the National Academy.

G. L. Browne, whose successful copies of Claude obtained for him the appellation of "Claude Browne," made his *début* in art as a wood engraver. His next step was the illustration of books. Like many other American artists, the early part of his career was chequered with trials and disappointments; but his reputation is now established, and his pictures are readily purchased by his countrymen and the travelling English, who visit Florence where he is settled. With the sketch of Browne, Mr. Tuckerman closes his work.

We collect from these essays, that the artists whose names we have mentioned have, with the single exception of Deas, studied in Europe; and that the greater part commenced their career in art by practising portraiture as the most lucrative branch of the profession. We also observe that from the want of sufficient encouragement in their own country, many of the best painters have been induced to settle in Europe, and that none but artists of established reputation can expect to succeed in the larger cities of the Union.

With regard to the younger members of the profession, it too frequently occurs that one successful path only is open to them, namely the practice of portraiture in the smaller cities and the southern states. Malboneset up his easel at Charleston, in South Carolina; Durand and Leutze in Virginia; Sully began his career in the South; W. G. West was also obliged to practise in the South. Morse travelled through New England and painted portraits at fifteen dollars each, and finally settled at Charleston. It was only after a successful career

in the remote states that they ventured to establish themselves in the large cities.

To the more remote provinces still resort the youthful aspirants for distinction in art, as well as those desirous of reaping the more solid advantages incident to the profession. The number of inferior painters in America is said, by a recent traveller, to be absolutely astonishing; they seem to spring up everywhere like mushrooms. It frequently happens that an artist "unknown to fame" arrives in a provincial town by the canal or railway, places a specimen of his artistical powers in the window of some store, and paints all the portraits he can get at three dollars a head. When business falls off in this line he removes to another town, where he sets up his easel and invites sitters; or by way of variety, and perhaps just to bring in his hand to subject pictures, he paints the panels of the saloons of those magnificent steamers which navigate the Hudson, the Mississippi, and the lakes, or the scenery of a provincial theatre. Now and then also these itinerant artists paint signboards,—for signboards are still in great request in some of the more remote parts of the Union. Nor is this proceeding without a precedent in the Old Country: Opie and Moreland resorted to it, and, if tradition tells true, some of the great Italian painters also occasionally discharged their score at an inn by painting a signboard for the host. A curious narrative could these wandering painters give, if they would, of their travels and adventures, their hopes and their fears, their disappointments and success; now cheered by the smiles of youth and beauty, now chilled by neglect and penury. A characteristic anecdote replete with national humour, relative to one of these provincial painters, has reached us from a private source; we present it to our readers as an illustration of Yankee "cuteness."

A person who kept an inn by the road side went to a painter who, for a time, had set up his easel in a town not a hundred miles from lake Ontario, and enquired for what sum the painter would paint him a bear for a signboard. It was to be "a real good one," that would attract customers.

"Fifteen dollars," replied the painter.

"That's too much," said the innkeeper; "Tom Larkins will do it for ten."

The painter cogitated for a moment. He did not like that his rival should get a commission in preference to himself, although it was only for a signboard. "Is it to be a wild bear or a tame one?" he enquired.

"A wild one, to be sure."

"With a chain, or without one?" again asked the painter.

"Without a chain."

"Well, I'll paint you a wild bear without a chain for ten dollars."

The bargain was struck; the painter set to work, and in due time sent home the signboard, on which he had represented a huge brown bear of most ferocious aspect. The signboard was the admiration of all the neighbourhood, and drew plenty of customers to the inn; and the innkeeper knew not whether to congratulate himself most upon the possession of so attractive a sign, or on having secured it for the small price of ten dollars. Time slipped on, his barrels were emptied, and his pockets filled. Everything went on thrivingly for about three weeks, when, one night, there arose one of those sudden and violent storms of rain and wind, thunder and lightning, which are so common in North America, and which pass over with almost as much rapidity as they arise. When the innkeeper awoke the next morning the sun was shining, the birds singing, all traces of the storm had passed away. He looked up anxiously to ascertain that the sign was safe. There it was sure enough, swinging to and fro as usual, but the bear had disappeared. The innkeeper could scarcely believe his eyes; full of anger and surprise, he ran to the painter, and related what had happened. The painter looked up coolly from his work,

"Was it a wild bear or a tame one?"

"A wild bear."

"Was it chained or not?"

"I guess not."

"Then," cried the painter triumphantly, "how could you expect a wild bear to remain in such a storm as that of last night without a chain?"

The innkeeper had nothing to say against so conclusive an argument, and finally agreed to give the painter fifteen dollars to paint him a wild bear with a chain, that would not take to the woods in the next storm. For the benefit of our unprofessional readers, it may be necessary to mention that the roguish painter had painted the first bear in water colours, which had been washed away by the rain; the second bear was painted in oil colours, and was therefore able to withstand the weather.

Some few years have now elapsed since Mr. Tuckerman's book was published; in the mean time the progress of art in America has been rapid and satisfactory.

A great impulse was given by the establishment of Art-Unions, of which America claims to be "the mother-country." The first Art-Union was established at New York in 1839: since that period similar societies have been formed at Cincinnati and other states. Recently, however, Art-Unions have been declared illegal,—we think justly—and this source of profit to American artists is at an end. We trust, however, that art will not languish in consequence of this check. Now that the real spirit is quickened into life, we cannot but hope that it will continually advance in its progress towards perfection.

In the slight sketch we have endeavoured to give of the progress of painting in America, we have, with the exception of Fulton, limited our remarks to the painters mentioned by Mr. Tuckerman. There are, however, other painters of whom America may justly be proud, but respecting whom we have at present little information. We hope that William Page, Elliott, Healy, Grey, Mount, Magh, Hicks, Woodville, and Cropsey, will form the subjects of another series of essays by Mr. Tuckerman.

ART. II. *A General Historico-critical Introduction to the Old Testament.* By H. A. CH. HÄVERNICK, late Teacher of Theology in the University of Königsberg. Translated from the German. By W. L. ALEXANDER, D.D. Edinburgh: Clarke.

IN the present day, when the foundations of belief are examined, often rudely and irreverently, and when the Bible is subjected to the like inquisitive scrutiny as any other ancient book would be, it becomes us not to rest satisfied with merely our fathers' methods of defence, but to meet the assailants of Revelation on their own ground; and demonstrate (as we are well able to do) the soundness of our creed, by showing the stability of our first principles.

Instead of cavilling about details, our part is to prove our true and reasonable position. Instead of occupying our time, and wasting our resources, with often far-fetched explanations of special difficulties, we ought to be made to understand why we accept the book itself as a Divine book, full of truth and value; and why these special difficulties, though they be magnified a hundred fold, would weigh as nothing against the persuasion that the entire volume con-

tains the message of God to men. Our great task is to know what we mean by saying that the Bible is inspired; and why we receive its lessons in a totally different way to that in which we hearken to the instructions of other teachers.

This method, moreover, of investigating general principles, rather than particular circumstances, has, very manifestly, produced beneficial results in our appreciation, at any rate, of the Old Testament. It is not a hundred years ago, since this portion of the sacred volume was regarded, even by some Christians, as the least defensible part of our faith. Infidels actually revelled in what they were pleased to call the follies and inconsistencies of the old Jewish record; and declared that it was a document worthy only of that ignorant and bigotted race who maintained "*adversus alios omnes hostile odium.*" The keen satire of Voltaire, the ponderous invective of Gibbon, and the coarse profanity of Paine, were directed against the book which professed to contain an account of God's dealings with a privileged nation. Apologists of all kinds rose up to defend Christianity from these assaults. But they were themselves too much imbued with the quasi-philosophical spirit of their age, and too insufficiently acquainted with the real points at issue between Jew and Gentile, to appreciate the grandeur of the ancient theocracy, or the nature of the difficulties which it presented to an occidental mind; and were almost ready to give up the Jewish scriptures, in the hope of saving the Christian.

We are in the middle of a different state of things. All Christian theologians, do not indeed feel quite the same confidence in the Old as in the New Testament; but they are occupied in a sedulous investigation of its nature; and there can be little doubt, that when the criticism of the Hebrew scriptures shall have reached the maturity already attained by that of the Greek, and especially when the subject of Theopneustics is better understood, we shall find not only that the Jewish Bible is as authoritative as the additions made to it by the apostles, but that the Christian religion itself cannot be thoroughly apprehended until it be more consistently joined to the previous revelations of Jehovah to Israel.

In endeavouring to throw light upon the subject of inspiration, we must not forget that the entire series of Divine messages contained in the Bible is addressed to men, having lost some privileges which their race was intended to possess; and the aim of the book is to win them back and restore them to their previous faultless condition. Almost the very first in-

formation, conveyed in the Bible is, that man once occupied a position of happiness and honour, from whence he was degraded, but in which it was promised he should one day be reinstated. We are not able, with any accuracy, to determine all the glories which Adam forfeited when he transgressed, on account of the very brief narrative of the earlier events. But enough is told us concerning one immediate penalty, to supply us with a basis for establishing a correct view of the condition under which God was to speak to man during his state of exile and sin. It is said that, in Paradise, the Lord (Jehovah) brought the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air to Adam, to see what he would call them; and that when the woman was made, the Lord brought her unto the man. This supposes a degree of familiar intercourse between Jehovah and Adam that must have caused a large part of Adam's happiness. And afterwards, when the guilty pair hid themselves from the Lord, it is manifestly implied that they were doing what they would not have done before the Fall. No doubt the taint of sin—the sense of guilt—the confusion in the moral powers of man—rendered the vision of the glorious Jehovah absolutely intolerable; and as man wished to hide from the presence of the Lord, it may have been a gracious kindness to veil that presence from him, and to cover his eyes until the discipline of mortal life should restore him to the former condition of God's own privileged child.

We gather, in the subsequent history, some few intimations of the dread which man entertained of *seeing* God: as when Jacob recorded his thanks that he had seen him, and yet that his life was preserved (Gen. xxxii. 30); and Manoah said to his wife, "We shall surely die because we have seen God" (Judges xiii. 22): or when Isaiah exclaimed, "Woe is me, for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips; and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the king, the Lord of hosts" (Isaiah vi. 5).

After the Fall, therefore, when man was no longer holy, and while he had to wait until the time of restitution came, the vision of God was taken from him; not wholly as a penalty, but partly in mercy, because he could not support such glory, and partly that he might be induced, by the feeling of his deficiency, to strive after that purity and sinlessness, which he must acquire before he could again hold intimate communion with the Lord. The great fault which men are always liable to commit, and which lies at the root

of every false or imperfect religion, is to suppose that this presence can be restored immediately: and it would seem as if Eve, banished from the visible Jehovah, and yet expecting her seed one day to bring the human race back, exclaimed, when her first child was born, "I have gotten a man, the Lord;"* supposing this was the promised reappearance of Jehovah. The above passage from Isaiah, and others that might be adduced, point to the truth that *unholy* men could not, or should not, witness the glories of the manifested God; and the Saviour, when at length he did come, pronounced the peculiar blessing of the pure in heart to be, that they should *see* God (Matt. v. 8). One of his servants echoed this truth, when he exhorted men to follow *holiness*, without which no man should *see* the Lord (Heb. xii. 14). And another, encouraging us to *purify* ourselves, does so on the ground that if we do we shall *see* him as he is (1 John iii. 2, 3).

As, however, it was necessary, for the preservation of the promise, that Jehovah should, from time to time, manifest himself to men, in order to convey to them the expression of his will, he took occasionally certain individuals under peculiar circumstances, and partly unveiled their eyes that they could *see* around them, not only the angelic hosts, but Jehovah himself, the Lord of those hosts. For, from several intimations in the Bible, it appears that these super-human beings have not been so much removed from man, as that man's eyes have become dim and darkened so as not to perceive them. It is a fearful, though a cheering, consideration, that at any moment the Divine Logos or some of his angels, may be close to us, preserving and guarding us.

It is moreover evident that, when this dimness was made brilliant, when the people that walked in darkness saw great light, the unveiling or apocalypse was in different degrees to different men; and that while some saw only comparatively humble angels, others witnessed the brighter visions of the heavenly hierarchy; and some were permitted to behold the king, the Lord of hosts, in his dazzling glory. We may even trace particular periods of history, or special conditions of favoured races or of individuals, where this vision became very *open*, and most like that which Adam had enjoyed in Paradise.

* Gen. iv. 1. As the passage may be translated. The word **לֵךְ** being much more frequently the mark of the definite accusative than (as in our version) the preposition *from*.

But man did not, and could not, converse familiarly with the Lord, as he had done in the time of *purity*. He was only allowed, as *an exception* to his actually natural state, to catch glimpses of the glory he had forfeited. And even when Abraham and his family were appointed as eminently the recipients of the divine communications, and the organs for declaring them to the world, yet the degree of vision in the pre-mosaic times would seem to have been far fainter than during the existence of the law.

The father of the faithful held intercourse chiefly with angels of human and terrestrial form, to whom he could offer the hospitality of his tent during the noon-day heat ; although one of these guests was none other than Jehovah, who revealed himself to the patriarch. At the renewal of the covenant with him, indeed, (Gen. xv.) he had a more awful sense of the Divine presence than at other times ; but, in general, he was unaccustomed to any exceedingly splendid appearances. So likewise Jacob, when he wrestled with the mysterious stranger at the brook Jabbok, did not at first recognize even the super-human quality of his adversary, still less that it was the Lord ; while, by his expression of thankfulness that he lived after seeing God's face, he referred to this circumstance as something unusual. There can, of course, be no doubt that the patriarchs received real communications from the Lord of hosts ; but the *splendour* of these hosts, and of their Lord, was not opened to them ; although Jacob was allowed to see, *in a dream*, what was in store for his posterity ;—the angels ascending and descending between heaven and earth, and Jehovah standing above them—which vision, in the Redeemer's time, was still reserved as something that should hereafter be witnessed by his disciples (John i. 51).

After the Mosaic covenant was introduced, the veil was still further withdrawn, and the glory of the Lord made more palpable. It was the Shekinah, or flame of God, the same brightness of his presence, which once was shown to Abraham, (Gen. xv. 17), that was manifested to Moses on Mount Horeb, as he kept the flocks of Jethro, and guided the entire camp of Israel through the wilderness. On more than one occasion, the Lord spoke to Moses face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend ; and at one grand season of the lawgiver's life, a very extraordinary display of the Divine glory passed before him ; and a degree of vision was vouchsafed to him, such as scarcely ever else fell to the lot of mortal man (Exod. xxxiii. 14—23).

But even now, Moses, the specially privileged man of

God, could only witness a portion of that glory. The Lord's face was not visible by any living man. So he covered his servant with his hand, while his glory passed by; and only his back parts were seen. Even such an imperfect vision as this was only an exceptional permission; that the occasional *seeing* of what was around men might render the more oppressive their ordinary deprivation and blindness, and raise their hopes to the future time of *unveiling*, when they should see no longer *darkly*, but *face to face*. Just as the removal of Enoch and Elijah, without experience of corruption, showed, in the more glaring light, the lamentable accident of death, which was fastened upon all other men.

In the history of Balaam, in the book of Numbers, we have a memorable instance of this vision being granted to a man, evidently not a good man. When Balak's messengers came to him, he could not give them any direct answer, until God had appeared to him, and told him what he was to say (xxii. 8—12). When he went with the men, and the Lord's angel would have hindered him, his eyes were *opened** to see the heavenly being; and he fell flat on his face in acknowledgment of the reality of the vision. To this event, as constituting the authority by which he spake, he made reiterated allusion. "The man whose eyes are opened hath said. He hath said, who having heard the words of God, saw the vision of the Almighty; falling down,† and having his eyes unveiled." (Numb. xxiv. 3, 4, and 16.)

Visions were granted to Joshua (v. 15), and afterwards to Gideon (Judges vi. 12), and to Manoah (Judges xiii.), and, doubtless, to others; though, it is evident, with different degrees of splendour, or with the eyes differently unveiled. But between the times of Moses and Samuel, and especially towards the close of the age of the Judges, the vision was infrequent, and partially obscured. In the days of Eli we are told, that the word of the Lord was precious, and there was no open (or rather common) vision (1 Sam. iii. 1). Samuel's office was to restore the communication between Jehovah and the people, by being himself a *seer*, as he is pre-eminently called; or one to whom the Lord unveiled

* The word נִפְתָּח (Num. xxii. 31) is not so much *opened* as *rolled away* (scil. the *veil*), being perhaps the same word as is used at Josh. v. 9 for *rolling away the reproach*. The proper Greek translation is ἀποκαλύπτω, as in the Septuagint, whence comes ἀποκαλύψις or *Revelation*.

† The Hebrew word here means especially *falling prostrate*: it is the same as occurs at Josh. v. 14; Gen. xvii. 3; Num. xvi. 22. There seems no reason why our version, in imitation of the Septuagint, should insert *in a trance*.

himself by the word of the Lord (1 Sam. iii. 21.) He began that series of revelations, which was never, for any length of time, discontinued till Malachi—and is therefore made the first of the prophets (Acts iii. 24)—and the revelation was made by the appearing of *The Word*.

And this expression, Word of the Lord, suggests the corresponding Greek *Logos*, which we know meant the second person of the Trinity; and was called the Word, because he appeared for the purpose of giving the Lord's word to the *seer*.

In Samuel's days we first meet with the title of *Seer*, as applied to the men who received these visions. Although it is frequently before said that men *saw*, yet now, for the first time, men were *appointed to see*, as a well-established privilege which they enjoyed. It is very manifest that the thing was the same, and the only difference lay in its being periodically repeated; for the word *Seer* in Hebrew (רֹאֶה) or sometimes חֹזֶה) is in reality an active participle, and means *one seeing*. So that the assertion that a man was a *seer** amounted to the same thing as to assert that *he saw*; except indeed that there was implied a professional avocation in the one case, and only an occasional action in the other.

In the history of Israel after this time we never find an epoch entirely destitute of professional *seers*. King David, for example, had in attendance upon him those, like Gad the *seer*, through whom the word of the Lord came to the king. The undoubted and especial privilege of these men was (as their name imports) the *seeing* and conversing with Jehovah, or the Word of Jehovah, or the Angel of Jehovah; and, according to the degree in which the *seer's* eyes were unveiled, did he see more or less of the accompanying glories.

But there was another term applied to the favoured men of old that we must here consider; because, in the later days of Israel's polity, it absorbed in itself the title of *seer*. The *prophet* was very often, if not almost always, the same individual as the *seer*; but *prophecy* was by no means the same as *seeing*. The word prophet, both in Hebrew (נָבִיא), and in Greek (προφήτης), mean a *forth-speaker* or *utterer*; so that while the *seer's* office was to receive the word from the Lord, the prophet declared it to the people. In most cases the *seer* was a prophet also; but sometimes the prophet delivered only what the seer told him. The first time where the word occurs is in Gen. xx. 7; and is there given to

* The translation of *seer* in the Septuagint is usually βλέπων or ὁρῶν.

Abraham, because the Gentiles knew him as *bringing* Divine messages, and therefore a prophet. The true meaning of the term will appear in a very clear light if Exod. vii. 1, 2 be referred to, where Aaron was appointed to be the *prophet* of his brother, and to *speak* to Pharaoh what the Lord commanded Moses.

We have said that, up to the time of Samuel, while many men occasionally *saw* Jehovah, or at any rate some accredited celestial agent, it was not till after that age that the office of *seer* became a continuous profession; or, in the language of scripture, that there was common vision (1 Sam. iii. 1); and, as this name is never applied to any one before Samuel, it is very remarkable how often it occurs in the narrative of the earlier kings from David downwards; while after Elijah and Elisha it is found only now and then: and the reason for this is obvious. This period (viz. from Samuel to Elijah) was not distinguished by any continued or connected series of revelations, recorded for the instruction of the people; but from time to time the Lord appeared to the seer, and gave him some *special* message, adapted to the peculiar or accidental circumstances of the day; as Gad, the seer of David, brought word of the Lord's anger on account of the numbering of the people; or as Hanani the seer rebuked Asa for his alliance with the king of Syria (2 Chron. xvi. 7). It is true, that while delivering these messages, the seers were acting as prophets, and are therefore often called so; but they had not a continued office of prophecy, and so were most frequently designated by the name of seer.

But Elijah introduced a new state of things. He, like Moses and Samuel, was at the head of a system which he himself was the means of establishing. He not only was renowned for his special intercourse with Jehovah—particularly on that solemn occasion when he met the Lord on Horeb, after his flight from Jezebel—but for his beginning a school of men who carried on his work. In his time we first of all hear of sons of the prophets (1 Kings xx. 35); i. e., according to the usual very probable interpretation, disciples of the prophets. It is certain that men could not be educated for *vision*, or for any extraordinary inspiration; and we therefore never read of the sons of the seers: but it was quite reasonable to train men to be religious teachers, or carriers of the seer's revelations; as Elisha sent one of these to carry the Lord's message to Jehu (2 Kings ix. 1).

The chief of these disciples of Elijah was Elisha, who was taught by his master to be a prophet, and was anointed to

succeed him in that capacity. But when Elijah was about to be removed, and Elisha prayed that a double portion of his spirit might rest upon him, he could not receive assurance of so entirely succeeding to his teacher's power, unless the Lord made him a *seer*; unless he could *see* the assumption of Elijah: and he did see this along with the fiery chariots and horses. His exclamation at the sight was caused by his joy at having his eyes thus unveiled to behold the surrounding glories of the angelic hosts.

From these two came the sons of the prophets (2 Kings, ii. 3, 5; v. 22; vi. 1, &c.); and no doubt those writers also, beginning with Hosea, and Amos, and Jonah, who are emphatically called *prophets*—because, although most of them were *seers* also, the office of prophet now became more continuous and professional. We can therefore understand the meaning of 1 Sam. ix. 9, “He that is now called a prophet was before-time called a seer.” Not that, properly speaking, a different name was applied to the same function; but that, when these words were written, the name of prophet was given to the sacred minister because he was trained up to prophecy (i. e. deliverance of Divine messages), and exercised the profession of prophet; whereas, in the days of Samuel, as there was no such a profession, the man was distinguished by his more remarkable function,—that, namely, of vision.*

Let us therefore remember that, although the *title* of prophet generally took the place of that of seer, as descriptive of the entire office, after Elijah; yet, that all the great prophets—all those who did not depend upon some other man—were in fact *seers*, and are in truth called so whenever we are told that they *saw*: and this information is almost invariably given whenever some great declaration of the prophet occurs. Thus, in a very remarkable manner, when Ahab had listened to the assurances of those who urged him to go to the battle of Ramoth-Gilead, he knew well enough that, prophets as they were, they had no authority for what they promised. And when Micaiah arrived, the king was not satisfied by his repetition of the same good prophecy. He adjured him to speak in the name of the Lord; and Micaiah then declared that his eyes had been opened to see all Israel scattered without a shepherd; and not only this, but that he had *seen* the angelic hosts in deliberation on the affairs of Ahab, and the Lord saying to the evil spirit that he would, through the

* It will be found that, in subsequent times, the word *seer* was introduced when the two formations of *vision* and *prophecy* required to be mentioned distinctively, as at Isaiah xxix. 10, and xxx. 10.

mouth of the lying prophets, lure the king to his destruction (1 Kings xxii).

These accounts show that the *seer*, that is, the prophet who *saw*, had an especial privilege of having his eyes opened or unveiled, and that some obstacle was removed, which prevents other men seeing what is going on around them. As Elisha's servant, on the prayer of his master, had his eyes opened by the Lord, and he saw, as Elisha before had seen, the mountain full of horses and fiery chariots (2 Kings vi. 17). This vision was of the most important kind, when Jehovah himself was seen by the seer, and gave him the message, which he, as a prophet, was to carry to others.

Now almost all the written prophecies begin with recording that the writer had received *vision*, as though for the purpose of producing the credentials, upon the strength of which the prophet claimed attention to his words. Thus—

Isaiah i. 1. "The vision which Isaiah saw."

Ezekiel i. 1. "I saw visions of God."

Amos i. 1. "The words of Amos, which he saw."

Obadiah 1. "The vision of Obadiah."

Micah i. 1. "The word of the Lord, which came to Micah, which he saw."

Nahum i. 1. "The book of the vision of Nahum."

Habak. i. 1. "The burden which Habakkuk the prophet did see."

Zech. i. 8. "I saw by night."

Here are definite statements that these prophets were seers, and claimed authority on that account; while they were not *entitled* seers for the reasons before mentioned. The language of all the prophets scarcely ever varies in this respect. They prophesied because they saw; and in the instances where the word vision does not actually occur, we have no difficulty in recognizing the expression, "The word of the Lord *came* to the prophet," as indicative of the same thing; viz., the appearance of the Logos, and the commission given by Him to speak the words.

We have strong reason for believing that the grand description given of the call and mission of Isaiah (in his 6th chapter) would represent very nearly the circumstances attending the call of the other prophets. Isaiah saw in the temple a vision of awful grandeur. The King, the Lord of Hosts, of whose glory the earth is full, appeared on his high throne, attended by the worshipping seraphim. Thoroughly affected with terror at the unusual splendour, the prophet cried out that he was undone; and in order to remove the inability

which a man of unclean lips had for such a vision (see p. 314), a seraph touched his lips with a live coal, and told him this inability was cured. Having thus received the *vision*, he then was entrusted with the commission, "Go, and tell this people."

Now, we have before alluded to the circumstance, that the capability of looking into a portion of the glories around—the function of *seeing*—constituted the authority for announcing the revelation; so that the words then uttered by the prophet who brought the message were, in fact, the words of the Lord. We have already said, that all the great prophets, Balaam, and Micaiah, and Isaiah, and the rest, claimed reverential attention to what they declared, because they had *seen* the Lord. And in all cases where the seer had been admitted to behold the glory of Jehovah, and receive from him the communication of his will;—whether he delivered the message himself, and was thus his own prophet; or whether he sent it by a prophet, as Elisha did to Jehu, or dictated it to a scribe, as Jeremiah did to Baruch;—there was no doubt of the genuineness of the revelation. And it is evident that no man, and no church, can speak with the same authority, unless they can show that they are carrying a message which the visible Jehovah has delivered to an accredited seer.

Let us, then, be sure that this vision was something real; let us not adopt those vague notions in use among so many, that inspiration meant anything or nothing, or that the prophet *thought* he had a message; but let us understand the expressions in their natural sense, that Jehovah, or the Word of the Lord (the Logos), did actually, in visible shape, appear to the *seer*, and commission him to go and say such and such things.

We ought not to believe (as so many are apt to do) that the prophecy was something seen in a trance or dream; for part of the burden was actual history. But the true explanation is, that the vision made the man an authorized messenger, and he spoke or wrote what the Lord told him.

These principles are very manifestly to be found in action in the New Testament times; for then the Lord himself, the Logos, did actually appear to men, and offer to reinstate them in Adam's original condition. But as the sinfulness which caused the removal of Jehovah's bright presence was still existing in the human race; and therefore, as the full glory of that presence could not yet be restored, this appearance was a humble one; such that only the eye of faith, or the perception of a mature child of God could understand. And so, while we may be satisfied that a holy creature would have seen in Jesus the rich effulgence of the Shekinah, it followed

incontestably, that the almost universal inability to see anything in him but the form of a Galilean peasant, or at best that of a popular teacher, proved the depravity which required atonement and remedy. And God's offer was, that we should wait until the discipline of life and Divine grace should have sanctified men, and then they could see what as yet eye had not seen. By way, moreover, of signalling this depravity, since man cannot regain what he has lost until he is sensible of it; it was permitted that Jehovah should be rejected; because he would not open human eyes to see the glories for which they were not yet fitted. Men refused to listen to the voice of the Lord, unless it came accompanied by *the sign from Heaven*. They could not understand that great truth, that only the pure in heart shall see God perfectly; and that human sinfulness will ever, of sheer necessity, prevent the vision of Divine things.

But, while open vision was still to be scarce, and only exceptional, yet the Lord did now, as before, occasionally make men *seers*, or give them the power of beholding a part of the splendour naturally inherent in him, and which their general dullness hindered them from perceiving. Some of his friends were admitted to take part in a vision. The narrative of the Transfiguration shows to us most notably the nature of the seer's office. When on the top of a high mountain, removed from vulgar observation, the three disciples, Peter, James and John, saw a great change pass over their Master. He was transfigured before them, and his face shone as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light. Their eyes were for a short time unveiled, that they could witness the otherwise shrouded glory of Jehovah, and along with him they saw his two attendants and witnesses—the great prophets Moses and Elijah accompanying him as the seraphim had done, when a similar vision was granted to Isaiah in the temple. There can be no doubt that this privilege of *seeing* conferred a rank upon these three not at that time attained by the other disciples; who, although truly commissioned by him to be his *prophets*, and for that reason called apostles, were not *seers*, inasmuch as they had seen nothing but what others, and even infidel Jews, might also have witnessed.

But after the resurrection an important difference is to be noticed. Jesus, the glorified Lord, no longer showed himself to his enemies at all. His friends alone beheld him, and so that his form and features were not now those of an ordinary man. He was sometimes unknown by them: his appear-

ance was occasionally strange and overawing; he came and went mysteriously; and he visited his servants with the same design as formerly he visited the Old Testament seers; viz. to send them forth with his authority to speak to the people.

Even after the ascension, when special prophets were needed; when men were required who should lead or teach in some new phase of the gospel; he showed himself, and made those men seers by the display of his glory. During the last moments of life the martyr Stephen saw him standing in the glory of God, and the vision was to him a recompense for his faithful testimony. And when Saul of Tarsus was to be commissioned as one of the highest authority, it was not sufficient that he should receive the testimony of those who were apostles before him; he must *see* the Lord himself. On the road to Damascus, while intent on the persecution of the saints, a brilliant light shone upon him, and he fell to the ground, afraid to look up, as Balaam and Joshua had done, while he received his commission. Afterwards, in the temple, the Lord Jesus again appeared, and renewed the charge to him (Acts xxii. 17, 18); and, according to his own gracious promise, he must have repeated these visions (Acts xxvi. 16). When his right to apostleship, the highest rank in the church, was challenged, St. Paul could bring forward no more convincing proof of his right, than by declaring that he had seen the Lord (1 Cor. ix. 1). Hence also he assumed the liberty of glorying in the visions given him, even when he dared not glory in himself. He speaks of the *abundance* of the revelations given to him; and, on every fitting occasion, calls to mind the first vision he had received, while journeying to Damascus, as the authority for what he did.

We find also St. Peter grounding his right to exhort the elders upon his not only having seen the sufferings of Christ, but having shared in the glory afterwards to be unveiled (1 Pet. v. 1); and again, in proof that he was not repeating cunningly devised fables, calling attention to the fact that he had been an eye-witness of his majesty, when he received honour and glory from the Father (2 Pet. i. 16, 17). St. John, when his authority was opposed by heretics, began his Epistle as the ancient seers had done their prophecies, by testifying that he had *seen* and *heard* the Word of Life, and that therefore he could deliver God's message to men (1 John i. 1—3); and the concluding book of the Bible is called the *Apocalypse* (i.e. the unrolling or unveiling) of Jesus Christ, in which the seer witnessed a very remarkable vision.

These New Testament *seers* received the name of *apostles*,

or the commissioned, as highly significant of the character which they, in common with Samuel, or Elijah, or Isaiah were to bear; and their authority was manifestly due to the vision they saw. They have delivered the message they were charged with, and to that end have committed it to writing. All subsequent ministers of religion, where no vision exists, can only exercise the function of prophets; they can *utter* these messages to the world, and their care is, that they rightly interpret them: they cannot possibly stand on the same footing as *seers* and apostles did.

Now, if we have reached a satisfactory conclusion such as this, that the reason for accepting the scriptures with far greater reverence—with reverence of quite another kind—to that we should pay to any other book, we have done a great deal; for if the scriptures are what they represent themselves to be, they contain the words which Jehovah, the manifested Logos, gave to the *seer*, and he to us. But we still require some explanation as to what makes them *inspired* words; i.e. the words which the Holy Ghost speaks through the prophets; and some few sentences will easily clear the ground for the explanation.

As we call that person of God which is *outwardly* displayed the second person, or the Son, so we call that person that *inwardly* moves man by the name of the third person, or the Holy Ghost. We ought, of course, to be absolutely certain that whatever man does, or says, or thinks that is good, is prompted by the Holy Ghost. The very distinction between good and evil is only between what does, and what does not, proceed from God; so that, to assert that a thing is good, is to say that it is God-inspired; while anything that we know is not from him, however specious it be, cannot be good, and if we think it so we are under a delusion. That man, in his imperfect condition, may do good, is possible, if we grant that he is, to that extent, acted on by the Holy Ghost; but our great trial and difficulty is, that good and evil appear so confused together, that until we learn to depend consciously upon the guidance of the Spirit, we never do sufficiently discriminate between them. Hereafter the blessed will be those whom the Spirit will have trained into perfect holiness; the lost will be those whose entire being will be godless.

Now, one form of good and evil is in truth and error. Whatever is really true is from God; and if a man speaks truth he is speaking God's words. It is to be remembered, however, that a godless man may sometimes speak truth, as Balaam did; and that very often what seems truth is nothing

of the kind, and in the long run will be discovered as error. The devil is called the father of lies, and his great effort is to put things in a false light before us; and hereafter, no doubt, the loss experienced by his adherents will be not only an incapability of doing or feeling good, but also of saying or thinking it. At present a very important part of our discipline consists in sifting truth from error, and of being trained to know the difference between them. We all know how very difficult it oftentimes is to do this; how frequently we may be in error ourselves, or imposed on by others; and in most cases we can only guide ourselves by balancing probabilities, and adopting that course which is least likely to be wrong. We cannot help pursuing such a method, and we accept its confessed imperfection, because we ourselves are imperfect. In physical science, in ethical philosophy, in the reception of ordinary information, or the examination of evidence, there is no doubt that, while the most probable is the only road we are justified in taking, yet that often has led to error; because in our present crippled condition we have lost the only sure guide, that is the continued presence of God's Holy Spirit.

At the same time, while this presence is now obscured; while we are unable in many cases to decide absolutely where it is, and where it is not; let us be quite sure of this,—that what is truth is from Him,—what is not from him cannot be true. When I speak my own convictions, and strive, however earnestly, to speak truth, I may, and often do, speak error, nevertheless; while yet I may say, "This my declaration *may be* heaven-born; and it is so if it is truth." But I may be deceived, and therefore must speak with caution and forbearance, hoping that, in the end, God will set me right where I am wrong.*

But in what relates to our connection with the Father, considered as the moral prompter of good—especially in what relates to our recovery from our alienation, and our nearer communion with him—it is evident that we require something far more certain than can come from the concep-

* It has been objected to this kind of statement, that upon these principles, "The whole is greater than its part," is inspired, since it is most assuredly true. To which it may be answered; 1st. We shall not be very much startled when we are told that such truths are God-given, if we do not forget the true nature of God, as being the Prompter of us all. In him we move and live, and have our being. 2nd. What constitutes the difference between inspired revelations (so called) and other God-given truths is, that the first consist of special messages sent from Jehovah to man, connected with the scheme of salvation.

tions or forebodings of the wisest among us. It is not the philosopher that can tell us about God, however near he may be to truth. We want to have information that *cannot* be wrong; or we should altogether lack the assurance that our own self-originating (and therefore untrue) conceits, or the wilful falsehood of others, are not misleading us.

We are speaking now of the function of bringing messages from God to men. Doubtless, when I tell a congregation such and such great truths which God has commissioned me to declare, I am speaking God's very words, *if* they are true. But when we talk of an *inspired* teacher, we mean one who has received some intelligible assurance that he *is* declaring absolutely and infallibly God's will to mankind. I am not inspired, because I am in possession of no such an assurance.

Now, if I could *see* and *hear* Jehovah himself, and he were to tell me of such and such things, I should know, of course, how far my thoughts or words were God-inspired, and therefore true; or self-conceived, and therefore wrong. But I know well enough that, partly for the purpose of educating me to distinguish right from wrong, partly on account of my present unhappy position, consequent on Adam's fall, I cannot thus approach Jehovah, and am obliged in many things to grope my way through darkness and uncertainty, until I reach the light that is at the end of my road. But there are some things (as we have just said) of which I must receive exact information; and those things have been given to me by the plan adopted in the scriptural revelation, where a *seer*, from some peculiarity of circumstances, or some special effect produced by Divine action, had his eyes unrolled, or received an *apocalypsis*; so that he could hold direct and objective intercourse, not only with higher beings—better informed creatures—than fallen man, but, on grand occasions, with the Lord himself.

The message which was then delivered to the seer was, of course, absolutely and perfectly true. When the seer uttered this message as a prophet, or when another prophet carried it from him, it was still infallibly authoritative. When the prophet wrote it down, and so handed it on to us who could not hear his voice, its authority was not damaged: we have still God's words before us, if we have received it as the prophet wrote it.

But then, while the seer received a Divine, and therefore an infallibly true message, it is felt that we need some kind of assurance that he did actually deliver the same in sub-

stance, if not in the precise words; and while the ordinary course of human affairs might, it is allowed, secure general freedom from imposition, so that false prophets would be detected; we must be certified that the prophet himself was not under an illusion, or liable to those numberless errors and distortions which are always obscuring truth, and yet are not absolutely lies. We gain this certainty when we know that Jehovah, while granting the commission to the seer, promised, either directly or by implication, that his Spirit, the author of truth, should move through and inspire the prophet while he discharged himself of his message. Such a promise was, in most cases, contained in the very command, "Go, tell the people;" but often the promise was repeated separately, as when Jehovah said to Moses, "Now, therefore, go, and I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say" (Exod. iv. 12); or to Balaam, "Only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak" (Num. xxii. 35); or when the same Jehovah promised to the disciples, "It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you" (Matt. x. 20); or when the apostles received the reiterated assurance, before Jehovah left them, that the Holy Ghost should, through them, testify of Him.

The assurance, thus conveyed, amounted manifestly to thus much; that when the prophet delivered Jehovah's words, he should be no longer left to the uncertain guidance of his own infallible reason, and be unable to distinguish the truth or the God-inspired thoughts from error, but that the whole communication should be from the Author of truth.

The prophet was not, however, at every moment an inspired man: he was so only under the circumstances mentioned by Jehovah; or while delivering the revelation, on account of which the inspiration was assured. Thus Elisha could not speak from the Lord, until the playing of the minstrel had produced the state of feeling which he knew to be the *sign* of the Holy Ghost (2 Kings, iii. 15). The disciples were not to recognize themselves as inspired, until a similar sign was conveyed to them on the Pentecost day. The apostles were well certified when they spoke from the Holy Ghost, and when they were resting on their own private opinions. Thus Peter was following his own notions of right and wrong when he refused to eat with the uncircumcised, but he never thought himself inspired in this opinion; whereas, when the apostles and elders assembled to consider this question, and the *vision of Peter* had been duly reported, they gave their judgment as proceeding not only from them-

selves, but from the Holy Ghost (Acts, xvi. 28); and they, in consequence, bound this decision upon the brethren as infallible. Therefore, when afterwards Peter fell into his old unauthorized schism, he was rebuked by Paul, not as differing in opinion from his brother apostle, but as opposing a command which came from the Holy Ghost.

All the prophets, then, were only occasionally inspired; that is to say, it was only for the special purposes for which the prophets were sent that the ordinary condition of men, not precisely knowing all truth from all error, was interfered with, and their entire communication due to God. And this at once shows us the important difference between Jesus and all other prophets; in that his human nature, not being a sharer in the alienation of the race from God, never was bad and never was wrong. The bond between the Holy Ghost and his human mind and affections had never been severed; so that he not only always felt holy, but he always spoke absolute, because God-inspired, truth.

These inspired men, however, were not only *at times* uninspired, but many good and wise men were never inspired at all. There is no wonder, therefore, if sometimes a claim was laid to inspiration which was altogether unfounded. There were *false* prophets, who only pretended to bring a message from Jehovah; as those who assured Ahab and Jehoshaphat that they should succeed at the battle of Ramoth-Gilead. It is clear that in this case the two kings were not deceived: they knew well enough that the obsequious prophets had no authority for what they declared. So also Jeremiah rebuked Hananiah for reporting what the Lord had said, when indeed the Lord had not sent him, but he made the people to trust in a lie (Jer. xxviii. 15).

The falsehood of such pretended prophets could be detected by the absence of true visions, as we have seen above in several instances. Thus, also, Ezekiel denounces "woe to the foolish prophets," because "they followed *their own spirit, and had seen nothing*." "They have seen," he continues, "vanity and lying divination, saying, The Lord saith, and the Lord hath not sent them. Have ye not *seen a vain vision*, and have ye not spoken a lying divination; whereas ye say, The Lord saith it; albeit I have not spoken? Therefore, thus saith the Lord God: Because ye have *spoken vanity and seen lies*, therefore, behold I am against you, saith the Lord God" (Ezek. xiii. 3—8). So that it appears, that even when they pretended to have seen visions, the pretence was

easily discoverable. There were means for ascertaining if the asserted vision had been a genuine one.

In case it was not possible or easy to distinguish between the true and the false prophets; and on all occasions when the prophet was speaking to those who were loth to recognize his mission; or when his privilege of vision was not generally admitted—if the messenger himself suspected he was under a delusion, or if the people demanded a proof that the Lord had spoken—a sign was needed and given,—an objective assurance that the matter was from God,—by the production of effects, such as miracles, which could come only from Him. Moses was satisfied of his own commission by the wonders of the changing rod and the leprous hand, and he was armed with miraculous powers to convince both Israelites and Egyptians that the Lord had sent him. Elijah proved his own truth and the falsehood of Baal's priests by calling down fire from heaven. Jeremiah demonstrated that he was right and Hananiah wrong, by the death of the latter. John the Baptist was certified of his having, by inspiration, pronounced Jesus to be the Lamb of God, by the visible descent and the Voice from on high. The apostles waited until the flames of fire, and the speaking with other tongues, gave the Divine seal to their testimony; and they always proved their inspiration by the miracles they wrought. It is worth noticing that St. Paul mentions *the signs of an apostle* along with his having *seen the Lord*, when his authority was disputed.

We stand, therefore, upon perfectly solid ground in dealing with the asserted inspiration in our own generation. Some, doubtless, like Swedenborg, have fully believed in their own vision, and have deemed that vision sufficient for the establishment of their authority; but from the principles we have been considering, and according to the constant analogy of such inspiration, when introduced among a people loth to believe it, miracles of a most palpable nature must be produced, before we can be assured that the self-styled seer has not been under an illusion. In some instances of decided imposture, such as that of the Mahomedans and of the Mormons, we know that miraculous proof is affirmed. But of what character is it? Mahomet said that the Koran was a miracle, and the Latter-Day Saints interpret ordinary meteors as stars falling from heaven, and occasional sick-bed cures as miraculous interpositions. Something else is needed than this—something like the plagues of Egypt, or the fire called down by Elijah on Mount Carmel—before we can yield

credence to what bears the appearance either of an unreasoning fanaticism or a crafty deception. The authority of God's uniform dealing, as reported to us in the scriptures, is our warrant for withholding our assent to such pretended inspiration, even though we had not to deal with the strong feeling on men's minds, that at present these miraculous interferences are not to be expected—a feeling not to be obliterated by evidence that would have been considered insufficient even in seasons when Jehovah's extraordinary revelations were commonly looked for.

The Church of Rome arrogates to herself an inspired—and, therefore, infallible—authority. It does so upon the hypothesis that God will always speak to the world in this way, and that the Church now occupies the position, if not of the original seers, yet, at any rate, of the prophets, whose inspiration, as well as that of the seers, was assured by the vision. But let us bear in mind that the prophet's inspiration depended entirely upon his rightly delivering the message he received from the Seer; and if he departed from that, he must have a distinct vision to prove his mission. If the Church is content to be a mere prophet—that is, a mere deliverer of the contents of the scriptures—we may listen to it with a reverence due to the message entrusted to it by the apostolic seers; and this function of the Church is well and clearly defined in the 20th and 21st Articles of the Church of England. If, however, the Church claims an authority of its own as revealer of God's word—if it assumes an inspiration independent of that of the apostles—we must then consider it as claiming the office of *seer*, and must insist on having the *vision* manifestly proved, not by childish legends and unsubstantiated marvels, but by such credentials as the true seers were always ready to produce. Those who take these credentials and proofs for granted, are doing that against which God's great wisdom has forewarned us.

We must, as long as these proofs are not forthcoming, appeal to the scriptures alone,—not in any blind spirit of bibliolatry, but because they contain the record of all that duly accredited seers have received from Jehovah, and are to be interpreted by those aids we have—philology, hermeneutics, and criticism.

Philology teaches us the meaning of the words; hermeneutics shows the sense and bearing of entire passages; and criticism determines how far the scriptures, such as we have them, have reached us as the seers originally delivered or sanctioned them. And while it may be quite true that, if

we be particular about exact words, criticism may fall short of our expectations; yet, if we be content with the general tone and sense of the several books, there can be no doubt that we possess the very revelations which the seers and prophets brought from Jehovah. There may, indeed, be microscopic doubts respecting the reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16; there may be reasons for rejecting 1 John v. 7; the scholastic war between the upholders of the Masoretic and of the Septuagint versions may appear pretty equally balanced. But were I to accept all the doubts of the most fastidious criticism, I should still have, for every practical purpose, the truths that the Lord has thought fit to hand down to us. If Bagster's elegant English Hexapla be opened, we shall find, along with our own authorised version, several earlier translations. Among others, there is the translation of Wicliff, which was made from the Vulgate in its most corrupt condition, and which is, therefore, of no critical value whatever: and yet, if this be compared with the other versions alongside of it, we shall see, in reality, so little difference between them, that we might almost be content with the worst, if we only required due information respecting God's will.

It follows, as a matter of course, that when we speak of the inspiration of a particular book in the scriptures, we mean the inspiration of that prophet or seer who either wrote or sanctioned it. When we dispute the canonicity of a certain book, we must do so on the ground that no inspired authority has ever pronounced it authoritative.

In the matter of the New Testament, the entire question is reduced within very narrow limits, because all the books were composed by men of one generation. We have merely to inquire whether the apostles sanctioned the book, and we immediately receive it, if we be satisfied. Whenever there have been doubts of some parts—as of St. Peter's second epistle—the hesitation has been due only to the uncertainty whether an apostle was the author of it. But as we have a sure ground of confidence, corroborated by the soundest learning, that our canon of the New Testament is such, in substance, as left the apostles' hands, we know at once that it was authorized by men inspired for the very purpose of delivering the contents of these books to the world; and, therefore, that it is an infallible gulde for us, whose only care now is, to obtain the words of these books—as nearly as possible what the apostles directed—and then to interpret them correctly.

With the exception of the gospels of Mark and Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles, the whole of the New Testament was actually written or dictated by apostles; *i.e.* by men who had the privilege of seeing the Lord, and to whom He assured the Holy Ghost, who should guide them into all the truth they were commissioned to declare; and, therefore, these books are absolutely inspired documents, even though they often record the mistakes of the apostles themselves in matters where they were not inspired. And with regard to the three books that bear the names of only disciples of the apostles, their inspiration is fully established if even St. John permitted them to pass current among the churches as apostolic memoirs; and still more so if, according to the unvarying testimony of antiquity, Mark's writings were sanctioned by St. Peter, and Luke's by St. Paul.

In the Old Testament canon, the settlement of the accompanying difficulties is more complicated, but it proceeds on exactly the same principles. The greater difficulty arises from the circumstance, that the date of its included books ranges over a period of something like one thousand years; and the exact authorship of some of them is rather a matter of doubtful tradition than of ascertained fact. But, in reality, we have to inquire not so much into the authorship of the books, as into the reasons which placed them in the canon; and if this assignment were made by inspired men, we have reduced the question to one of small compass. Now, the uniform testimony of the Jews has been, that Ezra and the great synagogue completed the canon; and that they had the *inspired* authorities of Zechariah, and Haggai, and Malachi, who, of course, *could* settle the canon just as the apostles did. This Jewish belief is corroborated by many considerations:—

1st. In the time of our Saviour, and of Josephus, it is evident that the canon had been established for many years.

2ndly. It must have been completed *before* the translation of the Seventy Version, because all the Hebrew canonical books were received into this version. This reason is not affected by the fact that the Seventy contains some other books (the Apocrypha); for, as Hävernicks has proved (Introduction, chap. i.), these were never received as canonical by the Hellenist Jews, and were known as the productions of a modern age. The Roman Catholic Church also, in declaring their canonicity, acknowledges that the Jews never received them as such, by basing their claims upon the inspired

authority of the Church. (See the Preface to the Apocrypha in the Douay Bible.)

3rdly. The settlement of the canon must have been posterior to the schism of the Samaritans, for they never received any part of this canon except the Pentateuch.

4thly. The general tendency of our previous observations, that no book could be pronounced canonical except by an inspired man, falls in most naturally with the assignment of the canon to that age which gave the last of the seers, before the New Testament epoch.

But, after all, our true confidence in the limits to be placed upon the number of books in the Jewish canon, is derived from our being able to discover what this canon was in the days of our Saviour; for, as he recognizes the Hebrew scriptures as containing the Word of God, we have no less an authority than his for our also recognizing them; and our task is reduced to the inquiry, "What was the canon in His time?"—an inquiry which is very easily satisfied, and upon which our English Reformers acted, in their rejection of all such books as could not be proved to have been canonical scripture when Christ spoke; and the force of this authority is in no way diminished by the unwarranted supposition of rationalists, that Jesus was *merely* paying homage to the native literature which accident had collected together; for he, speaking God's words, could not have put them upon a level with the Hebrew scriptures, unless these also were as much inspired as his own lessons.

We have said that, in the New Testament, the only question has been between a book being canonical and its being rejected. The only reason for hesitation, in some cases, has been because it was not quite clear into which class—the inspired, or the non-inspired—we ought to place it; not because one inspired book could have a different authority from another. But in the Old Testament there has been, from time immemorial, various subdivisions, which are frequently accounted for on the hypothesis of there being degrees of inspiration, and which we shall briefly examine in order to discover their meaning, and in order to corroborate our previous determination relative to the way in which men were inspired.

Our Lord alludes, at Luke xxiv. 44, to a threefold division of the old scriptures—into the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms. This is, without doubt, the same as that mentioned by Josephus (Apion i. 8). 1st. The five books of Moses;

2ndly. The thirteen books of the Prophets; 3rdly. The four books of hymns. It is also referred to in the prologue of Ecclesiasticus as "The Law, the Prophets, and the rest of the books."

All Hebrew Bibles are likewise divided according to a threefold scheme:—

1st. The Torah or Law; *i.e.* the five books of Moses.

2ndly. The Nebiim or Prophets, subdivided into (*a*) the former Prophets: Joshua, Judges, two books of Samuel, and two books of Kings. (*β*) The latter Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor.

3rdly. The Chetubhim or Writings (Hagiographa), including Psalms, Proverbs, Job, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Esther*, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the two books of Chronicles.

Those five, put in italics, were called Megilloth or Rolls, and were read on festival days, in the following order:—

Canticles, at the Passover (15th Nisan, about March).

Ruth, on the Day of Pentecost (about May or June).

Lamentations, on the Feast of the 9th Ab (about August).

Ecclesiastes, at the Feast of Tabernacles, 15th Tisan (about September); and

Esther, on the Feast of Purim, 14th Adar (about February).

In some Bibles—as in Bomberg's second edition (1525), and many others—the Megilloth are separated from the rest of the Chetubhim, and placed between the Law and the Prophets.

This division of the printed Hebrew Bibles is derived from the Masorettes, through the medium of the Spanish MSS.

There was, however, an older arrangement of the books preserved in the Talmud, and mostly adopted by German MSS. According to this, Jeremiah and Ezekiel precede Isaiah in the Prophets; and, in the Hagiographa, the Megilloth do not stand by themselves, as in the Masoretic arrangement, but the whole are nearly in a chronological order: thus—

Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, *Lamentations*, Daniel, *Esther*, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.

It has been assumed, rather too hastily, that this Jewish division is identical with that mentioned by our Lord and by Josephus. This cannot be: 1st. Because the Septuagint—always quoted by Josephus, and generally in the New

Testament—knows of no such a division; having, in fact, nearly the order of books observed in our English Bibles. 2ndly. Because the division by Josephus cannot possibly be made to correspond with the Hebrew division. It is highly probable that the twenty-two books of Josephus are those quoted by Eusebius (vi. 25) from Origen:—1. Genesis, 2. Exodus, 3. Leviticus, 4. Numbers, 5. Deuteronomy, 6. Joshua, 7. Judges and Ruth, 8. 1st and 2nd Samuel, 9. 1st and 2nd Kings, 10. 1st and 2nd Chronicles, 11. 1st and 2nd Esdras (Ezra and Nehemiah), 12. Psalms, 13. Proverbs, 14. Ecclesiastes, 15. Canticles, 16. Isaiah, 17. Jeremiah and Lamentations, 18. Daniel, 19. Ezekiel, 20. Job, 21. Esther.*

The *hymns* of Josephus, being 12, 13, 14, and 15.

The Jewish division into Law, Prophets, and Writings, has excited much difference of opinion as to its origin.

Some Christian writers accuse the Jews of having *changed* the division for polemical purposes; but there is no evidence for this assertion, and it is manifestly improbable.

It has been said, very gratuitously, that the *canon* was formed before any of the Chetubhim were written, and that a second canon was framed in order to introduce them.

Those who are hostile to Christianity affirm that the Chetubhim are inferior to the other scriptures, hoping thereby to invalidate their general claim to inspiration.

The Jews usually make inspiration to consist of *degrees*,—placing Moses in the first rank, the Prophets in the second, and the Hagiographa in the third. It is, however, at once obvious that, if a book be inspired at all, it must have God's authority; and no book can have more.

There is another theory very much the same as this Jewish notion. It is advocated by Hävernicks in his "Introduction." He supposes that there were two orders of inspired men under the ancient theocracy. The prophets (Nebiim) were those whose *fixed profession* it was to carry divine messages, and who were the authors of the books called the Prophets; and the seers (Rohim), whose inspiration was *only occasional*, and who were the authors of the Chetubhim.

This theory, however, is unsupported by evidence, for we do not know with certainty by whom "the former Prophets" were composed: but if the tradition is to be relied on, which

* It is presumed that, since Eusebius mentions twenty-two books, and yet only specifies twenty-one, there has been omitted from the list the volume of the minor prophets.

attributes them to Joshua, Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Shemaiah, and Iddo, we may observe that Joshua is never called a *prophet*, whereas he certainly was a *seer* (Josh. v. 13—15). Samuel is styled a *prophet* only once (1 Sam. iii. 20); but he was, in a very eminent manner, a *seer* (1 Sam. ix. 18, 19). Gad also seems to have held the special office of the king's seer (2 Sam. xxiv. &c.); and Iddo, who is said to have written the acts of Solomon and Rehoboam, is likewise called a *seer* (2 Chron. ix. 29., xii. 15). And if to these testimonies we add, what we have before proved, at page 321—that most of the prophets, such as Isaiah, Micah, &c.—describe themselves as seers; and we shall understand that there is no ground whatever for saying that *seers* did not write parts of the second division of the Hebrew Bible.

With regard then to the third division,—the Chetubhim—which Hävernicks asserts was composed by seers, where is the authority for calling David, Solomon, and Job seers? Indeed David and Daniel are called prophets (Matt. xxiv. 15 and Acts ii. 30); and it is no answer to this to say, as Hävernicks does, that the two names of *prophet* and *seer* were confused together in Hellenistic usage; for the Septuagint word for *seer* is not *προφήτης* but *βλεπων* or *ὄρων*.

Although the learned German is careful to say that he does not mean to assign any less authority to the Hagiographa than to the Prophets, yet we cannot but regard his theory (a very unsubstantiated one) as only an offshoot of the belief that the inspiration of the third division was regarded anciently as inferior to that of the second.

This belief is altogether refuted by the following considerations:—

1. We possess two books of the same inspired man; viz., the prophecy and the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Yet the one is classed among the Prophets, the other among the Chetubhim.

2. Some of the Hagiographa, especially the Psalms and Esther, have always been treated by the Jews with peculiar respect; inferior only to that paid to the Law.

3. The 90th Psalm, found among the Hagiographa, has been constantly attributed to no less a prophet than Moses himself.

4. An ancient Jewish tradition assigned the book of Job also, one of the Hagiographa, to Moses. (See Patrick's Preface to the book.)

Whether these two assignments were correctly made or

not, it is most manifest that the tradition never could have existed; if it had been supposed that Job and the 90th Psalm were of any inferior authority.*

The truth is, that mere synagogue arrangements will most satisfactorily account for the Hebrew order of the book. And we here assume, according to the opinion of Gesenius and Moses Stuart, that the Hebrew and the Septuagint, such as we have them, represent two recensions of the sacred book. That the Hebrew is derived from the synagogue edition, while the Septuagint comes from an edition for private use, is rendered probable for these reasons:—

1. We know that the Talmudists and Masoretes, who have given to us our present Hebrew text, were careful to obtain the best synagogue copies.

2. The Septuagint was used for private reading and not in the synagogue.

3. The ancient Targums agree with the Hebrew; and we are told that they arose from the custom of interpreting in the synagogue.

Now it may be shown that the order of the books in the Hebrew Bible is precisely such as would be caused by synagogue requirements; while the Septuagint, (whose order is followed in our English Bibles) never having been submitted to such requirements, preserved the natural rank of the books.†

The mode in which the transition was effected from the natural (Septuagint) order to that of the synagogues (the

* The mode in which Hävernick accounts for these exceptions to his theory, is so curious and so unmeaning that it will be sufficient to transcribe his words, which carry their own refutation along with them. He says, (Introduction, Chap. I.) "This" (viz., the place of the Lamentations amongst the Chetubhim) "forms an exception to the rule, but one for which it is easy to account." "Because it is not as a prophet that Jeremiah composed these chants; he appears here just as any other pious and inspired member of the Theocracy might have done. Hence it was held most fitting to place his poems in that class of writings in which the other liturgical poems were to be found. On the same principle, if Jeremiah wrote any of the Psalms, these would certainly have been incorporated with the Hagio-grapha, just as the 90th Psalm, which there is no reason to doubt was written by Moses, is nevertheless not placed among his other writings."

† By the Septuagint order we mean that of the Codex Vaticanum; which is this, omitting the Apocryphal books,—

Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, twelve minor prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel. Which is the same as that of our English Bibles; except in the position of the twelve minor prophets.

The Alexandrian MS. is different. See Hodijs de Librorum Textibus, p. 649 and 650.

Hebrew) is so curious, and is supported by so many probabilities, that we shall not hesitate to set it forth.

Supposing then the original canon to have been nearly that of the Seventy, we have

1st. The books of Moses.

2ndly. The historical books in chronological order. Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles, 1 and 2 Ezra, Esther.

3rdly. The devotional books, also in a real or supposed chronological order, thus; Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles.

4thly. The prophets (properly so called); viz., Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve minor.

That such an order as this was long preserved, except in the synagogues, is rendered evident by our knowledge that Origen (see above at page 336) mentions much the same order; and he lived before the Talmudists and Masoretes had introduced the synagogue arrangement.

If Ezra settled the canon, he settled also, most probably, the order of the books. But the introduction of the synagogue service is, besides, attributed to him. He began the custom of reading the Law every Sabbath. For this purpose the Law was divided into fifty-three or fifty-four sections, one for each Sabbath; so that the whole was read quite through in the course of the year. Learned men are not agreed whether the reading of a second lesson from other parts of the Scriptures was coeval with Ezra, or not known till the time of the Maccabees. But, at any rate, it is certain that every such second lesson, called a *haphtarah*, was selected; because it was supposed to illustrate the first lesson from the Law. The reason of this selection, therefore, at once limited the number of books from which *haptharoth* could be taken; viz., those of the class called the Prophets. While those that were left, called the Chetubhim, or writings, cannot be made to illustrate any part of the books of Moses.*

* That such reasons must have influenced those who separated the *prophets* from the *writings*, is testified by the following passages from Vitringa (de Synag. vet. lib. iii. pars 2, cap. 10).

1st. Quoting from Maimonides (Hilcoth, Tephill: xiii. 3), "And they read, on every Sabbath, in a Prophet, a text of a similar argument to that which is read from the Law."

2ndly. Referring to the Talmud (Tract Sopherim, xiv. 18, 19). "Some books of the Hagiographa embraced general or complete arguments, whence detached portions could not so easily be selected, as from the Prophets; of which kind are the books of Proverbs and Job. The five smaller books of Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song, Lamentations, Ruth, and Esther, were read through at the several feasts. With regard to the other books of the Hagio-

Taking then the list, such as would be caused by the synagogue custom, we have

1. The Law, as before.
 2. The Prophets, from which haphtaroth were taken ; viz., Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor.

3. The rest of the Scriptures ; viz., *Ruth*, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, *Lamentations*, Daniel, *Esther*, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

Now this is almost exactly the older Hebrew arrangement ; —that preserved in the Talmuds—the books of Job and Chronicles only being displaced. This Talmudical arrangement being—

Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, *Lamentations*, Daniel, *Esther*, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.

The probability of this alteration having been caused by synagogue regulations is further made out, from the fact that similar regulations did unquestionably lead to the change from the Talmudical to the Masoretic list.

The books which we have put in italics were called Megilloth or rolls, as we have before said ; and, in time, they came to be distinguished from the other *Chetubhim* by being entirely read through on festival days. And if these Megilloth be placed together, in the order in which they were actually read (beginning with *Canticles*, on the fifteenth of the first month Nisan, see above, page 335), we have the Talmudical order of the Hagiographa changed thus :

(a) The older. (β) The Megilloth in festival order. (γ) The later ; viz.,

(a) Psalms, Job, Proverbs. (β) *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Esther*. (γ) Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.

grapha, I am easily convinced that the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* were not considered by the Jews to be of the same authority as those other historical books of the Scriptures, which had prophets for their authors. Furthermore, the historical part of *Daniel* had but little to do with legal matters ; while the prophetic part is of too sublime an argument for the common people to receive any edification from the reading of it. The two books of *Chronicles* treat of the same subjects as the books of *Kings*, and therefore the reading of them is the less necessary. But the *Psalms*, which, by reason of the author and subject, the Jews have always made great account of, and have divided them into five books, like the Mosaic Law, were sung by them in the service of the synagogue ; and the formulæ of prayers and praises were chiefly taken from them, and the reading of them was therefore superseded."

A most valuable argument can be founded on this synagogue arrangement, so as to put in a clear light the state of the Jewish mind with respect to the Scriptures in the time of our Lord ; which led to much wonderful opposition by the Rabbis against the truths He put forth.

This is the very Masoretic order which stands in our printed Hebrew Bibles.

In some editions, these Megilloth are put between the Law and the former Prophets; making, in fact, no less than six divisions.

1. The Law.
2. The Megilloth.
3. The former Prophets.
4. The later Prophets.
5. The former Chetubhim.
6. The later Chetubhim.

If we have thus succeeded in showing that the Masoretic distinction between the several books of the Bible has nothing whatever to do with any difference of authority, but is altogether due to the liturgical service of the synagogue, we hope to have removed part of the difficulty connected with the inspiration of the Old Testament; and to have made the offices of *seers* and prophets more intelligible, as the authorized receivers and communicators of the Divine will, conveying the expression of that will, by word of mouth, to their own generation, and committing it to writing for those who should come after.

ART. IV.—*Annals, Anecdotes, and Legends: a Chronicle of Life Assurance.* By JOHN FRANCIS. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

THE author of the "Chronicles and Characters of the Stock Exchange" has latterly directed his studies, and has invited the attention of his readers, towards the consideration of a different, although a kindred subject. Mammon is still the object of Mr. Francis' lucubrations, but connected with other topics, considered under other aspects, discussed with other questions, and treated in other ways, than when the author last appeared before the public. The historian of the "Times and Traditions of the Bank of England," has now recorded the Annals, and recounted the Legends, of Life Assurance. The attempts of Mr. Francis, in his former publications, to create an interest in the philosophy of money-making, and to lead the way in tracing the career of money-makers, were not unaccompanied by success. The achievements of the one proved to be an agreeable mode of acquiring a conception of the other. The pretensions of the author were

novel: his works were experimental. They were intended to evince the possibility of raising the intellectual tone and character of the lighter literature of the day. They proposed to convey to the moral reading world, under as entertaining a garb as might be, a certain amount of sound and useful information. They waged war against the popular method of book-making—the plan of much fiction founded on little fact; and they commenced the practice of issuing a higher class of work, wherein much that is true and useful is enlivened by more interesting matter than any which can trace its origin to the imagination. Viewed as an essay to test the inclination of the public, the adventure left little to be desired: and it is probable that the volume before us will not fall short of the favour secured by its fortunate and deserving predecessors.

The intention, however, of Mr. Francis should not be misunderstood. He does not propose to follow the example of Mr. Babbage, and to take “a Comparative View of the various Institutions for the Assurance of Lives.” He does not pretend to rival Mr. De Morgan, and to compose “An Essay on Probabilities, and on their Application to Life Contingencies and Insurance Offices.” He does not attempt to imitate the course pursued by innumerable pamphleteers on the subject, who denounce all companies with the exception of the one to which they are attached. Mr. Francis has marked out a path for himself, and his title, “*Chronicle of Life Assurance*,” very much describes the character of his work. He designs to give, to a certain extent, a history of the science—to notice its beginning, to relate its rise, to consider its present position. The volume is written in a light and agreeable style: the author has introduced enough of chronicle to prevent the legends from becoming wearisome through satiety, and he has interwoven sufficient anecdote to relieve the otherwise dry narrative of events. In this endeavour Mr. Francis has been most felicitous; yet the philosophy of the science has been touched upon with sparing hand. Until, however, there appears some work of standard merit upon money in all its branches—some scientific treatise on Mammon, and of its history in all ages—the various publications of Mr. Francis will, with credit and with utility, command the attention of the reader.

With Mr. Francis’ work, however, as it stands, we are now alone concerned; and as a pleasant, though superficial, exposition of Assurance, we are content to receive, and, in the following remarks, to pursue the course which he has

thought fit to adopt. We are fully impressed with the importance of the subject; and as fully agree with the author in his preface, that any attempt to trace its history, however imperfect, will not prove unacceptable. Men toil, struggle—nay sin, for their families; they do everything, observes Mr. Francis, but insure. “And should this volume induce any one to avail himself of the benefits of Life Assurance who has not hitherto done so, or should it attract the attention of others who are ignorant of the system, the writer will not deem his labour entirely in vain.” “The simple fact, that the payment of a small yearly sum will at one secure the family of the insured from want, even should he die the day after the first premium is paid, is sufficiently singular to the uninitiated; but it is more so that very few avail themselves of an opportunity within the reach of all.”

The work opens with a sketch of the doctrine of “Probabilities;” with the efforts of Pascal, and with the earliest application of its principle to annuities, by the Grand Pensioner, John de Witt; with a description of the first Bills of Mortality, with the “Nature and Political Observations thereon, by Captain John Grant;” and with a notice of the life and writings of Sir William Petty, “the father of Political Economy in the cause of vital statistics,” to whose descendant the “Annals and Anecdotes” is “by permission dedicated.” The practice of Assurance by the Romans is the next point which is touched upon; and this is followed by a discussion of the approximation attained by our Saxon ancestors to Friendly Societies, the assurance of palmers and pilgrims to the Holy Land, as well as that—which was in practice about the same time—of navigators, merchants, and corporations. The first trial of Life Assurance is then related; and the Societies of the Mercers’ Company, of the Sun, of the Amicable, the Royal Exchange, and the London Assurance, are in turn described. Short and well-drawn accounts of most of the chief promoters of assurance are introduced—of those who assisted the cause by their brain, and of those who upheld the various companies by their purse. John Povey, De Moivre, and Simpson, Mr. Morgan, Dr. Price, and many others, appear in turn on the scene. The Equitable next attracts Mr. Francis’ attention, and the success of the Globe in breaking through the monopoly attempted by the older societies. The stream of fresh companies which then commenced, and which now well-nigh swamps the community, is afterwards touched on; and the historical portion of the work concludes with some reflections

upon the prospects and present condition of Life Assurance. Intimately mixed with the rise of Assurance, with the history of the various Companies, and with the notices of the chief actors in the drama, is the history (full of amusing anecdotes) of those notorious rogues who flourished and who fell on the same scene; and Mr. Francis gives us an account of many extraordinary frauds inflicted on the offices—many interesting details of atrocious crime, perpetrated to secure the advantages proposed by the Societies. Gambling in Assurances is dwelt upon at length; fraudulent annuities, bubble Annuity Companies, and the history of the bubble era, are likewise described. Indeed, the “Legends” succeed each other with such rapidity, their variety is so great, their number is so considerable, that it is difficult to imagine, with Mr. Francis, that—remarkable as some of the stories may appear, and fearful as many of them are—they form but a small portion of the sad and stern realities attached to the “Annals of Life Assurance.”

Shakespeare says—

“ Authority bears off a credent bulk,
That no particular scandal once can touch,
But it confounds the breather.”

The maxims here laid down are well illustrated in the history and by the historians of the science of Insurance. The research and the ingenuity of authors upon this topic, have not been a little taxed to trace, in the works of classic writers, the first germs of the practice. They have, however, been unable to detect any relics of the system, or to force any evidence of it into their service, anterior to the time of the Romans. The historian Livy* has been laid under contribution by Puffendorff, Barbeyrac, and others, to testify to the practice of Insurance during the period of the second Punic War. The passage alluded to merely states, that when the Roman army in Spain was distressed for the munitions of war, shipowners were found who undertook to supply every requisite, provided they were compensated for accidental loss, or capture by the enemy. This, strictly speaking, was indemnification by the State, and nothing more; for where there is no premium there can be no Insurance. Again: the word *prædes*, in one of Cicero's epistles,† where he hopes to find security at Laodicea, by the

* Livius, lib. xxiii. cap. 44.

† Cic. Ep. ad Fam., ii. 17. The passage may be found in Simon's edition of Grotius.

means of which he will remit certain moneys which were due, has been thought to favour the idea that Insurance was not unknown in his time. It is the opinion of the scholiast, however, that this quotation only proves the existence of bills of exchange. Suetonius,* likewise, is compelled to add his testimony to uphold the hypothesis, but with little success. Kulpis, Anderson, and some other commentators, perceive, in the statement of this author, a vindication of the claims of the Emperor Claudius to be considered the founder of the system. Here, again, people have fallen into the prevalent error of generalizing too speedily from individual instances, and those of insufficient pertinence. The case stands simply thus:—Claudius, upon an occasion, and that apparently an exceptional one, in order to provide for a threatened scarcity of provision, guaranteed to certain merchants the risk attending the importation of corn into his capital. This very fact, were all others wanting, would—as Mr. Francis justly observes—exclude the possibility that there existed at that period, in the Empire, any definite or settled plan of commercial Insurance. Had there been private modes of providing against loss, any well understood methods of insuring freights, it is not to be supposed that the assistance of the imperial treasury would have been called into requisition. These accounts, however, it will be observed, are confined exclusively to mercantile transactions. This is the only kind of insurance of which it is even pretended that the ancient Romans had any notion; and few, even of the most zealous advocates of the early origin of Marine Insurance, are sufficiently bold to contest the modern introduction of Assurances on Life.

Authentic information respecting the period of its introduction and gradual prevalence in the various countries of Europe, is, to the last degree, incomplete. It is a subject upon which historians have seldom considered it suitable to the dignity of their vocation to enter at any length. The accounts which *have* reached us are unsatisfactory in authority, as well as contradictory in detail. From the perusal of the maritime legislation of the island of Oleron, Malignes* has been led to conclude that the rise of Insurance is to be dated from the commencement of the thirteenth century. Later writers, however, have pronounced this era—defended also by Anderson—to be far too early. For many ages, it appears to be admitted that Insurance, being connected with

* Suet., lib. v. c. 18.

† *Lex Mercatoria*, 1656, p. 105.

"the unpardonable sin of taking interest,"* Christians have ever been strongly opposed to availing themselves of its benefits. The navigation laws of the city of Wisby, in the island of Gothland, are silent on the subject; and the celebrated later maritime code of the Hanseatic towns are innocent of all allusion to it. Indeed, it now seems to be generally admitted that the most early ordinance for the insurance of freight, to be discovered in the annals of mercantile transactions, may be read in "*Il Consolato del Mare*," issued by the magistrates of Barcelona, in the year 1435.† Originally they were published in the Catalonian dialect, but nearly a century later they were translated into Italian, in which language they are now usually consulted. To Barcelona, then, and to her magistrates, "must be attributed," says Mr. Francis—until some authentic history to the contrary has been produced—"the honour of taking the initiative in recognizing the broad, main principles, as well as the first active steps to facilitate the practice, of Marine Insurance."

But whatever may be said concerning the Romans, it is an indisputable fact, that, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the inhabitants of Britain were in the enjoyment of organized Mutual Benefit Associations. These societies were "founded on social principles, in which union for good or ill, and pro-

* Cleirac.

† Mr. Francis has not thought proper to give references for the statements he advances. Perhaps, however, the manner in which he has treated his subject does not require this extension of editorial labour. The date to which he assigns the publication, by the magnates of Barcelona, of certain decrees relative to insurance, we cannot but think to be incorrect. Mr. Francis refers their resolutions to the year 1523. In our opinion, the author has either confused the Italian translation of 1523 with the Spanish original of 1435, or he has overlooked the existence of the latter; or, lastly, through inadvertence, the dates have become changed. Our authorities are Beckmann and Mr. McCulloch. The latter, in his "*Dictionary of Commerce*" (Art. Insurance, edit. 1844), has the following remarks upon this matter:—"The learned Spanish antiquary, Don Antonio de Campany, has given, in his very valuable publication on the History and Commerce of Barcelona (*Memorias Historicas sobre la Marina, &c., de Barcelona*, tomo ii. p. 382), an ordinance relative to insurance, issued by the magistrates of that city in 1435; whereas the earliest Italian law on the subject is nearly a century later, being dated in 1523. It is, however, exceedingly unlikely—had insurance been as early practised in Italy as in Catalonia—that the former should have been so much behind the latter in subjecting it to any fixed rules; and it is still more unlikely that the practice should have escaped, as is the case, all mention by any previous Italian writer." In the Treatise on Bills of Exchange (iii. 430), Beckmann refers to "an ordinance of 1548, respecting insurance, which required that underwriting should be done in the presence of a notary, and declared '*policies o scriptores privades*' to be null and void." This passage occurs in a notice by that author of the Memoirs of Campany.

vision made for contingencies, were the prominent features." The axiom, that "Union is Strength," continues our author—

"The necessity of providing for casualties by mutual assistance—in other words, assurance on its broadest and most rational basis—was practised in the Saxon guild, the origin of which was very simple:—Every freeman of fourteen being bound to find sureties to keep the peace, certain neighbours, composed of ten families, became bound for one another, either to produce any one of the number who should offend against the Norman law, or to make pecuniary satisfaction for the offence. To do this, they raised a fund by mutual payments, which they placed in one common stock. This was pure mutual assurance. From this arose other fraternities. The uncertain state of society, the fines which were arbitrarily levied, the liability to loss of life and property in a country divided against itself, rendered association a necessity. And if it was necessary before the Conquest, it became doubly so after it. The mailed hand of the Norman knight was ever ready to grasp the goods of the Saxon serf; and the Norman noble trod the ground he had aided to subdue with the pride of a conqueror, at the same time that he exercised the rapacity of an Eastern vizier. To meet the pecuniary exigencies which were perpetually arising from fines and forfeitures, and to aid one another in burials, legal exactions, penal mulcts, payments, and compensation,—ancient friendly societies, somewhat similar to those of the present day, were established."

These associations flourished in various parts of the country. Mr. Francis has selected from amongst several, the rules which guided the affairs of two. One of them was situated at Cambridge, the other at Exeter. The regulations are too long to be extracted. We cannot refrain, however, from quoting the laws which were framed by the founders of St. Catherine's Guild. This society, though of somewhat later date than those to which allusion has been made, can still boast of an antiquity of upwards of eight centuries. The reader, bearing in mind this circumstance, will read with interest the following portion of its code:—

"If a member suffer from fire, water, robbery, or other calamity, the guild is to lend him a sum of money without interest.

"If sick or infirm, through old age, he is to be supported by his guild according to his condition.

"If a member falls into bad courses, he is first to be admonished, and if found to be incorrigible he is to be expelled.

"Those who die poor, and cannot afford themselves burial, are to be buried at the charge of the guild."

Turn we now to the later history of our country. The year 1548 is, perhaps, the earliest date to which we can

point for any record of the existence in England of associations for the purpose of granting Marine Insurance. The subject is mentioned in a letter to the Lord High Admiral, from his brother Somerset, the Protector. Ten years later, the system appears to have made no little progress in public opinion. This may be gleaned from references to the matter having been made in a speech, still extant, delivered in the year 1588 by the Lord Keeper Bacon. Assurance again attracted the attention of the legislature towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The records of parliamentary procedure inform us that, in the year 1601, there received the royal assent an "Act concerning matters of Assurance among Merchants." This bill, besides enacting many wise and necessary provisions for the guidance of those whom it concerned, proceeds to recommend the adoption of that "course of dealing commonly called a 'Policy of Assurance' by traders, and by others engaged in nautical pursuits." The preamble goes on to state the principles of the science, and to urge upon all the necessity of availing themselves of its advantages, since, "by means of policies of assurance, it cometh to pass, upon the loss or perishing of any ship, there followeth not the loss or undoing of any man, but the loss lighteth rather easily on many than heavily upon few; and rather upon them that adventure not, than upon those that do adventure."

The origin of the two branches of Assurance, upon person and upon property, could not have been divided by any great length of time, even if we are to suppose that they were not contemporaneous. The one speculation seems naturally to flow from, or to be suggested by the other. If mercantile or marine insurance were so common, it is difficult to imagine that some approximation to Life Assurance, however imperfect or rudimental it might be, was entirely unpractised. It must necessarily have occurred to the captain of a trading vessel, continues Mr. Francis—

"That the storm or the whirlwind, which might send his merchandise to the bottom of the sea, might also send himself with it; and the thought that, if his goods were worth insuring for the benefit of the owners, his own life was worth insuring for the benefit of his family, arose naturally from the risks he ran. And in those days there was not merely a risk of storm or whirlwind: man was more cruel than the tempest, and the galleys of the Turks were then as much feared by the masters of trading vessels as the corsairs of the Algerine were dreaded at a later period. They roved the seas as if they were its masters; they took the vessels,

disposed of the cargo in the nearest market, and sold the navigators like cattle. The only way of mitigating this terrible calamity was by some mode of insurance to procure their rescue if taken, and we find that, to attain so desirable a result, they paid a certain premium to their merchant freighters, who in return bound themselves to pay a sufficient sum to secure the navigator's freedom within fifteen days after the certificate of their captivity, the ordinary days of grace being lessened on such policies."

Such was the plan of affecting assurance adopted then by merchants and seamen. Travellers, too, in the pursuit of pleasure or profit, were wont to assure, for their own benefit, their lives and their possessions. This was accomplished thus:—A certain sum was deposited with some accredited broker, to be retained by him in the event—which in those days was far from improbable—of the assured failing to reclaim his securities. Should, however, the wanderer be so fortunate as to return to his native land, the deposit, by this time greatly increased, at a higher rate of interest previously determined upon, was restored to the happy owner. The captivity of traders and of travellers at the hands of pirates and banditti, was only one amongst the number of the dangers and "chances of this mortal life" against which our ancestors had to provide. There was a species of durance vile to which they, in their single-heartedness, were exposed, but from which we are free. The age of utilitarianism had yet to come. The times of religious frigidity were still in the future, and the days of pilgrimages and of crusades were not quite passed by. Men—earnest, enthusiastic men—still loved to tread, as it were, in the footsteps of our Lord and of his apostles. In such times assurance lent a helping hand. Imprisonment was the danger to which all alike were liable. To abridge, as much as possible, the duration of captivity was the province of assurance. Hence, in consideration of a certain payment, the assurer engaged to use all available means to effect the ransom of the captive. This payment was necessarily made ere the pilgrim assumed his staff or the man of war his sword; and the policy, which frequently particularised the space of time which should elapse between his seizure and his restoration, was, upon the return of the traveller, of course, considered void. Thus security made enterprize more easy: the devotee could perform his vow with greater safety to himself, and more complete satisfaction to his conscience. It is true that this care for his personal protection may detract somewhat, observes the author, "from a high religious feeling; but truth is sadly at variance with

sentiment, and the pilgrims of the crusading period were but too glad to lessen the chances against them."

The progress, however, of Life Assurance was slow. Circumstances were opposed to the due development of its resources. The middle ages were too turbulent to allow the benefits of the system to be duly dispensed; the dark ages were too dark to permit them to be perceived. Noble and commoner were each at the mercy of the other, and the crown exposed to the influence of both. The ills, likewise, which mortal flesh is heir to, may be noticed as another impediment; and maladies with which we are mercifully acquainted only by report—the black vomit, the sweating sickness, and the plague; as well as others, which, by the advance of medical science, are now comparatively innoxious—all combined to increase the risk and to check the practice of Life Assurance. In those early times, however, Mr. Francis informs us, an annuitant enjoying a life-rent or pension could make an assurance on his life, by way of provision for his family; but that such cases were the exception, and not the rule, appears from the circumstance that "a century later, the life of a healthy man, of any age, was estimated at only seven years' purchase."

In England, the principle can scarcely lay just claim to a greater antiquity than a hundred and fifty years. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the system of Life Assurance appears to have taken root. The first legal record of any company, or of any individual, granting policies on lives occurs in the case of Sir Robert Howard. Upon the 3rd of September, 1697, a policy on the poet's life was granted for the period of a single year. On the 3rd September, 1698, Sir Robert died. The merchant, upon the plea "that the policy had expired," refused to perform his part in the engagement, and declined to pay. An action was brought against the brokers by the executors of Howard. The cause was tried in the King's Bench, and, at the time, excited considerable interest. Judgment was pronounced against the defendant; and Lord Holt, who presided at the trial, ruled, "that 'from the day of date' excluded the day itself, and that the underwriter was liable."

It appears to be a matter of much doubt whether of the two institutions for the assurance of lives—the Amicable Society, or that organised by the worshipful Company of Mercers—were earlier in the field. In the year 1698, the latter company commenced "a scheme for granting life annuities to the nominees of the assurers, instead of paying

down a fixed sum." The originator of this novel idea was Dr. Asheton; and, in its day, the project was considered a "very notable plan." Speculation was attracted to the subject, and soon ran high upon the matter. A subscription list was opened, and a large sum was quickly raised. The system employed was unsound, and neither subscription nor speculation could, for any length of time, conceal the complete failure of the enterprize. The annuitants were the first who suffered. The directors arbitrarily diminished their pensions. This unexpected course staggered the supporters of the Mercers, and the public began to look with suspicion upon the Company. Yet was this step but the first in the downward course: day by day affairs assumed a more gloomy aspect, and the most sanguine were forced to lay aside their confidence. The engagements of the society were due, and were left unpaid; and, at length, the proprietors announced that the funds of the association existed but in print. The liabilities were enormous. Within a period of less than eight and forty years the debts amounted to upwards of £100,000. The arrears for annuities involved them to the extent of £7,620, annuities in expectancy increased the deficit by £1000 a-year, and the annual income of the Society was declared to be under £4,200. Such was the state of their finances. Ruin and misery now impended over numberless families far and near. There was but a single remedy for the crisis;—that remedy was adopted. The legislature alone could arrest the misery. Parliament was memorialized, and parliament granted the required assistance. This boon secured the existence of the society. Times were now changed: the credit of the Company was no longer at stake. Confidence was restored. The managers once more opened their doors to eager claimants, and the Mercers' at the present day is one of the most flourishing associations in the metropolis.

Gambling on 'Change, or that kind of speculation which men are wont to call commercial enterprize, is confined to no century—peculiar to no country. The example of our ancestors has produced no proper effect upon their descendants. They set us a very bad example; we have faithfully followed in their footsteps. The only difference between us is the change of object. They trafficked in lives; we negotiate in lines. The rage for jobbing in offices of insurance, which took possession of the London merchants at the commencement of the eighteenth century, is hardly to be surpassed by the mania which seized all classes and conditions of English people upon the subject of iron rails, during the early part

of that succeeding. The map of Great Britain at the present day, reticulated as it is by the web-like routes of modern railways—proposed, in progress, or in perfection—offers a very similar object to the view that a plan of London would present, were we to indicate the position of the various associations which existed for the purposes of Insurance during the era of the South Sea bubble. Every locality possessed its institution, well-nigh every street its office. The number of societies which sprung suddenly into being is almost incredible, the objects proposed to be accomplished diverse and discordant, and the result, in many cases guaranteed, ridiculously extravagant. Few of the companies founded at the beginning of the year existed to its close. Many advanced no further on their course than by issuing their initiatory, and by no means modest, prospectus; and even of those which ultimately were successful in attracting public attention, and deserving of public support, few, we believe, were at all times free from the prospect of impending failure.

In 1696, the Hand-in-Hand Office was established for the purpose of enabling proprietors of houses and goods to insure from the ruinous effects of fire. Its sphere of usefulness was soon discovered to be limited; and afterwards it was extended, by granting policies for the assurance of life. The same course was adopted by a society which owes its existence to one John Povey, "Author, Inventor, and Assurer": and fourteen years later, a Company, by a deed of settlement bearing date April, 1710, formed itself into an association which now may be recognised under the title of "The Sun Life and Fire Assurance Office." The two institutions which figure next in the annals of Assurance are "Onslow's Insurance," as the Royal Exchange was termed; and the London Corporation, which went by the name of "Chetwynd's Bubble." These societies had long been anxious to obtain a royal confirmation of their rights: the directors were eager to obtain that *status* amongst other companies which a Royal Charter invariably confers. To effect the object of their wishes, they had recourse to the legislature. Parliament was petitioned. Members were addressed, as a body and as individuals. Ministers were intreated, as public men and as private friends. Promises were every where held in expectation: and it was whispered by the wicked world, that bribery was not wanting to secure their end. All, however, was without avail. Ministers promised, and postponed. Members pledged, and procrastinated. Parliament received

memorials, but entertained them not. And the two associations would have failed in attaining to the rank of Corporate Bodies, had not a fortunate accident, which Mr. Francis shall himself describe, turned the balance in their favor.

“By some inadvertence the grand Committee of Supply had been dismissed before provision could be made for the arrears in the Civil List. The ministers were in despair; and the companies took advantage of the necessities of the State to offer the large sum of 600,000*l.*, on condition of receiving his Majesty's charter for their respective companies. The offer was eagerly grasped by the ministry; and on evidence being given of the respectability of the members,—of the cash lodged at the Bank to meet losses,—of their funded property, and of the amount of the business transacted,—Mr. Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, presented to the House the following message:—

“His Majesty, having received several petitions from great numbers of the most eminent merchants of the city of London, humbly praying he would be graciously pleased to grant them his letters patent for erecting corporations to assure ships and merchandise, and the said merchants having offered to advance and pay a considerable sum of money for his Majesty's use in case they may obtain letters patent accordingly; his Majesty, being of opinion that erecting two such corporations, exclusive only of all other corporations and societies for assuring of ships and merchandise, under proper restrictions and regulations, may be of great advantage and security to the trade and commerce of the kingdom, is willing and desirous to be strengthened by the advice and assistance of this House in matters of this nature and importance. He, therefore, hopes for their ready concurrence to secure and confirm the privileges his Majesty shall grant to such corporations, and to enable him to discharge the debts of his civil government without burthening his people with any aid or supply.”

“A bill was then ordered to be brought in, and the ‘most dutiful Commons’ waited on his Majesty with an address of thanks ‘for communicating the application for an insurance company,’ it being ‘an instance of so much condescension as deserved the highest return of duty and thankfulness.’” *

Mr. Francis has exhibited praiseworthy diligence in presenting his readers with as correct a list as can well be attained, of the Insurance projects of this æra. Because conducted upon a small scale, (and herein perhaps was the secret of their success,) the most profitable, as well as the most numerous of these new societies, rejoiced in the *soubriquet* of the “Little-Goes” of Assurance. These were unrestricted

* It may be added, that the Companies never paid more than one-half of the sum guaranteed.

to any one branch. Their province was of wider range, and their purport was as varied, as their course was often ruinous. At one institution, at the Cross Keys in Wych Street, each person "subscribed five shillings fortnightly—inclusive of policy, stamp, and entrance-money—on condition of two hundred pounds being paid to his heirs and executors." Another, called the "Fortunate Office," engaged to provide doweries to the amount of two hundred pounds, for those who paid during their state of blessed singleness, the trifling sum of two shillings sterling, due quarterly. This department appears to have been very generally held in estimation, and companies to ameliorate the holy estate were numerous. The speculation was profitable to the proprietors; though, whether the lottery of marriage proved equally propitious to the contracting parties is a matter of grave doubt.

Some companies devoted themselves to the cause of charity, and granted "annuities, by way of survivorship, providing for widows and orphans." Others assumed the censorship of intemperance; and, whilst one undertook to insure the drunkard, and to pay the policies of those who died from "drinking Geneva," another society might be found which performed the same kind obligation to the survivors of those who were cut off by the inordinate use of rum. Here was a society "for a general Insurance in any part of England;" there, one for the insurance of "houses and goods in Ireland." In one street was established an office of insurance "for all masters and mistresses against losses they shall sustain by servants." In the next, a rival association put forth all the eloquence at its command, to induce domestic servants to insure from loss sustained by mistresses and masters. There were many insurances for loss caused by fire; and almost as many for injury sustained by water. "A co-partnership for insuring and increasing childrens' fortunes" was established at the Fountain Tavern; whilst at a neighbouring Coffee House, parents might subscribe a small weekly payment at the baptism of their infants, upon the chance of receiving a handsome fortune when they arrived at years of discretion. There was a British Insurance Company; a Friendly Society; a Society for Insuring Seamen's Wages. There was a Society of "Insurance from Highwaymen;" and another from Housebreakers; a third from Horse-stealers and Sheep-lifters; and a fourth from Thieves and Robbers of all kinds and conditions. And to conclude, although the subject or the list is by no means exhausted, we meet with one Association which insured the

public from lying, evil-speaking, and slandering ; and we discover—listen, oh modern Babylon!—the name of Mr. William Helmes, of Exchange Alley, attached to a company for the Insurance of “Female Chastity!”

The “*Doctrine of Chances*,” by Abraham de Moivre, was one of the most important publications, as well as one of the earliest in order of time, which owed its origin to the numerous societies that were then arising. This work first saw the light in the year 1718. A few years later the same writer applied his theories to the valuation of annuities upon lives. This book was more worthy of its learned author. It contained exposures of popular fallacies ; and, in many respects, it ran counter to all the prejudices, and to some of the principles, upon the subject, which were then in vogue. In his own day De Moivre was much esteemed. Future generations have been more divided in opinion upon his merits. That he was a man of superior talent will hardly be denied, and that he left the science at that point which enabled others to urge it forward few will feel disposed to contend. If the advance of knowledge has proved De Moivre to be incorrect in some particulars, it must be admitted that his calculations form the groundwork of more recent investigations. James Hodgson enjoys the foremost position among those who made any effort “to show the value of annuities on lives from the London bills of mortality.” This was a publication of the utmost importance to the assurance companies. The only tables hitherto available were those founded upon the decrease of life in Breslau. Dr. Halley’s statistics, however, were discovered to be unsuited to the population of London, and to be at variance with the Metropolitan Registers of Births and Deaths. Reliance, indeed, could be placed upon neither, for whilst the foreign records “calculated life at too high a rate, it was equally evident that the London rates made them too low.” In this dilemma, Hodgson appeared to reconcile conflicting statements ; and his work, which bears the impress of great research, added to no small amount of ingenuity, effected a radical reformation in the then acknowledged principles of Life Assurance.

We are unable, in the narrow limits assigned to our labours, to accompany Mr. Francis in his interesting account of Kersseboom and of Dodson, or to trace the exertions of Thomas Simpson, and the investigation of M. Buffon. We will therefore turn to other, but to kindred, matters, and direct the reader’s attention to a remarkable fraud in the

Annals of Life Assurance. The author shall tell his own tale:—

“About 1730, two persons resided in the then obscure suburbs of St. Giles’s, one of whom was a woman of about twenty, the other a man whose age would have allowed him to be the woman’s father, and who was generally understood to bear that relation. Their position hovered on the debateable ground between poverty and competence, or might even be characterised by the modern term of shabby genteel. They interfered with no one, and they encouraged no one to interfere with them. No specific personal description is recorded of them, beyond the fact that the man was tall and middle aged, bearing a semi-military aspect; and that the woman, though young and attractive in person, was apparently haughty and frigid in her manner. On a sudden, at night time, the latter was taken very ill. The man sought the wife of his nearest neighbour for assistance, informing her that his daughter had been seized with sudden and great pain at the heart. They returned together, and found her in the utmost agony, shrinking from the approach of all, and dreading the slightest touch. The leech was sent for; but before he could arrive she seemed insensible, and he only entered the room in time to see her die. The father appeared in great distress; the doctor felt her pulse, placed his hand on her heart, shook his head as he intimated all was over, and went his way. The searchers came, for those birds of ill-omen were then the ordinary haunters of the death-bed, and the coffin with its contents was committed to the ground. Almost immediately after this, the bereaved father claimed from the underwriters some money which was insured on his daughter’s life, left the locality, and the story was forgotten.

“Not very long after, the neighbourhood of Queen Square, then a fashionable place, shook its head at the somewhat unequivocal connection which existed between one of the inmates of a house in that locality, and a lady who resided with him. The gentleman wore moustaches, and though not young, affected what was then known as the macaroni style. The lady accompanied him everywhere. The captain, for such was the almost indefinite title he assumed, was a visitor at Ranelagh, was an *habitué* of the coffee-houses, and being an apparently wealthy person, riding good horses and keeping an attractive mistress, he attained a certain position among the *mauvais sujets* of the day. Like many others at that period, he was, or seemed to be, a dabbler in the funds, was frequently seen at Lloyd’s and in the Alley; lounged occasionally at Garraway’s; but appeared more particularly to affect the company of those who dealt in life assurances.

“His house soon became a resort for the young and thoughtless, being one of those pleasant places where the past and the future were alike lost in the present; where cards were introduced with the wine, and where, if the young bloods of the day lost their money, they were repaid by a glance of more than ordinary warmth

from the goddess of the place ; and to which, if they won, they returned with renewed zest. One thing was noticed : they never won from the master of the house, and there is no doubt a large portion of the current expenses was met by the money gambled away ; but whether it were fairly or unfairly gained is scarcely a doubtful question.

"A stop was soon put to these amusements. The place was too remote from the former locality, the appearance of both characters was too much changed to be identified, or in these two might have been traced the strangers of that obscure suburb where, as daughter, the woman was supposed to die, and, as father, the man had wept and raved over her remains. And a similar scene was once more to be acted. The lady was taken as suddenly ill as before : the same spasms at the heart seemed to convulse her frame, and again the man hung over her in apparent agony. Physicians were sent for in haste. One only arrived in time to see her once more imitate the appearance of death, while the others, satisfied that life had fled, took their fees, 'shook solemnly their powdered wigs,' and departed. This mystery, for it is evident there was some collusion or conspiracy, is partially solved, when it is said that many thousands were claimed and received by the gallant captain from various underwriters, merchants, and companies, with whom he had assured the life of the lady.

"But the hero of this tradition was a consummate actor ; and though his career is unknown for a long period after this, yet it is highly probable that he carried out his nefarious projects in schemes which are difficult to trace. There is little doubt, however, that the *soi-disant* captain of Queen Square was one and the same person who, as a merchant, a few years later appeared daily on the commercial walks of Liverpool ; where, deep in the mysteries of corn and cotton, a constant attender at church, a subscriber to local charities, and a giver of good dinners, he soon became much respected by those who dealt with him in business, or visited him in social life. The hospitalities of his house were gracefully dispensed by a lady who passed as his niece, and for a time nothing seemed to disturb the tenour of his way. At length it became whispered in the world of commerce that his speculations were not so successful as usual ; and a long series of misfortunes, as asserted by him, gave a sanction to the whisper. It soon became advisable for him to borrow money, and this he could only do on the security of property belonging to his niece. To do so it was necessary to insure their lives for about £2000. This was easy enough, as Liverpool, no less than London, was ready to assure anything which promised profit, and as the affair was regular, no one hesitated. A certain amount of secrecy was requisite for the sake of his credit ; and availing himself of this, he assured on the life of the niece £2000 with, at any rate, ten different merchants and underwriters, in London and elsewhere. The game was once more in his own hands, and the same play was once more acted. The lady was

taken ill, the doctor was called in and found her suffering from convulsions. He administered a specific and retired. In the night he was again hastily summoned, but arrived too late. The patient was declared to be beyond his skill; and the next morning it became known to all Liverpool that she had died suddenly. A decorous grief was evinced by the chief mourner. There was no haste made in forwarding the funeral. The lady lay almost in state, so numerous were the friends who called to see the last of her they had visited; the searchers did their hideous office gently, for they were, probably, largely bribed; the physician certified she had died of a complaint he could scarcely name, and the grave received the coffin. The merchant retained his position in Liverpool, and bore himself with a decent dignity; made no immediate application for the money, scarcely even alluding to the assurances which were due, and when they were named, exhibited an appearance of almost apathetic indifference. He had, however, selected his victims with skill. They were safe men, and from them he duly received the money which was assured on the life of the niece.

"From this period he seemed to decline in health, expressed a loathing for the place where he had once been so happy; change of air was prescribed, and he left the men whom he had deceived, chuckling at the success of his infamous scheme.

"It need not be repeated that the poverty-stricken gentleman of the suburbs, the gambling captain of Queen Square, and the merchant of Liverpool, were identical. That so successful a series of frauds was practised appears wonderful at the present day; but that the woman either possessed that power of simulating death, of which we read occasional cases in the remarkable records of various times, or that the physicians were deceived or bribed, is certain. There is no other way of accounting for the success of a scheme which dipped so largely into the pockets of the underwriters."

The year 1762 is remarkable, amongst other things, as witnessing the struggle which ushered into life the Equitable Assurance Association. The opening prospects of the Society were not bright, and it required directors of more than ordinary perseverance, and managers of temperaments more sanguine than is usual, to bear up against the strong tide of opposition, and ultimately to make way against all obstructions which beset the path of the Company. At the first meeting, which "was holden at the White Lion in Cornhill," no more than four policies were negotiated. In the same number of the following months, the amount hardly extended to thirty,—so slowly were benefits recognized, of which people afterwards were most anxious to take advantage. The committee of control, however, were not to be vanquished by a four months' campaign; and even the hostile opinion of the Attorney-General, who did not imagine himself justi-

fied "in advising the Crown to grant a charter" to the institution, was insufficient to turn the projectors from their purpose. It is possible that they were rather encouraged than dismayed by the suspicion with which the legal counsellor of royalty viewed their undertaking, since the main objection to the scheme was that the Attorney-General did "not think the terms sufficiently high." It was many years before the Equitable was enabled to make a fair start in the world; yet talents were not wanting to assist its councils, and money was not withheld to develop its designs. The "justly celebrated Mr. Thomas Simpson" may be named amongst its originators: from the closet and from the platform he advocated the cause, and not without success. In conjunction with Mr. Simpson may be mentioned a Mr. Mores, "an accomplished antiquarian and an enlightened gentleman." To these master-spirits were joined many of the chief merchants and the first bankers of the day. In order to give more *eclat* to the enterprize, the name and the title of Lord Willoughby de Parham was paraded as a guarantee for the respectability of the Society—a gratuitous aid on the part of the noble lord, and one which was duly acknowledged with many thanks when the Equitable had ceased to look to rank for countenance, and when the support of the many had rendered unnecessary the timely patronage of the few.

If, however, the progress of the Association was not so satisfactory as could be desired by the proprietors themselves, the statistics given to the world of the increase of assurers was so rapid as to leave little room, in this respect, for improvement. The secret which explains the concordance of apparently contradictory assertions, may be stated in a few words:—The feat was accomplished by a sleight of hand, which was "quite in keeping with the commercial integrity of the eighteenth century," and which transformed the five and twentieth actual policy into the registered policy, number two hundred and seventy-five. Hence, by a single stroke of the pen, the Company obtained a nominally increased number of subscribers to the amount of two hundred and fifty. Thus far the personal vanity of individual members was alone flattered, and little harm ensued; but when these returns were advertised as practical evidence of the thriving condition of the Company; and when these figures were appealed to as a convincing proof of the confidence reposed in the integrity of its management, the affair assumed a widely different aspect; and the conduct of the committee is open to the severest censure. The stratagem, however, was

entirely successful, and those who heretofore had looked with some suspicion upon the system, were soon found to succumb to the enticement.

It must be confessed, however, that the holders of policies themselves evinced profound indifference to the state of their concerns. A sufficient number of members to constitute a quorum was rarely to be collected : nor could a full court be procured until the cupidity of the members was appealed to, and five guineas were promised to the first twenty-one who should arise before twelve o'clock. Then, and not until then, were the meetings properly attended ; a fact, continues Mr. Francis, " which speaks loudly for the shrewdness of those who devised the scheme, and the avarice of those who formed the association." Internal discord threatened the annihilation of the Equitable : the result was to diminish in two years time the number of assurances by no less than seventy-four policies ; and it was some length of time before the directors of the Company were enabled to report that the affairs of the Society were again tending towards prosperity.

The reasons to which we may attribute the comparative want of success, in its early stage, on the part of the Equitable, are not difficult to discover. The directors acted in the most singular, and in the most uncommercial manner. In the year 1762, the board of management bound themselves by a solemn oath " never to discover the names of persons making or applying for assurances." To this was added certain " extreme premiums for fancied risks." These were — a youth hazard, a female hazard, an occupation hazard. And to complete the whole, the terms of assurance, notwithstanding the opinion of the Attorney-General, were extravagant, and were beyond the reach, as much as they were opposed to the interest, of the assured.

In 1780 new tables were introduced, founded on more recent observations of mortality in the midland counties, than had formerly been employed. Fifteen per cent, however, was added " because certain directors thought the doctor was lowering the character of the institution by lowering the charges ;" and it cost the persevering physician a six years' labour, to induce the directors to withdraw this increase. The Association, however, was not yet free from danger ; a circumstance which may be " judged from the fact, that half the policies issued within the first twenty-five years had been abandoned, probably from doubt of their ultimate payment." Prosperity, however, at length set her finger upon the Equitable ; and by the year 1815, Mr. Francis informs us, " alarm

being manifested lest it should become unmanageable from its magnitude, a resolution was passed limiting the participator in the surplus to 5000." Decennial investigations were at the same time accorded; and thenceforth, the Equitable maintained its brilliant career. We have thus briefly traced the history of one of the societies for Life Assurance. Its trial, then, must remain for an example of the history of others. We now proceed to place before the reader, an account of a phase in the existence of Life Assurance, which is as extraordinary as we trust it will prove to be exceptional.

For the space of nearly half-a-century previous to the year 1774, when the attention of the legislature was directed to the subject, there was prevalent a species of gambling which, taking the form of insurance, diverted large sums of money from legitimate channels; and at the same time presented the most dangerous temptations to crime. To check this prevailing and mischievous system was the object of Parliament. It was therefore enacted, 14 Geo. III. cap. 48, that "no insurance shall be made on the life of any person, or on any event whatsoever, where the person on whose account such policy shall be made shall have no interest, or by way of gaming or wagering; and that every such insurance shall be null and void." The clause here quoted struck at once at the root of the disease. Yet, a single clause in a single Act of Parliament will effect but little to eradicate confirmed evil habits. A single instance will be a sufficient proof of this assertion. The celebrated trial of the Duchess of Kingston took place only two years after the passing of the Act. The case, as is well known, was a charge of bigamy: and the Lords in Westminster Hall declared the Duchess guilty. Such an event was scarcely to be expected again in the lifetime of the brokers of the age. So good an opportunity for traffic was not to be neglected: and if we are to credit contemporaneous report, the policies and the wagers which were laid upon the result of the trial of her Grace, were such as completely to eclipse all former investments of the same nature.

This mode of speculation, remarks Mr. Francis, "is one of the strongest byways in the annals of insurance." Policies, he continues, "were opened on the lives of public men, with a recklessness at once disgraceful and injurious to the morals of the country." Public men, in every acceptation of the term, either passively acquiesced, or assisted actively in this wide spread system of demoralization. Nor was private life secure from the influence of the all-pervading mania. The

principles, if such they can be called, by which these novelities in the history of insurance were regulated, can only be classed in comprehensive schedules. Fixed and written regulations could never penetrate the many ramifications of the system into which the prolific imaginations of the agents were wont to range. The course, under certain circumstances, which men would pursue, and the course which they would *not* follow, were considered fair game for the speculation of the hazardous. Then, money was lost and was won upon the actions of individuals, whose proceedings were dependent upon the influence of others. Indeed, there were few positions in which a person might be placed, few motives by which he might be prompted, few results in which he might be concerned, and many in which he could not possibly be involved, that were not speculated upon with all the eagerness, and with all the excitement, which generally characterises every other species of gambling.

To take but a few examples, where many might with ease be quoted. Sir Robert Walpole's life was insured for many thousand pounds when party prejudice threatened his political, or when popular passion endangered his individual existence. Twenty-five pound per cent. was paid against "the return of George II. from Dettingen." The adventures of the Pretender caused large sums of money to change hands. "The gallantry of Balmerino, and the devotion of Lady Nitheisdale, raised no soft scruple in the minds of the brokers." "The gray hairs of Lord Lovat did not prevent them gambling on his life." Upwards of eight hundred German emigrants, in the year 1765, were encamped in Goodman's Fields: "on the third day, when several expired from hunger, or exposure, the assurance speculators were ready, and wagers were made as to the number who would die in the week." Admiral Byng was the unwilling, though probably the not unconscious cause of hundreds of pounds being pocketed by the favoured few. Policies were granted at ten per cent. on Wilkes' remaining a specified time in the Tower. The illness of King George, and the unpopularity of the premier, were matters of identical value in the opinion of underwriters: and the resignation of Newcastle, or the elevation of Pitt, were both useful and equally indifferent to policy-broker. "There was absolutely nothing," the author remarks,

"On which a policy could be opened, but what was employed as a mode of gambling. Scarcely a nobleman of note went to his long account, without an assurance being opened during his illness, by

those who had no interest in his life. These policies, especially those on political offenders whose existence trembled in the balance, were most mischievous. A pecuniary interest in the death of any one is fearful odds against benevolent feeling; and it was hardly to be expected that men should throw what influence they possessed into the scale of mercy. The power of opening merely speculative policies on private persons was also demoralising, and perhaps dangerous to life itself. It was not possible—it was not in human nature—to have money depending on the existence of the inmate of your home without watching him with feelings which the good man would tremble to analyse, and even the bad man would fear to avow. People then opened policies on the lives of all in whom they were socially interested; and under the plea of provision, acquired an interest in their relatives which was almost fearful and sometimes fatal, from its intensity. There is no doubt that the system was false and hollow. The son then insured the life of his father; the father opened policies on the life of his son: and when thousands, or perhaps tens of thousands of pounds were dependent on it, who shall tell the feelings of the son, or dare to judge the sensations of the father, if sickness or disease opened a golden prospect? The mind shrinks from the horror of the idea, and recoils indignantly at the thought that such sacred relations of life should be thus sordidly regarded. But the argument might be carried further; for to many a dark mystery might a clue be given, in the remembrance that a pecuniary interest might have existed between the murdered and the murderer!"

In illustration of the species of Insurance now more particularly under consideration, the case of the Chevalier D'Eon deserves attention. His history, so far as it concerns our present purpose, is singular. The Chevalier was the cause of trial, Mr. Francis informs us, before Lord Mansfield, as to the validity of a policy without insurable interest. The anecdote is so well related by the author, that the reader will prefer to peruse the story in Mr. Francis' own words:

"The career of this man or woman, for the question was long doubtful, was familiar to the public, and will illustrate the excitement of the period. Equerry to Louis XV., doctor of law, ambassador and royal censor, employed in a confidential mission to the Russian court, and said to be a favourite of its empress, D'Eon came to England with a reputation ready made. He soon quarrelled with the Duke de Nivernois, ambassador from the most Christian King, and as D'Eon proved unsuccessful in his attempt to injure his grace, he was so incensed that he disclaimed all connection with the Court and ambassador, declared that the peace had been accomplished in England by the agency of French gold; denouncing also, in no measured terms, those who had been accomplices, and pointing almost by name to men who, under the guise of patriotism, had betrayed their country. As a patriot's capital is his public

character, the accused parties waxed wrath, defied their calumniator, and talked of prosecuting him. The people, unwilling to lose their faith in English probity, took the part of their countrymen, and mobbed the knight wherever he appeared.

"In the mean time, doubts arising as to his sex, his calumnies were all forgotten, and a new interest was attached to the chevalier, by the assertion of some that he was male, and of others that he was a female. This was something fresh for assurance brokers, and the question was mooted at Lloyd's. At first wagers were made; but as there was no present mode of deciding whether this extraordinary individual was man or woman, they were quickly abandoned.

"It was decided, therefore, that policies should be opened on his sex, by which it was undertaken that on payment of fifteen guineas, one hundred should be returned whenever the Chevalier was proved to be a woman. At first he pretended to be indignant, and advertised that on a certain day and hour he would satisfy all whom it concerned. The place was a City Coffee-house, the hour was that of 'Change, and the curiosity of the citizens was greatly excited. The insurances on this eccentric person's sex were greatly and immediately increased, policies to a very large amount were made out, wagers of thousands were entered into, and to the rendezvous thronged bankers, underwriters, and brokers. The hour approached, and with it came the Chevalier, who, dressed in the uniform of a French officer, and decorated with the order of St. Louis, rose to address the assembly. It is easy to imagine the breathless attention of the listening throng (for a million was said to depend on his words), the eager interest of some, the cool cupidity of others, the ribaldry of more, and the astonishment of all, as with an audacity only to be equalled by his charlatanry, he said 'he came to prove he belonged to that sex whose dress he wore, and challenged any one there to disprove his manhood with sword or with cudgel.' The spirit of the citizens had long passed away, commerce had sheathed the sword of chivalry, and none grasped the gauntlet for the honour of London. Bankers, brokers, and underwriters gaped at one another aghast; and though the boldness of the speech pleased many, it was far from satisfactory to those who came with the hope of winning a wager, or claiming their assurance money. The knight departed in triumph. Large sums were said to be offered him to divulge his sex. 'I know for certain,' says a writer of the day, 'that there were sums offered to him, amounting to 30,000*l*.' However this may be, it was thought necessary to settle the question, if possible; and one of the first actions tried after the act to prevent gaming in assurance, arose from a policy on the sex of D'Eon, in which it appeared that Mr. Jaques, a broker, had received several premiums of thirty-five guineas, for which he had granted policies undertaking to return one hundred, whenever the Chevalier was proved to be a woman. The form of the contract was as follows:

“ ‘In consideration of thirty-five guineas for one hundred, received of Roebuck and Vaughan, we whose names are hereunto subscribed, do severally promise to pay the sums of money which we have hereunto subscribed, on the following condition; viz., in case the Chevalier d'Eon should hereafter prove to be a female.’

“ From this day the star of the Chevalier waned in England. He turned fencing-master, but with difficulty obtained a living. He assumed female attire, but his hour was over. He had ceased to be a curiosity to the many; the “death brokers,” as Horace Walpole calls them, could make no more by him; and with the assurance on his sex ceases the interest of Chevalier d'Eon, in the context of this volume. His name is only interesting to the reader from the fact that Chief Justice Mansfield adjudicated on his case, and that an important decision was arrived at in the legal history of this science, when his Lordship declared that a policy of assurance, although not even on life, when entered into without an insurable interest, was against the purport of the act recently passed, and contrary to English notions of morality.

Up to the commencement of the present century, the offices of Life Assurance were enabled to muster not more than six in number. The increase of population, and the augmentation of wealth in England seemed to require a further development of the system, and Sir Richard Glyn devoted himself to the task. In the year 1803, he propounded the theory, and promulgated the terms upon which he proposed to establish a new Society, upon proprietary principles. Sir Richard proved himself to be no mere visionary: and a Company under his superintendence quickly sprung into being, entitled the Globe. The association being formed, the next point to be gained, was the possession of a charter. The long established Companies had viewed the rise of this new Society with feelings akin to suspicion. Suspicion, with the advance of fortune, ripened into enmity; and when the upstart proprietary institution was ambitious enough to aspire to an equality with themselves, the enmity of the older societies developed into positive war. Every obstacle which outraged monopoly could invent was opposed. Every argument which interested motives could suggest was urged. The contest was short but severe, and left the Globe master of the field. To the eminent services of the present Marquis of Lansdowne this victory was principally due. As Lord Henry Petty, from his seat in the House of Commons, he advocated the cause of the persecuted Globe. His efforts were crowned with success. Lord Henry had the satisfaction of carrying the bill for the incorporation of the new Company in all its stages, through the House; and the Globe

thenceforth took its station as a corporate body, by the side of its jealous, though now its sister institutions.

Two years later, a progressive movement was discernable. A large amount of insurance, it was asserted, from the absence of responsible Companies at home, was effected abroad. More associations were wanted. The principles of political economy again established their soundness; and more associations were supplied. From 1808 to 1821, "out of a great number which were proposed, commenced, and failed, eight additional Companies maintained their ground." By 1826, this list had swelled to the amount of forty-one. These statistics, however, present but a faint idea of what was being attempted in the cause. In the period of twenty years from 1806, "more Companies had been broken up than were successful." Some offices felt obliged to confess their total insolvency. The proprietors of others discovered when too late, that they had lost the greater portion of their capital. Some again, having become unable to continue in association, divided between themselves the remnants of their former greatness: the directors fled, and left to the luckless holders of policies little but the satisfaction of anathematising the proprietors, and of bewailing their own credulity. A compromise, however, was not unfrequently proposed; and the managing committee of a certain defunct society, were obliged, and indeed thankful, to pay the sum of £21,000. to the Provident Life Company, to take all liabilities off their hands, and to allow them to depart in peace. The following account of a society which flourished about this time, may not prove uninteresting. The slight sketch of some of its originators, is cleverly hit off by Mr. Francis.

"Among the companies which were started in 1825, and which attracted attention from the importance of its promoters, was the Alliance. In its marine capacity it broke down the charters of the old corporations, and was at once successful, not from any special merit, but because it numbered among its members the representatives of the first city firms. It may be added, that among them, four men more alike in the one desire of making money, but more dissimilar in tastes, pursuits, and habits, were never before united. These were John Irving, Baron Goldsmid, Moses Montefiore, and Samuel Gurney. The first of them, John Irving, affected West End company and aristocratic tastes, by virtue of the friendship of the House of Rutland. He was familiar with men in Lothbury who were never able to meet his eye in Hyde Park. He knew many a merchant on 'Change whom he could not recognise in St. James's. 'He shakes me by the hand in the City,' growled Roths-

child to a friend, 'but he can never see me in Piccadilly, when he is walking with a duke.' Moses Montefiore, the huge capitalist, and Isaac Goldsmid, the hereditary financier, are familiar to the reader. The last on the list is Samuel Gurney, whose simple garb of russet brown and unassuming speech, contrast as much with his great wealth, as his massive, masculine, and almost leonine face does with his single-minded and benevolent character. These were the men who gave at once success and security to the Alliance."

We reluctantly pass without notice the remarkable cases of Thomas Griffith Wainwright, and of the two Miss Abercrombies, which Mr. Francis narrates with much vivacity. We do so, in order to notice with greater length, the rise and fall of a shallow, though for many years, a most successful, attempt to build an Assurance Society upon no other foundation than great names.

"An old man, between sixty and seventy, ignorant, uneducated, and in want; who had been at one time a smuggler, and at another a journeyman shoemaker, thought, in the year 1836, that the best mode of supplying his necessities would be to open an office for the receipt of moneys in exchange for the sale of annuities. The plan was notable, but required assistance, and a coadjutor worthy his friendship, was soon found in one William Hole, a tallow-chandler, a smuggler, a footman, and a bankrupt. These friends at once confederated together, and found no great difficulty in their way. The chief capital demanded by such an undertaking on the part of the proprietor, was unbounded impudence; and on that of the public, unbounded credulity. Having joined their purses to produce a prospectus, and having taken an office in what Theodore Hooke called the 'respectable neighbourhood' of Baker Street, Portman Square, their next plan was to concoct a directory of gentlemen who, while they attracted public attention, and seemed a pledge for the respectability of the company, should yet mislead those who were not familiar with the financial world. This was an easy task, and in due time the most honourable names in London were openly published as managers of the 'INDEPENDENT AND WEST MIDDLESEX FIRE AND LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.' Trusting to the faith of people in great mercantile firms, there was scarcely a banker, a brewer, or a merchant, whose patronymic, with different initials, was not used by these ex-smugglers, to forward their views. Drummonds, Perkins, Smith, Price, and Lloyd, were all produced as fancy directors, to adorn one of the most impudent prospectuses which was ever composed. They then turned their attention to the working men of the establishment, and Mr. Hole having a brother-in-law named Taylor,* sufficiently respectable to be a journeyman bell-hanger, sought him out, saying, "he

* This man appears to have been an innocent tool in the hands of his acute brother-in-law.

was going to make a gentleman of him," undertaking to pay him one hundred guineas yearly, provided he attended the board when it was required, and did not "get drunk or behave disorderly." Finding some difficulty in procuring a sufficient number, and being applied to by a William Wilson for a menial situation, they at once advanced him to the post of director, paying the liberal sum of five shillings weekly. A boy of sixteen, who went on errands, who signed annuity deeds for thousands, or who swept the floors, was also appointed to a similar post; while the gentleman who undertook the onerous position of auditor, was also porter in general to this respectable establishment. On board-days they were told to dress in their 'Sunday's best,' to place brooches in their dirty shirts, and rings on their clumsy fingers; the huge fine of half-a-crown being inflicted, should they appear in the native simplicity of their work-a-day attire; and it is no unremarkable feature of this establishment, that Taylor duly, on board-days, left his master the bell-hanger to go to his master the director, to sign the deeds which duped the public. Their next requirement was a banker; and none other was good enough, save the Bank of England, which was added to the list of attractions of this commercial bill of the play.

Everything thus prepared, they turned their attention to statistics; and here again there was no great obstacle. In order to procure business, it was necessary to offer tempting terms, so they liberally proposed to serve the public 30 per cent. lower than any other office, although, with all the existing competition, the greatest difference hitherto had been but from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and in addition to this, these bad men committed the glaring impudence of granting life assurances for much smaller premiums, and selling annuities on much lower terms than any one else; terms so palpably wrong, that a man of 30, by paying 1000*l.* could obtain a life annuity of 80*l.*, and by paying 17*l.* 10*s.* of this to insure his life, could receive $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for his money, and secure his capital to his successors.*

Such was the projector, and such the proprietors of this new and doughty association. Support alone was wanting to render perfect this barefaced scheme. The patronage of the credulous alone was required quickly to make the fortune of the "Resident Secretary" and his compeers. This was not to be effected without some eminent display of self-disinterestedness, some extraordinary example of self-sacrifice. There were societies enough and to spare, which proposed to transact business upon fair and equitable principles: there were a few which offered, though somewhat modestly, terms less favourable to the insurer than to the assured.

* This was first pointed out by the Quarterly Review.

The former were to be distanced in the race for public countenance: the latter were to be out-Heroded in the attractions offered. The directors were determined not to fail in obtaining the favour of the multitude through lack of liberality. The most adventurous of the new Companies possessed insufficient boldness, or rather displayed more honesty than to diminish the customary terms on policies to a greater extent than one and a half per cent. The West Middlesex, however, were not to be restrained within such narrow limits. It is a note, Ben Jonson says,

“ Of upstart greatness to observe and watch
For those poor trifles, which the noble mind
Neglects and scorns : ”

and forthwith the directors issued circulars offering “ to serve the public at thirty per cent. lower than any other office.”

Having arranged preliminaries, the managers, continues Mr. Francis,

“ opened their office and commenced business. They had the precaution to select respectable agents, and by giving twenty-five per cent. where other companies only gave five per cent., stimulated them to say all they could in their favour. The terms were very attractive; there is always a large ignorant class ready and willing to be duped; and the business went on swimmingly. If a man wanted to insure his life, there was no great difficulty about his health. If another wished to purchase an annuity, they were quite willing to dispense with baptismal certificates in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and Glasgow; large and handsome offices were opened, and the public induced to play its part in this most serious drama of real life. The poor and less intelligent portion of the community, lured by terms which had never before tempted them, took their spare cash and invested it in the West Middlesex.”

All classes flocked to support the Company. Many invested the earnings of years in the worthless bubble, and entrusted their little all to the tender mercies of the West Middlesex. There was no estate which did not suffer; no property which did not pay tribute to the votary of mammon. All were attracted, involved, deceived. The poor were dazzled at the terms which were offered, nay, which were forced upon their notice: the rich would increase their riches, or would secure their wealth to their descendants. The ignorant and the careless were entrapped from scarcity of wisdom: and even the educated and the careful were blinded by superfluity of knowledge. The money of all, however, was equally acceptable, and little that was offered was declined. For a time the Company flourished. The money obtained was liberally spent. “The

promoters" the author remarks, in pursuing the history of the Company,

"kept carriage-horses and saddle-horses; servants in gorgeous liveries waited on them; they fared, like Dives, sumptuously every day. One of the directors lived in the house in Baker Street, and being of a convivial character, astonished that quiet street with gay parties, lighted rooms, musical *soirées*, and expensive dinners. His wine was rare and *recherché*, his cook was sufficiently good for his guests, and he found himself surrounded by the first people of this lively locality. But there were very dark rumours afloat, which should have made men hesitate before they gave this fellow their countenance. By 1839, there was a general feeling that there was something wrong; Mr. Barber Beaumont wrote a letter to the 'Times' about it; and had it not been for the wonderful boldness of the adventurers, they must have broken up long before. It was known that they had thrown a difficulty in the way of paying some annuities in the country; and that, without any justice, they had refused to discharge a fire insurance which had become due. Still what is every one's business is nobody's business, and they had hedged themselves with such a conventional respectability, they looked so grave, they talked so properly, and they gave such good dinners, that it was long before they were compelled to yield. So great was their *prestige*, that though one of their victims came fierce and furious, and bearded them in their own house, and before the very faces of their friends—though he told the party assembled that he was swindled, and their hosts were the swindlers,—it produced no effect, and he was absolutely obliged to leave the place for fear of personal violence. In addition to the dinners which they gave their friends, they had small pleasant parties of their own, with toasts sardonically applicable to themselves, the first standing sentiment being in mocking, reckless contempt,—

"An honest man's the noblest work of God!"

"The unpleasant rumours continuing to spread very rapidly, it became desirable to procure a director with something like respectability attached to his name; so Mr. Knowles wrote to Sir John Rae Reid, Governor of the Bank of England, stating, that as he was a native of Dover, he could assist Sir John with his constituents, provided that gentleman would give his name as director to the falling establishment. The only reply was a contemptuous refusal, and an unceremonious request that Mr. Knowles would withdraw the accounts of the West Middlesex from the custody of the Bank."

The career, however, of this huge imposition was drawing to a close. Amongst others who entered into communication with the Glasgow branch of the Company, was the Editor of the "Scottish Reformer's Gazette," Mr. Peter Mackenzie. This gentleman, from a casual acquaintance with

the affairs of the Society, was led to question the soundness of the system. Further investigation changed his suspicions into certainties. In the year 1839, in the columns of his *Journal*, he set himself to the task of exposing the real principles, and the true characters of the directors of the Independent West Middlesex. This course he adopted week by week with renewed vigour, and with increased success. Mr. Mackenzie had not to combat with the giant alone. Sir Peter Laurie came to his assistance: and, "from his seat at the Mansion House," denounced the Association. "The declarations he openly made, and others which he procured, produced from the victims an enormous amount of letters. The Company became a theme of public conversation—the Assurance Offices rejoiced at the discovery of their rival's infamy—and those who were insured were rudely startled from their dream of security." Mr. Mackenzie being once placed in the track of his quarry, pursued it to the death. The sum of 2000*l.* was meanwhile placed in the hands of the legal advisers of the Society, for the purpose of effecting the editor's ruin. Actions were brought against him, and the damages were laid at 20,000*l.*, but the attempt was vain. Mr. Mackenzie was not to be diverted from his purpose. Although greatly a loser, he had at length the gratification of seeing his adversary humbled. The Independent had run its course. Its downfall was as rapid as its rise. Division appeared in the camp. The director in chief had quarrelled with his subordinate; and William Hole, in his turn, had denounced and separated from the journeyman shoemaker. "The valuables were removed from Baker Street; two waggons were necessary to remove the wine only; and the bubble burst." The loss sustained by the public was immense; and Mr. Francis probably confines himself within the true limit, when he assesses the amount consumed by the fraudulent Independent, at from two hundred to two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

Recent events have considerably enlarged the sphere of assurance; and at the present time it is beginning to bear an aspect not unlike that to which we alluded, as prevailing during the worst period of the science. The number of companies now competing for public favour, the large professions made by many of them, and the paucity of names distinguished for wealth and intelligence which appear on their lists of direction, should induce the insurer to pause and consider well before he makes his choice. Many existing companies cannot look for a long date of existence, and

within the last few years several instances have occurred of wise amalgamation.

Not long ago a company started to assure farmers against losses among their cattle. The plan promised fairly, and was taken up to a considerable extent, but so defective were the statistics, and so expensive the management, that when the assured brought their losses to the Company, so far were they from having them made good that they were called upon to pay up the whole amount of their shares and a considerable sum besides ; and as the Company was based on the principle of mutual assurance, they had no remedy but to pay, and wind up the affair.

This principle—that of mutual assurance—safe as it is, if the society which adopts it be based on sound data, is replete with danger to mere makers of experiment in such a science.

Among the more recent additions to the ordinary business of an insurance office, two must be especially noticed. One is that of combining with it a guarantee society, so that the person about to enter upon a sphere of responsibility, and unable to obtain, or unwilling to ask, the guarantee of private friends, may yet furnish the required security, and at the same time secure a sum to his family in case of his removal. This improvement, for such it deserves to be called, is due to "The Times Life Assurance Company." It is an arrangement safe and remunerative on the part of those who make it, and calculated to encourage habits both of prudence and self-dependence.

Of the other combination—that of a life assurance and a freehold land society—we would speak with more hesitation. It appears to have the effect of needlessly multiplying insurance companies. Nor are we quite prepared to speak with entire approbation of the whole system of freehold land societies. We shall, however, watch their proceedings, and probably revert to the subject again.

But there is one class of assurance which we would gladly see encouraged to the greatest extent. We allude to that among working men. They have been hitherto confined to benefit societies ; and the reckless expenditure of these bodies, as well as the false data upon which they have generally been founded, have deprived many a poor man of his hard-earned savings. Now, for the first time, we see an assurance company addressing itself to them, and to them alone ; offering them a provision in sickness, an asylum in old age, and a provision for their families in case of death. It proposes to be to them a benefit society, an assurance com-

pany, and a building club, all in one, without the risks which each of them present, guaranteed by men of character and capital, and holding out the expectation of implanting in the lives of thousands habits of forethought and industry. To the clergy such an institution will commend itself at once. Its want has been long felt, and the directors wisely confine their promises to a reasonable interest to shareholders, that the profits may be applied to the benefit of the assured. Such are the objects of the "*Englishman's Industrial Life Assurance Company*."

It must be expected that as soon as one company has established any hitherto ill-understood principle, that many others will soon press forwards to secure themselves a share of the real or supposed benefits. Thus we have already not a few combinations of life assurance offices with freehold land societies, guarantee associations, and plans of benefit for the poor. Nor will it be fair hastily to condemn any principle because it may appear to be somewhat over-done. In times like ours premises will be pushed to their conclusions, and principles be carried out into occasionally excessive practice, but experience will soon show what is safe and fair, and what must be stigmatized as gambling. The annals of the past will furnish lessons for the future, and a little thought will be sufficient to guide the insurer. But our remarks have extended to a greater length than we contemplated. The subject has grown under our hands; and for want of space, we are precluded from following Mr. Francis through his concluding chapters upon Life Assurance, its aim, its interests, and its prospects. The suggestion of one who has devoted much time to the contemplation of the subject, should not be without weight; and, while we do not pledge ourselves to concurrence with all the theories expressed by Mr. Francis, we cannot abstain from recommending to the reader their attentive perusal, and careful consideration: and we take leave of the volume before us with the conviction, that few who read but will appreciate, and none who study will fail to obtain improvement from the "*Annals, Anecdotes, and Legends of Life Assurance*."

- ART. V.—1. *Report on the Mortality of Cholera in England, 1848-49.* By WILLIAM FARR, Esq. London: 1852. H. M. Stationery Office. 8vo. pp. 480.
2. *Weekly and Quarterly Returns, published by authority of the Registrar-General.* London: 1852-53.
3. *Asiatic Cholera; its Symptoms, Pathology and Treatment.* By RICHARD BARWELL, F. R. C. S. London: 1853. Churchill.
4. *A Popular Treatise on Malignant Cholera.* By HENRY M'CARTHY, M. R. C. S. E. Dublin: 1853. Hodges and Smith.
5. *Thoughts on Cholera.* By EDWIN HEARNE, (of Southampton). M.B. London: 1853. Churchill.
6. *A Pathological and Practical Treatise on Epidemic Cholera.* By DR. O'B. MAHONY, (of Clonmel). London: 1853. Churchill.

THE exact point of origin of an epidemic disease is always difficult to make out. Commonly, in the first instance, some mild and not very important disorder of the kind is occasionally observed. After a time, perhaps, when men have become familiar with it, an aggravated form of it breaks out, lasts its day, and subsides; and thus in the course of years other outbreaks occur, and the disease at length becomes more formidable and frequent, and attracts greater attention. By and bye, in connection with some particular place or event, a new and malignant type of it suddenly appears as a violent epidemic, defies all medical treatment, and commits frightful ravages. It then begins to travel, moving at a rate and in a course which definitively accords with the circumstances of certain agencies that seem to propagate it; and, traversing many countries, it long retains its original intractable character, while committing its first havoc among the various races of mankind. Finally, after many years, becoming more amenable to remedial measures, it assumes an erratic tendency, and takes rank as a known and established epidemic disease, wandering up and down the world. Such up to a certain point, has been exactly the history of Cholera.

Now, the transition period between the first fierce outbreak and career of some new and terrible disease, and its final settling down into a regular epidemic, is a period of great suspense and anxiety. The memory of the first panic has not yet passed away; there is the constant hazard of a

return of the pestilence, its treatment is not rightly understood, and men know not precisely what it will ultimately come to, or how, or when, or in what form, it will settle down. Just in this trying and anxious transition period we now stand in regard to the Cholera; an epidemic, which long known in a milder form, and prevailing like any other ordinary disease, after a while began to make itself known by more prominent and dangerous outbreaks, burst at length upon the world with a fury not surpassed by any recorded pestilence, and now continues to move about from country to country, filling them with havoc and alarm. This is its precise position at the present moment, as will be seen by the short account of its rise and progress which we are about to place before the reader. At such a juncture, all educated persons must desire to be rightly informed respecting the principal points in its history and manifestations, its causes, and above all its prevention and cure.

In the form of ordinary *bilious cholera*, this disease was known to the ancient physicians of Greece and Rome, as well as in later times both in Europe and Asia. Cases of a severer kind now and then occurred; and, multiplying in the course of years, became noted as *spasmodic cholera*, which chiefly prevailed between the tropics, and, though more rarely, in unusually hot seasons in northern countries. Occasionally, either the bilious or the spasmodic cholera became epidemic, in some particular season or country, committed more or less extensive ravages, and then disappeared again. Such were the violent English epidemics of 1669 and 1680, and the Indian one of 1695. In the subsequent century, cholera became principally known in connection with India. Various epidemics of the spasmodic form occurred in different parts of that vast country, but all local and temporary, and none equal to the fierce pestilence of later years. Thus, in 1762 it prevailed in Upper Hindostan; it was also frequent in the Carnatic, and on the Coromandel Coast, in which latter locality it assumed upon one occasion a remarkably malignant type; again, in 1780 and 1781, it prevailed in many parts of India, and in 1783 it broke out in a great concourse or pilgrims at Hurdwar on the Ganges, and carried off some thousands of them, but did not spread to any distance.

At length, in 1817, a new, malignant, and rapidly spreading form of the disease appeared in the marshy and jungly tract of country which forms the Delta of the Ganges, among the crowded, filthy, low-lying native towns. This was the

pestilential or malignant cholera. It swept off the population by thousands, defied all medical treatment, and was communicated from place to place with fatal effect. In 1818 it spread in every direction from its place of origin, east, west, north, and south, travelling not rapidly, but at a certain fixed rate, apparently about sixty miles a month. It visited in succession all the surrounding countries, even to the Indian Archipelago, the Philippine Islands, China, Chinese Tartary, Mongolia, Thibet, Persia, Arabia, and Palestine; and by the year 1823 arrived at Orenburg and Astrachan. Here it ceased for a time, prevailing in the interim in Persia, and in Chinese Tartary; but in 1829 and 1830 it re-appeared in Orenburg and Astrachan, from whence it ascended the Volga, and got to Moscow.

It proceeded to Riga, St. Petersburg, and the central parts of Russia, and followed the Russian army in Poland. It extended through Austria and Germany, and in September, 1831, appeared at Hamburg. At the same date it was at Smyrna and Constantinople, and was conveyed by a caravan from Mecca to Cairo, where 10,400 Mahomedans shortly died of it.

Its first appearance in England was at Sunderland, in October, 1831, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in November, and at Shields, Tynemouth, Gateshead, and other places in December. It appeared in London close to the shipping in February, 1832. In Scotland and Ireland its first appearance was at the seaports on the eastern coast.

Conveyed across the Atlantic in an emigrant ship, it appeared at Quebec, in June, 1832, and spread to Montreal and other places. New York was shortly attacked. From thence it passed successively through the States, and so traversed almost all America.

It appeared at Calais, in March, 1832, and was believed to have been brought from England. In that and the subsequent years it ravaged France, Spain, and Italy, re-appeared in England in 1834, and continued to devastate various parts of Europe up to the end of 1837.

About the year 1838, pestilential cholera disappeared from Europe. But in 1842 it broke out in Burmah, and in the following years it spread through the various provinces of India, until in 1846 it reached Persia, where it experienced a considerable aggravation. During 1847 it proceeded into Russia, at the same rate, and along the same lines of communication, by which it had passed before. In June, 1848, it got to Petersburg and Berlin; it was at Hamburg

in September, and at Edinburgh in the beginning of October. It appeared in London at the end of September, increased rapidly in October, and continued prevalent in November and December. During 1849 it gradually increased, advancing rapidly in the summer, and attaining its greatest height in August and September. In the succeeding months it declined, and died away at the end of the year. In 1851 and 1852 it continued wandering about in Europe, America, and other parts of the world, and latterly, by its approach again towards these shores, induced us a year ago to predict the recent outbreak in England. Towards the end of last summer it accordingly appeared as we expected, increasing every week from August as the season advanced, exactly as in 1848.

To complete this account of the approach and arrival in Great Britain of the locomotive cholera, we must quote from Mr. Farr's report some interesting facts, which shew how the public health in a manner advanced to meet it, or was prepared for its reception. He says—

“ The deaths from cholera in England were 331 in 1838 ; 394 in 1839 ; 702 in 1840 ; 443 in 1841 ; and 1620 in 1842. The deaths from diarrhoea in the five years (1838-42) were 2482, 2562, 3469, 3240, and 5241.”

The summer of 1842 was unusually hot, more like an African than an English summer. Cholera and diarrhoea increased in the following years, 1843, 1844, and 1845, and in the summer quarter of 1846 a severe epidemic prevailed. The form was English cholera, running on to spasmodic cholera in some of the extreme cases. It is remarkable that in this very season the epidemic cholera acquired great force in India. In 1847, a severe winter, the famine in Ireland, and general distress among the poor, contributed to depress the public health ; inflammation of the lungs, typhus fever, the eruptive fevers, and inflammation prevailed ; and the deaths from cholera and diarrhoea still increased in number. The same influences continued in undiminished power in the spring and summer of 1848. Thus while the pestilence was still afar off, was its approach hinted at by certain changes in the public health, which paved the way for its prevalence amongst us.

It will now be seen in what particular period in the history of this remarkable epidemic we stand at the present hour. Its preliminary stages of growth and development have been gone through ; its first grand outbreak has occurred and passed away, and though others may be yet to come, and the

human race has probably much to undergo from its occasional violence, there are not wanting signs of its settling down into a somewhat less formidable disease in the future, though a more frequent and familiar one.

In the succession of facts now recounted, can be traced a history of maladies which assume a continuous identity in the course of years, and which amid the accidents and occurrences of many times and places, gradually coalesce, and force themselves on the attention as a single disease, possessing a character peculiar to itself. Though manifested in several subordinate forms, still, under all modifications and degrees of intensity, at all periods, and in every place, its main essential symptoms are the same, *disturbance of the bowels*, and *depression of the powers of life*. In those milder phases of it which extend not beyond the former of these two systems, it is familiarly known as DIARRHŒA. In a severer form, both systems being distinctly marked, accompanied with cramps, and sometimes going on to collapse, and even fatal exhaustion, it presents itself as SUMMER CHOLERA, called also *Bilious or English Cholera*. When of intense severity, with cramps, blueness and coldness of the skin, and collapse, rapidly passing to a fatal termination, it is called SPASMODIC CHOLERA, and also *Asiatic Cholera*, from its being frequent in Asia, and from a mistaken notion of its identity with the pestilential malady; whereas it differs from the latter in the prostration and depression of the powers of life being less extreme, in not travelling or being communicable from case to case, and in springing from some immediate origin among external circumstances. This kind of cholera is endemic in warm climates, and only appears in northern countries during very hot weather. Lastly, there is the severe kind of cholera that travels, and seems to be communicable, in which prostration is extreme, and collapse is often the principal symptom, to which no other name can we give than that of PESTILENTIAL, MALIGNANT, or EPIDEMIC CHOLERA.

By these facts are established,

1. The general unity of choleraic disease;
2. The specific distinctness of its subordinate forms.

The reader will now perceive, that the word cholera is used to express more than one form of disease. Setting aside what is commonly called "English" or "Summer" cholera, as well as the associated diarrhœa, the term is applied to all cases assuming the spasmodic form of the malady, however they originate, or wherever they occur; thus including two

different conditions :—the violent, spasmodic, non-communicable cholera, which does not travel, but is caused by circumstances belonging to the time and place,—and the more malignant and deadly kind, originating in particular places only, which travels, and is communicable ; the one, the Spasmodic, the other, the Pestilential Cholera. It is entirely for want of this most practical and natural distinction, that so many controversies have prevailed respecting the communicability of the disease.

On the large proportion of the surface of the earth over which cholera has prevailed, the mortality from it has been very great. Like all other epidemics, especially those of an infectious nature, it attacked only a certain proportion of the population, mainly selecting the poor, the unhealthy, the debilitated, and the aged ; but what that proportion was, cannot be exactly stated. Perhaps it may have varied between one-half and one-tenth, sometimes lower, very rarely higher. The proportion of deaths among the persons attacked was fearfully high, varying from one-tenth to nine-tenths of the cases ; but it is sometimes considerably lower. In the Indian towns and villages, particularly about the first outbreak of the epidemic, entire masses of the population were carried off. In the towns of Arabia it is said to have destroyed one-third of the inhabitants ; in Persia, one-sixth ; and similar proportions in Syria, China, and the borders of the Indian Seas. In the different countries of Europe great numbers were everywhere carried off ; and in Great Britain, the deaths from it amounted to more than 40,000. These statements relate to the first epidemic. The subsequent one was equally fatal, if not more so, in the wide extent of countries to which it spread. In 1848, it destroyed 1,934 persons in England and Wales ; and in the year 1849, 53,293 persons.

We may be allowed to say here a word with regard to the probable future career of cholera. From observing its course and progress in its first visit to this country, we were led to prognosticate its second visit in 1849, and its third visit in the summer just passed away ; and to announce the opinion, that cholera must no longer be considered a disease peculiar to India, but that it was about to become an habitual epidemic in the countries of Europe and other parts of the world. Various outbreaks may therefore be expected, subject to less definite rules as to course and direction than heretofore. London, especially that part of it south of the Thames,*

* Who can be the owners of this disgraceful district ?

Plymouth, Cork, Belfast, and other of our great and crowded seaports, are not unlikely points for its ravages to be manifested in the coming season. The epidemic circumstances, and the returns of 1853, present analogies to those of 1848; and the consequent probability that 1854 may resemble 1849, should impart promptness to any preventive measures to be taken in the interim. Epidemics will not wait for preliminaries to be gone through, for acts of parliament to be obtained, or for leases to fall in. Dr. Barwell takes other and remarkable ground in foretelling the advent of cholera, which he predicts from observing the steady increase in epidemic diseases, especially in typhus fever, which has taken place in the last eight or ten years. Beyond the ensuing summer, it is impossible to prognosticate with much chance of certainty; but from all past facts, from the history and nature of cholera, it can hardly be expected to recede and disappear as plague has done. It is much more likely to settle down into a frequent visitor, modified from its present virulence, and we hope divested of its widely prevalent epidemic qualities.

The purpose and object of cholera, or of any other pestilence, in the economy of providence, can be at best but darkly understood. That it is, like every thing else, an instrument or means to some unseen end, we cannot doubt, and should ever bear in mind, in all humility, reverentially acknowledging the hand of God. But this must not prevent us from enquiring into its physical nature and causes, as into those of any other natural phenomenon. There are successive orders of causes; nor is it the will of the Great First Cause of all things that man should refrain from examining the operation of the subordinate and secular agencies which He sets in motion, and ordains to bring about His will. Therefore we consider and discuss them; and in doing so, do right; nor can we approve of the narrow proceedings of those illogical minds which would seek to displace such a rational searching into the causation of things, to substitute for it the barren assertion, that God intends them to serve such and such a purpose. For this is a confounding together of *causes* with *reasons*; the causes of a thing being widely distinct from the object it is intended to effect, nor is the study and setting forth of the one any substitute for that of the other. Undoubtedly in this pestilence we cannot but recognize the finger of God; but *why* He has brought this upon mankind, is not so readily discerned. It is sent as a judgment, just so far as any other affliction in its degrees is sent, but the particular transgression it is sent for, might

perhaps, be best demonstrated by investigating its physical causes. Sins of *omission*, as well as commission, oftentimes bear within them the seeds of their own punishment.

We think some consciences, if allowed their natural scope, would self-apply the hint thus given, which is probably nearer to the truth than the broadest declamations against national sins and their presumed punishments in the shape of national judgments. It is not so much against open public transgressions—the breaking of conventional observances—the disregard of established forms or outward decencies—or the disrespect to ordained and sanctified authorities, that God sends his judgments on mankind, as against that secret selfishness which lurks beneath external respectability and seeming worth, the latent iniquity that operates in secrecy and silence behind the forms and the apparel of righteousness, and the decent self-seeking that ever keeps up appearances while worshipping its innermost idols.

In addressing ourselves then to the important question of the *causes of cholera*, it must be borne in mind what very broad and various ideas are generally comprehended under the term. The end or object for which a thing is intended, is by many called its cause. It is customary to denominate this the final cause; though it would seem more logical to confine the term “cause” to that agency by which any thing is brought about. But nothing is ever brought about by any single agency; there are many agencies, all commonly spoken of as causes, which stand each in a different relation to the thing effected, be it ever so simple; and few proceedings lead to more misconceptions and disputes, than the habit of thinking and speaking dogmatically of *the* cause of any thing, without understanding or specifying *which* of its causes is intended. For, first of all, there is the Great Primary Cause and Father of all things, who permits his children to investigate the workings of the countless inferior agencies which he calls into operation and sustains. Then, among these inferior agencies, there are some causes which directly *originate* a thing, and having done so, cease; there are others which cannot originate, but can only *perpetuate* that thing; other causes may be said to be capable of doing both, because they *continue regularly to originate*; others are *predisposing* causes, aiding, and preparing the way for more powerful ones, whether originating or perpetuating; and others, though immediate in their action, are only *contributing* causes, whether originating or perpetuating, because several of them must act together before the effect can be produced. And

it would be easy to multiply instance upon instance of the different sorts of causes here described. Perfect and truthful clearness in this matter it is impossible to attain, especially in investigating so complex a matter as the cause of disease, where from the variable nature of the phenomena observed, the difficulty of assigning to each its true and no other value, the number and subtilty of the agencies at work both within and in outward relation with the thing in question, and the constant interference of unseen cross influences, induction has to be carried on with exceeding caution, and inferences have repeatedly to be annulled or reconsidered, before the true ones are arrived at.

First in this difficult investigation, and as essential to its truth and completeness, must be remembered that Being who stands as the First Cause of all things, even of the pestilence we are enquiring into; and heed must be taken lest in the number, intricacy, power, and mysterious nature of the subordinate agencies we have to trace and follow out, we become so involved and interested as not to look beyond.

In the present state of our knowledge, we can only provisionally describe the secular causes of cholera as,

1. Causes purely and exclusively *predisposing*. These favour both its origin and spread.

2. Mixed causes, both *predisposing* and *exciting*, which favour, more or less actively, according to their degree of intensity, both the origin and spread of the disease.

3. The special causes *which first called the pestilential cholera into existence*.

4. Causes of the *spread* of cholera when originated.

5. The *proximate* cause of cholera.

The principal predisposing cause of any very prevalent disease, is to be sought in the constitution of the people themselves. Some silent and gradual change, not itself visible, and known only by its effects, takes place in the bodies of men, preparing them for this or that disease; and such appears to be the case with regard to cholera. Of the nature of this change it is idle to speculate. Suffice it that its existence must be inferred, since a gradually increasing susceptibility among mankind to the operation of the outward causes of cholera has been every where noticed. This is shewn in the account we have above given of the rise and progress of choleraic disease; it is further exemplified in the statistics already quoted, which indicate the tendency of the public health in England towards that form of disorder, all the time the cholera of 1849 was advancing from the East;

and again in the important statement of Dr. Barwell, "That typhus fever increases in any country, as cholera approaches, and moreover, that that fever acquires a greater and greater tendency to abdominal complication." Some gradual change in the human constitution, a certain inscrutable tendency to the disease of late induced, is therefore a cause which prepares the way both for the *origin* and *spread* of cholera.

A second cause is to be found in the climate, seasons, and atmospheric conditions. Hot weather, more particularly that following a rainy period, or prevailing in a marshy or watered country, or alternating with cold nights and heavy dews; sudden changes of weather and temperature, from wet to dry, or from hot to cold; unusual electric or magnetic conditions; hygrometric peculiarities of the atmosphere; changes in its chemical constitution; and other cosmical influences of which science now and then obtains transient glimpses;—these constitute another cause, which predisposes to the origin or spread of cholera. But to atmospheric influence, *per se*, something more than a mere predisposing cause has been attributed. The entire origin and spread of cholera, from its first appearance to the present day, has been more or less attributed to it by many persons. They suppose it to be owing to some peculiar state of the atmosphere. But a state of the atmosphere does not journey deliberately over a great continent at the rate of sixty miles a month; it does not strictly confine itself to the main lines of human traffic and communication; nor does it slowly creep from village to village according as human intercourse takes place, nor accompany ships and armies in their course. The mode of travel of atmospheric influence is well seen in influenza. It sweeps over countries with immense velocity, passes across deserts, seas, and uninhabited tracts, and appears at once in widely separate regions in a marked and unmistakeable manner, very different from the petty and accidental simultaneousness sometimes observed in the outbreaks of cholera. Nothing beyond a predisposing influence can reasonably be attributed to atmospheric and climatic conditions.

The next cause is connected with topography and elevation of soil. Mere topography aids or determines the appearance of cholera, in so far as it involves other originating conditions, or implies contiguity or communication with places already affected. The immediate neighbourhood of large unhealthy towns, offensive manufactures, swamps,*

* Like the Plumstead Marshes.

foul drains or ditches, canals, rivers, ponds, thick tangled vegetation, or decaying animal or vegetable matter, will predispose to cholera. But pestilential cholera will spread wherever it is communicated, even, though in a lesser degree, to healthily situated districts. Mr. Farr notes the fatality of cholera in England on the tertiary and secondary geological formations, and the exemption of the primary. But the natural inference from this would be a figment. Geology has nothing to do with the presence or absence of cholera, except as it implies other conditions. In the case of England, the primary formations only occupy small portions on the western coast, and contain few great commercial sea-ports, while the mercantile area of England, and the whole eastern coast, comprising the majority of sea-ports, low lying places, and mouths of large rivers, are all secondary and tertiary formations, which thus in England involve the contiguity to affected places, the populousness, and all other circumstances, which, if they existed equally on primary formations, would there equally cause cholera.

Elevation of soil, presently to be referred to, is a most important element in the causation of cholera, including as it does the question of drainage. In this condition more than any other, are contained the chief agencies concerned in both the origin and spread of the disease. "The elevation of the soil in London," says Mr. Farr, "has a more constant relation with the mortality from cholera, than any other known element. The mortality from cholera is in the inverse ratio of the elevation."

Density of population in London is stated to be a less important element than elevation of soil. Yet that the undue crowding together of masses of people has a powerful influence on the development of disease, is too well known to require proof. *Wealth*, also, influences the mortality of cholera. "Wealth represents food, lodging, clothing, cleanliness and medical advice in sickness to a certain extent; as large masses of people supply themselves with these necessities in proportion to their means."

The defective and unwholesome state of the large majority of human habitations, expressed, or brought about, by all the circumstances now alluded to, is one of the most powerful and active agents in aiding the progress of cholera; and it merits the more minute attention, as it is, in addition, the *fons et origo* of some of the worst evils in the condition of the people. Even apart from the glaring nuisances of crowded towns, in the wholesomer dwellings of the country, are many

injurious circumstances. Rooms occupied for many hours at a time are left without sufficient means of renewing the air, so that the inmates breathe the same air over and over again. In the dormitories of schools, in servants' sleeping-rooms, and in the cottages of the poor, so many persons are crowded in one apartment that its atmosphere becomes perfectly deleterious. Vegetation, water, wet ground, and collections of decayed organic matter, are permitted close to the doors; draining is imperfect, and filth is either accumulated in cesspools beneath the house, or drained away to the nearest hollow, fish-pond, or piece of ornamental water,* whence rise its baleful emanations to sap the health of the inhabitants. In towns these evils increase in proportion to the number of people crowded together in a given space. Here the ill-ventilated room is a minor evil; want of light is added, and dirt its necessary consequence. The over-crowding of apartments is carried on to a fearful extent, even in spite of the law, whose provisions are too slow and too tamely enforced to meet the evil. Deleterious exhalations rise from foul heaps, and open drains, and miserable flooded courts, and rubbish-strewn alleys; on every side unwholesome manufactures scent the air; the drainage, foul, defective, or none at all, leaves the sewerage to steep the rotting floors and blackened foundations, and to soak away into the fœtid, saturated earth. Graveyards and vaults, scarcely yet closed, add their invisible contributions to the quality of the atmosphere, and the water, that might in some degree mitigate all this, is, in many cases, entirely withheld, often imperfectly supplied, or, even at its best, frequently contains injurious matters.

Let the justice of our country look to these things, and that speedily, or assuredly that of Heaven will do so. Let the individual sense of justice, implanted in every man's mind, look to them, and let him ask himself, has he any hand in allowing such a state of things, or does any act or omission of his, directly or indirectly, contribute to it? If it does, let him refrain from what will then be the canting mockeries of the public meeting and the subscription list; let him not dare to approach, in pretended humiliation for impending judgments, the footstool of that Being who has declared he will have mercy, and not sacrifice; but rather let him first, in full honesty and self-denying singleness of purpose, repair and remedy his part in these crying evils

* We have repeatedly observed every one of these facts, not only in small cottages and houses, but also in large and handsome residences.

which oppress and crush so many of his humbler brethren. Are we saying too much? Is our language too strong for the occasion? Look around on every side, you who ask the question, and see, and say whether the evils, these many years exposed and declaimed against with all the force and clearness words can give, are yet abated. Go forth, search, investigate; and if you doubt, walk into the lanes and courts and alleys of any crowded town, and there, rife and strong as ever—the great central masses of them still untouched—you will find the evils we speak of, that cry to Heaven against their negligent authors. And the strongest language any man or body of men can use, the utmost efforts they can make to induce their fellow-men to relieve a great and urgent need, can never be too strong or too decided. At the best, they can but produce a feeble and limited effect, while self-interest and indolence oppose a passive resistance.

But we will neither relax our efforts nor succumb to any counter-influence, nor will we stay our hand or rest content with general denunciation. We will state specifically who and what those parties are that we hold to blame in this matter. First. We hold to blame every authority concerned, both local and national, in that—from their undue regard to vested interests; their too sensitive care for the liberty of the subject; their selfish fear of exceeding their powers in the trusts, great or small, committed to them; their slowness; their reluctance to introduce changes; their jobbing for selfish ends among themselves; their narrow short-sightedness in withholding supplies; their more culpable withholding of them while sanctioning lavish and unchecked expenditures elsewhere for lesser objects; their employment of incompetent persons; their timidity, indecision, and selfish personal disputes; their general neglect and incompetence for the business they are elected and paid for, and from various other reasons, best known to the innermost consciences of their members—they have permitted the present state of things to grow up; bestowed not any or not sufficient, attention, investigation, and practical thought, on the condition of the people and interests committed to their hands; have very seldom corrected any evil of the kind but as it in some way touched themselves, nor looked in this matter beyond the urgent wants and needful policy of the moment, the quieting of clamorous demands, and the saving of themselves from present obloquy;—in short, whether on a petty or on a great scale, they have followed in this the policy of expediency rather than that of principle; whereas, in matters nearer to

their heart, expediency is scouted, and fixed principles fearlessly and decisively acted on. For it is a strong proof of their culpability that they have never shown themselves thus negligent, oblivious, or short-sighted, where their own rights and privileges have been concerned; but have looked after them with a diligence, intelligence, and forethought, that would have done them credit in a better cause.

Secondly, We hold to blame a vast variety of corporate and associated bodies, whose proceedings seldom meet the public eye; in that, so far as they are directly or indirectly concerned, they have followed the same system of neglect and omission in their respective capacities, though active and enlightened enough in all that relates to their revenues and privileges. But we shall now turn to them in their character as owners of property, in respect to which, from their power and wealth, they have not the excuse that may be sometimes made for private individual owners. We shall proceed to state the charges against both conjointly, for the poor are too much at the mercy of house proprietors, who, in many respects, exercise absolute and irresponsible power.

Thirdly, Then we hold to blame the house owners of all denominations, corporate and individual, whether ground-landlord, leaseholder, or tenant (for tenancy is a certain ownership); and this we do most emphatically and confidently, although the proprietorship is often so divided that it is difficult to apportion the culpability. But still it may be done. Whatever is wrong, whatever is defective or wanting, either the ground-landlord must be in fault, or the leaseholder under him, or the tenant under the leaseholder, according to the terms of the covenants made between these respective parties. Somebody is always responsible for drains, conveniences, and repairs. Nothing would tend more to cure the evils in question than to find out, from the agreements in each particular case, who that somebody is, and to publish in all the papers the names, addresses, and station of the negligent; and where no special covenant was made respecting any of these matters, nor any restriction to under-letting imposed, then, to find out who that ground-landlord was, who, not choosing to drain the land himself, let it for building without any thought or care for the poor, in the shape of covenants by the lessee to drain, make conveniences, keep the buildings wholesome and in good repair, and not excessively to under-let; to find out, again, the mercenary leaseholder, who, secure and impregnable for his term of years, grasps his profit-rent, refuses to do anything

not specified in the bond, and under-lets to some hungry harpy, who can but just contrive to pay the rent, and live from hand to mouth, by parcelling out the rooms to petty lodgers; to find out, again, the cases of under-tenants, who, with pretensions to respectability, neglect to keep the houses they under-let to lodgers in a decent state;—and so to publish to the world the names, addresses, and circumstances of any of these parties so defaulting.

We trust to see all this done, and before very long; and we strongly suspect that if it were done from time to time, things would not be left as they are, lest some names, now looked up to as noble, reverend, or honourable, should be stripped of their fair fame, and exposed in a less enviable character. It is very well to respect the rights of property, but even property itself must not be erected into a Moloch to be fed with human sacrifices.

In such unclean and crowded dwellings and filthy haunts, cholera is constantly produced, or when communicated, runs riot, and sweeps off innumerable victims. But in these abodes of misery it is aided by another cause—deficient or unwholesome food. Thousands of the poor are kept in a state of chronic sub-starvation; that is to say, though not actually wanting food, they never have enough, and often what they get is hurtful;—bad bread, half-putrid fish or shell-fish, refuse scraps from the butcher or poulterer, cheap meat unfit for human food, doled out in scanty quantities, and crude fruits and vegetables. Fed thus scantily and badly, if the nature of their food does not act directly on the alimentary canal and produce or pre-dispose to cholera, which it often does, they are in no condition to resist the influence of any prevalent epidemic, or of the powerful causes of disease by which they are surrounded. Let not the reader point to this as an exaggerated picture. Of our own knowledge we say that it is not so, and the registrars and thousands of other witnesses can testify the same. A large proportion of the persons so situated are sempstresses and other work-people, employed by the great shops at miserable wages, to make up the goods afterwards sold at some enormous profit.*

* Whatever the profits are, they ought surely to benefit those who do the work, but at present they only go to enrich the great shopkeepers, who stand in the position of middle-men between the public and the work-people, and are a heavy yoke and incubus on both. The domination of shopdom has reached an inordinate height. Can no one undertake the task of exposing its evils and abuses? Can no one free us from them, by bringing the employers and the employed into direct communication without any needless intervention? A society which would enrol respectable needle-women and

4. Quitting the instances of the very poor, in every class of society errors in things taken internally, cause or predispose to cholera. Habitual over-eating, epicurism, indulgence in strong drinks, and the partaking of ill-cured or ill-dressed meat, fresh pork, goose, pickled fish, shell-fish, unripe fruit, stone fruit, or curcurbitaceous vegetables, are all causes which we have observed to operate as powerful predisposants or excitants to cholera; and aperient medicine injudiciously taken has the same effect. Bad water—we do not mean *infected* water, for that is another question—is also a frequent predisposing or exciting cause of choleraic disease.

Errors in things taken internally are thus seen to be a fruitful cause of cholera. In like manner, any errors in the mode of living, anything which tends to depress the powers of life, may predispose or excite to its origin or spread.

The causes mainly concerned in spreading cholera merit deep attention. The question of its communicability from case to case has been much agitated. We have, however, already pointed out, that some cholera is communicable and some not, and we believe that the question of the contagiousness of the pestilential kind is one that will sooner or later settle itself. It is clear that the disease is portable, and is conveyed by man in his journeys and voyages; but the exact *quo modo* is a very reasonable subject for controversy. Some think it is by *contagion*, considering that touch, or some contact of morbid particles, can alone communicate it; others believe that in addition to this, it may be communicated by emanations from the bodies of the sick or from matters pertaining to them, thereby advocating *infection*. Dr. Snow's theory is one of the most practically important. He considers that cholera is propagated by human intercourse; and, regarding the mucous membrane of the alimentary canal as the central point of the disease in the human frame, directs attention to the peculiar nature and copiousness of the excretion from that membrane, the frequent and forcible ejection of which, scattering itself on every object within reach, is a prominent symptom in cholera. He says—

artizans, and bring them into direct contact with thousands of people who would only be too glad to employ them, would confer a great boon on the less wealthy of the middle classes, exercise a wholesome check on the overgrown power of the great shops, and by ameliorating the condition of large numbers of the working class, would materially lessen some of the most pressing social wants and evils of the day. The great tradesmen form associations and combinations to secure their own interests as against the public; it is therefore time for the public to follow the same plan.

"The bed linen always becomes infected by the cholera evacuations, and as these are undistinguishable by the common tests, the hands of persons waiting on the patient become soiled, and unless these persons are scrupulously cleanly in their habits, and wash their hands upon taking food, they must carry into the alimentary canal the means of contagion, and affect in like manner the food they handle or prepare, which has to be eaten by the rest of the family, who, amongst the working classes, often have to take their meals in the sick room. Hence the thousands of instances in which, amongst this class of the population, a case of cholera in one member of the family is followed by other cases : whilst medical men and others who merely visit the patient generally escape. But this is not all. With only the means of communication which we have been considering, the cholera would be constrained to confine itself chiefly to poor and crowded dwellings ; and would be continually liable to die out accidentally in a place, for want of the opportunity to reach fresh victims ; but there is often a way open for it to extend itself more widely, and that is by the mixture of the poisonous matter with the water used for drinking and culinary purposes, either by permeating the ground and getting into wells, or running along channels and sewers into the rivers."

Disgusting as the subject is, the paramount importance of having the truth investigated compels us to proceed.

"Dr. Snow's theory necessarily implies that the actual *fomes*, or material of disease, may, under the present system of water-supply, be distributed unchanged to nearly every house in London where water is used for drink, ablution, and washing. Dr. Snow is unfortunately able to show that this infectious distribution, almost too revolting to write or read, is possible to a very considerable extent. The sewers of London run into the Thames and the Lea, from which a part of the water supply is derived. The water which the inhabitants of London have but the repulsive alternative to discuss in words, or to use in fact, is, however, baled from the ditches only by the wretched inhabitants of such parts as Jacob's Island. It is in one case before distribution pumped-up to a distant reservoir at Brixton ; in other cases it is taken higher up the river, largely diluted, or beyond the reach of any but casual contamination ; filtration is employed ; chemical action, as the chemists on behalf of their wealthy clients tell us, is incessantly going on, and converting impurities into simple elements ; so that it is only in some places, or in rare circumstances, that the organic waste can reach and injure the people. Still, in this mitigated form, the risk is too tremendous to be incurred by two millions and a half of people, who require and can obtain an abundance of sweet water."

Dr. Snow does, we apprehend, ride his theory too hard.

The manifold pollutions of the Thames and the Lea are in themselves sufficient to account for much of the typhoid and choleraic disease prevalent in our poorer districts, without supposing the presence of this specific poison in its unchanged state.

Mr. Farr here gives the names of the several water companies, the sources whence they derive their water, and the mortality from cholera in the respective districts supplied by each of them ; and concludes by observing,

“ The mortality from cholera was lowest in districts which have their water chiefly from the Thames so high in its course as Hammer-smith and Kew. Upon the other hand, the mortality was greatest in the districts which derive their water from the Thames so low down as Battersea and the Hungerford Bridge. The district of the New River occupy an intermediate station.”

That which first gave origin to pestilential cholera was no unusual or novel morbid agent. In the Delta of the Ganges nothing can be discovered beyond an intense aggravation of the circumstances known to originate the non-infectious kinds of cholera elsewhere ; so that we are compelled to attribute to this aggravation the primary origin of the great epidemic, and to recognise no other difference than that of degree between this and the origin of its minor forms. Hence flows the natural inference, that whenever and wherever exactly the same causes in exactly the same degree, proportion, and duration, concur, then and there will pestilential cholera be again *de novo* originated ; while under conditions somewhat less intense, spasmodic cholera will spring up, and prove epidemic or sporadic, prevalent in a larger or smaller circle, and more or less approximating to the pestilential form, nay, even in extreme cases, possess some slight degree of communicability, according to the greater or less concentration of the causes that gave it birth.

Mr. Farr points out that cholera, remittant fever, yellow fever, and plague, all take their first origin from the deltas of great tropical rivers ; that their fatality diminishes in ascending the rivers, and is inconsiderable at a certain elevation, except under special circumstances. The birthplace of the first cholera was the Delta of the Ganges ; that of the second, the great river running through Burmah. We have no space for any sample of the profusion of instructive facts given in illustration, and shall only quote the following able statement of certain circumstances which help to explain them.

“ *Elevation of the land involves several conditions which have an important effect on life and health. As we ascend, the pressure of the atmosphere diminishes, the temperature decreases, the fall of water increases. . . . The waters roll along the surface of the rocks, or filter through them and the porous strata of the earth to burst out below. The sources of rivers, or of tributaries which carry disintegrated rocks, with the remains and excretions of vegetables, animals, or man, in every stage of decomposition. The deposits in stagnant places, and at the estuaries, show the kind and quantity of mixed matter which the laden rivers carry down and deposit on the low margins of the sea, at the tidal confluences of the fresh and salt waters. If we take a series of towns on a river, it is evident that the refuse matter of the first town will pass through the second; of the first and second through the third; of the first, second, and third through the fourth; and so on to the lowest town, which will be traversed by all the unevaporated and unwasted organic matter that has found its way into the waters on their way to the ocean.* . . . As the rivers descend, the fall of their beds often grows less, and the water creeps sluggishly along, or oozes and meanders through the alluvial soil. The drainage of the towns is difficult on the low ground, and the impurities lie on the surface, or filter into the earth. The wells and all the waters are infected. When the houses are built on hill sides and elevations, as in London, the sewage of each successive terrace flows through the terrace below it, and as the stream widens, the ground becomes more charged, every successive step of the descent, until it is completely saturated in the parts lying below the high-water mark. The river, the canals, the docks, and the soil of a port may be viewed as a large bason full of an almost infinite variety of organic matters, undergoing infusions and distillation at varying temperatures; and as the aqueous vapour which is given off ascends, it will be impregnated with a quantity of the products of the chemical action going on below, variable in amount, but necessarily greatest in the lowest and foulest parts. It is established by observation, that cholera is most fatal in the low towns, and in the low parts of London; where, from various causes, the greatest quantity of organic matter is in a state of chemical action. . . . If the facts are so, it follows, that cholera will not only be fatal on low ground, but on high ground, if from any concurrence of circumstances, the conditions exist there which are so constantly found in alluvial soils lying on a level with or below the tidal waters. Now these conditions did exist in nearly every place severely visited by cholera on ground much above the sea level.”*

* Any one who has ever ascended a great river, the Nile, for instance, must have noticed the foulness of its waters and their sediment near the mouth, and their increasing purity after getting above the great towns and villages.

Thus *accumulated organic matter in a state of change* is hinted at as the favourer and originator of disease in temperate climates, and as the direct cause of spreading pestilences beneath the fierce sky of the tropics. Direct originating force, infection, and all the contributing circumstances, now successively traced, thus stand as *causes of cholera*; but after what manner do they act on the human constitution? In other words, what is the *Proximate Cause* of cholera?

All investigations indicate the passage into the system, either through the lungs or the alimentary mucous membrane, of a peculiar organic matter, which acts as a direct depressant and poison on the nervous centres. The degree and nature of its effects vary exceedingly, as also the time which it takes to produce them. The nervous system, thus acted on, receives more or less of a shock; and so begins the frightful train of morbid phenomena peculiar to the disease. When the shock is slight, slight symptoms follow; when more severe, disorders of a certain violence are set up; and in its full force it brings on the fully developed disorder.

Cholera always tends to the following succession of symptoms. In most cases it begins with **DIARRHŒA**, generally painless, accompanied by nervous depression and apathy. This state, which is easily curable, lasts from a few hours to as many days, passing suddenly, if not interfered with, into the stage of **COLLAPSE**. In the severer cases there is no previous diarrhœa. Collapse is marked by extreme depression, cramps, coldness of the breath, tongue, and skin, and blueness or lividity of the surface; violent discharges of watery matter from the stomach and bowels; a thick viscid condition of the blood, from this copious separation of its serum; consequent impeded circulation, the blood remaining black; intense congestion of the alimentary viscera; and rapid sinking of the powers of life. If the patient survive, **REACTION** supervenes; which, when moderate, tends to recovery, when excessive or irregular, to fever, with suppressed secretions and inflammatory complications. Lastly, if the case continue, the patient passes into a dangerous state of **EXHAUSTION**.

These four distinct and fully developed stages of the disease are merely the more prominent points of a continuous series of symptoms. There are several intermediate conditions, of which the most practically important is a transition stage, frequently observed between the stages of diarrhœa and decided collapse, often called "Cholérine," "Choleraic

diarrhœa," &c., but which is in fact equivalent to English cholera.

This short statement of symptoms and pathology is a necessary introduction to the all-important questions of cure and prevention. The successful treatment of cholera is now beginning to be understood. There is no specific cure for cholera. It is curable, but only by an intelligent adaptation of curative means to meet particular states, which the practitioner must be left to his own judgment to carry out in whatever way he thinks most suitable to the case he is treating.

It is of the utmost importance that medical aid should be sought *early* in the disease; and that every case of diarrhœa, even the most trifling, should at once be attended to. In the mildest cases of diarrhœa, a simple rigorous restriction of the diet to liquid food, especially taken in such a form as to determine to the skin, as warm arrow-root, broth, &c., together with perfect rest and quiet, and warmth applied to the skin, aided by some simple aromatic or astringent, will answer every purpose. But if the symptoms are obstinate or frequent, if there be the slightest indication of nervous depression, coldness of the surface, cramps, or an anxious expression of countenance, and always in weak or aged persons, medical aid should be called in. Dr. Hearne remarks,

"The small doses of opium, such as readily check the diarrhœa of ordinary seasons, I found not only useless, but worse; inasmuch as the poor patient would be persuading himself that he was doing all in his power to ward off the disease, whilst it was hourly gaining a firmer hold, until, in too many instances, it had secured its victim before measures sufficiently active were sought for to arrest it. Several such cases fell under my observation, and to many others I was called when they were bordering on this hopeless condition. It is impossible to calculate the number of lives that must have been sacrificed by such proceedings, which were not a little fostered by the non-medical press allowing their publications to be made the medium of circulating formulæ for every description of nostrum, no matter how ridiculous (some one or other of them being relied on because backed by such and such a name—too frequently, unauthorised), by which much precious time was lost, and the medical attendant only called in when perhaps too late."

Mr. Barwell justly urges the early removal of the patient to a healthy locality, if the circumstances of his dwelling are insalubrious, since a cure can hardly be looked for while the patient continues to breathe fresh doses of poisonous miasmata. Removal should take place soon, lest it should be prevented by a sudden increase of the disease.

In every form and modification of choleraic collapse, perfect rest, a strict observance of the horizontal posture, and the application of external warmth, are fundamentally essential to the well-being of the patient, whatever other treatment may be required. The indiscriminate use of stimulants is no longer approved of. Thirst is quenched by mild diluents, administered in spoonfuls only; and everything is swallowed in the smallest quantities, so as not to provoke sickness.

Without entering into details, we shall now indicate the leading points in the medical treatment.

Before collapse is fully established, a warm stimulating emetic is often serviceable. Bleeding is sometimes necessary. Beyond this, *the main thing is to relieve the intense venous congestion of the alimentary viscera*, and to restore warmth and circulation; at the same time taking advantage of every method and opportunity to sustain the failing powers of life, to remove urgent and distressing symptoms, and to restore the natural secretions. To this end, the full and free application of external heat and stimulants, in one form or other, is the first and most important item in the treatment. The other indications are variously fulfilled by calomel, opium, hydrocyanic acid, the mineral acids, creosote, chloroform, and other carefully selected agents, applied and combined according to the judgment of the physician to meet the exigencies of the case.

The development of the subsequent stages may be sometimes, but not always, prevented by careful management. The fever of reaction, and the consequent disorders, are treated on the usual principles, regard being had to the shock the patient has gone through, the weakened condition of the *primæ viæ*, the peculiar complexion of the disorder, and the great tendency to adynamic action. For these reasons violent remedies are avoided, and the general plan of treatment is calculated to give support.

We could have filled pages with details of treatment, but to do so in writing for non-medical readers, serves no purpose, and savors of professional quackery. Persons interested can always refer to the treatises written for the profession. The chief points we wish to direct general attention to, are,

1. The universally recognised necessity of immediate attention to all cases of diarrhœa, and of *early* recourse to medical advice in case of choleraic disorder; by doing which the number of cholera cases will be much diminished.

2. The abandonment by the medical profession of stimuli, bleeding, or any one specific remedy for cholera; and their

adopting a new treatment of it, founded on the general principles applicable to the treatment of all diseases.

3. The general adoption of some means of applying external warmth largely and powerfully over the surface of the body, as the grand remedy in the state of collapse.

4. The discovery and publication in medical works of various remedies and combinations, more accurately adapted for the different states and exigencies of the disease.

5. The necessity of adopting PREVENTIVE MEASURES, in which all can aid, and which are by far the most satisfactory remedies against cholera and all diseases.

We have always maintained, that the duties of medical men extend to the prevention as well as cure of disease. Mr. Farr observes,

“ Medical men, rarely, if ever, treat the beginnings of diseases ; and are scarcely ever consulted professionally on the preservation of the health of cities or of families. But the preservation and the restoration of health are parts of one science ; and if, as has been done by the City of London and by Liverpool, health officers be appointed in all the districts of the kingdom, the art of preserving health will be studied by a high order of men, well paid by the public ; and ultimately, with an increase of their remuneration, the diminution of sickness, the disappearance of epidemics, immense advantage to the public, the whole medical profession may devote themselves to the preservation and development of the vigor of the human faculties, instead of being tied down to the treatment of the sick and dying.”

Again, on the means of preventing the spread of cholera, Mr. Farr observes :—

“ It does not appear that the quarantine has been of any avail in cholera. But the arrangements of all the lower classes of vessels are far from satisfactory ; and the circulation of dirty, pestilential ships, like the “ Eclair,” from low port to low port, is not unattended with danger to the health of the community. A sanitary maritime police is therefore indispensable ; into which it would be advantageous to convert all the quarantine officers of Europe. Vagrants are the pestilential ships of the land ; and they carry diseases and zymotic venoms, as well as vermin and vice, to lodging-houses, work-houses, and gaols, over the country. This peculiar and degraded race can only be dealt with by special measures.”

With these precautions, taking care also that the sick be not crowded together, and that inhaling the emanations from the sick be avoided, we do not think cholera will be found to spread from person to person. The mere contact of skin to skin will not communicate it. But one risk still remains unaverted—the spread of cholera through a contaminated

water-supply. With regard to London, we regret to find, that with the exception of the Lambeth Water Company, the supply is just the same as in 1849. The sewers still run into the Thames and the Lea, and still from the Thames and the Lea the same supplies are drawn; and though extensive works are in progress which will ensure a purer supply in three or four years, the cholera, if disposed to come, will not wait for their completion. The only substitute is, to drink no water but that which has been filtered or well boiled.

In so far as topographical causes tend to originate or favor cholera, human means may beneficially interfere by selecting healthy sites for houses, by keeping ditches cleared, and draining marshy lands, by removing all decomposing animal or vegetable matter, and by limiting the overgrowth of woods, plantations, and hedges, and keeping them in an orderly state.

We rejoice to find there is a chance of the Thames Embankment, proposed twenty-five years ago, being at length carried out. Verily, we are a slow people.

The proper location of residences is of great importance in preventing cholera.

“The habitations of a people should be raised on dry, drained land of a certain elevation, washed by rains, and ventilated by the breezes of heaven. The present law of settlement, and the mixed, complicated, and uncertain tenure of land, interfere seriously with the choice of ground, and exclude the people from many of the sites in the immediate neighbourhood of the place in which they dwell. This evil may be remedied. The building and re-building of houses is always proceeding: so that the selection of building sites is a question constantly open.

It is too much the fashion to look for redress to authorities and acts of parliament. A man's best legislator is himself. Authority in this country is slow. It always travels two day's journey behind public opinion. It always hangs back, to see if somebody else will not do the work. Yet here are some things wanted, that authority alone can give. First, a simple and summary enactment, that after such a date, slaughtering animals, bone or fat-boiling, and other offensive trades, shall not be permitted to be carried on within the limits of populous places. Secondly, the application of the Public Health Act to the whole kingdom without any exception, town and country all alike. Thirdly, that the act should be made less permissive and more compulsory, and show a less over-sensitive regard for vested interests; the latter ought not to be put in competition with human lives.

Fourthly, a simplification of the tenure of land, to facilitate its sale and transfer, and thereby to expedite the erection of improved and more healthy residences, and augment the number of freeholds. The system of leaseholds is bad ; it splits responsibility, makes it difficult to affix blame in case of malpractice or neglect, and hinders the owners from improving. Public works* also, many of them urgently needed for the prevention of the cholera in populous places, yet which are such that they can only be undertaken by authority, and cannot safely be left to private enterprise. These are some of the things authority might do in this matter.

One defect might be quickly remedied. When a person is summoned for nuisance before a magistrate, he commonly pleads for a postponement of the penalty, asking for time to abate the nuisance, which the magistrate often grants. This is affirming a false principle. It is as much as to say, that no man need care or think whether he hurts his neighbours until the law interferes. For it is often notorious that the nuisance complained of has existed for months or years. The practical effect of this is, to make people think they need do nothing until the law compels them ; a very prevalent opinion in sanatory matters. Whereas, if a man were at once fined *for having permitted* a nuisance, the public would learn that they must not wait till called on by the law, but must *of themselves* make and keep things right ; and thus many evils would be removed, which might never have come before a magistrate at all. The people should be taught to see to these things themselves, without waiting to be driven by force of law. There are few evils which the people cannot of themselves remove, every man doing his duty in his own place.

We have only space for a few words on the question of sewerage :—

“ Water, vegetables, hay, grain, cattle, food of every kind, worth many thousands of pounds, are brought from the country every week into the towns of the kingdom. The consumption of this

* The resources at the disposal of government for effecting public works are under-estimated, since the labor of all the convicts, heretofore wastefully transported at great expense across the seas, may be applied to them. Convict labor is much too valuable to be thrown away. It should be economized to the utmost and made the most of ; and if so rightly managed and applied, might effect many undertakings, which however advantageous to the well-being of the community, or to the strength and resources of the kingdom, would never be attained in any other way. This is a favourite subject with that most able newspaper, the *Times*.

matter by men and animals destroys a great part of its value ; and the practice has been, (1), to throw the refuse into the streets ; (2), to deposit it in cess-pools ; (3), to wash it down the sewers into the rivers. The third is the modern practice in England ; and where the river water is not used, is in low towns, the least evil. But it has these intolerable disadvantages : that the sewers invariably emit poisonous vapours, that the rivers are polluted, and that the organic matter is thrown away. It becomes, then, a great question, whether by the use of ashes, peat-charcoal, or some other stuff, a modification of the old system of nightmen, mechanical arrangements, and the use of the railways and canals, the manure of the towns may not be returned to fertilize the fields of the country in the shape of guano ; for which it is found to be an adequate substitute. . . . This question of the health of towns, and the fertilization of the surrounding fields (is) one of the great questions of the day demanding immediate solution."

We have no room for more. The matters now partially touched on, relate so intimately to the great social and vital evils of the day, that it is impossible to over-estimate their importance. To save lives, to avert a pestilence, and to raise the degenerating condition of the people of our land, are surely noble objects, and worthy the attention, not of a profession, not of a class of the community, but of all, for all are interested, and all can co-operate.

Works without number on the subject of cholera have poured from the press, of which those named at the head of this article are samples. They include a wide range. The statistics of the past epidemic of 1849, and those of the commencing one of 1853, lie before us ; with notes by local observers in London, Dublin, Southampton, and Clonmel, all places severely visited by the pestilence. Three of them are good, useful, practical works ; but that from Dublin, which professes to be for the use of the public, hardly fulfils its object. A clear and brief account of the cholera, its origin, causes, prevention, and cure, designed and written for popular use, without quackery, and without technical pedantry, is a desideratum in literature, and would do good service among the middle classes by clearing away misconceptions, and imparting right views on the matter of public health.

ART. VI.—*Cathedral Trusts, and their Fulfilment.* By the Rev. ROBERT WHISTON, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Head Master of the Cathedral Grammar Schools, Rochester. 4th Edition. London: J. Ollivier.

A VERY general opinion prevails that there is the utmost need of immediate and decisive reform in the Cathedral Establishments of this country. Two Ecclesiastical Commissions have been appointed by the Legislature, to examine into the abuses which are supposed to be prevalent, and certain proceedings in Doctors' Commons have pointed out the way how to render those abuses henceforth inoperative. Of the Commissions which have issued, the first has proved to be, at best, but an abortion. What the second is likely to produce it is impossible as yet to say. It has not been many months in existence, and no scheme has yet been proposed by its members. This, however, is certain, that unless a different course be pursued to that which was followed by the earlier institution, the result is quite as likely to be "a shadow and a shame,"—"a delusion and a snare."

We have long intended to enter upon a discussion concerning the abuses which have crept into our Ecclesiastical Establishments during the last century and a-half—long, indeed, before Mr. Whiston brought the Dean and Chapter of Rochester into the Courts at Doctors Commons, and of Chancery; and made it clear to all unprejudiced minds that that Corporation had betrayed its trust, and diverted its funds from the inferior members of the body, for whom founders and benefactors had made adequate provision, not only in a gradually descending scale of payment, but as equivalent to their relative and respective positions. We paused, however, in taking this step, because the public mind was evidently unprepared to listen to, or to believe that the great Ecclesiastical Corporations of the country were a disgrace to those who managed them; and because a general opinion prevailed, that the clerical character of deans and chapters was *sans peur—sans reproche*. That this impression was erroneous, we had known for many years before Mr. Whiston, like a modern Luther, was moved to plead the cause of the poor boys of Rochester, towards whom not one single direction of the Statutes of that cathedral had been put in force. The way, however, being now opened, and the fact established, that Ecclesiastical Corporations have been grievously mismanaged, we are enabled to direct atten-

tion to the subject, with the certainty of its obtaining that consideration which its manifest importance demands.

At the Reformation, none of the existing ecclesiastical Establishments underwent greater changes than our Cathedrals. for centuries of Papal intolerance, those clerical Corporations had amassed enormous wealth, and fattened upon the spoliation of the people. Henry VIII. and his greedy Roman Catholic courtiers, who cared not one jot for religion, and had almost come to think that Christianity itself was an imposture, on account of the iniquity of those who professed to be its ministers, determined to possess themselves of the treasures which the rich endowments presented to their avarice. But notwithstanding that they got all they could, the reforming ecclesiastics struggled hard, and with some measure of success, to prevent the entire alienation of funds, which they were most anxious to apply to the purposes of the education of the people. The funds, however, left at their disposal, were indeed but a small portion of the wealth, saved from the universal wreck of church property. The poorest lands were scarcely preserved to the Church, and but few estates were left to yield a revenue at all commensurate to the pious purposes which such men as Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley had in view; and which Parker, Whitgift, and Grindall afterwards determined to perpetuate. Laying aside the Popish purpose of "making merchandise" of whatever the clerical hands could grasp, these men renounced the luxuries on which their predecessors gloated, and reserving for themselves but a comparative pittance, they arranged for the permanent establishment of the Ecclesiastical Corporations, an adequate rate of remuneration according to a graduated scale of payment, partly by a fixed money remuneration, and partly by the daily provision of a common table, and secured as they hoped for ever the services of the cathedral church, by ensuring the fulfilment of the apostolic admonition, that those "who wait at the altar," should be "partakers with the altar."*

* Thus in A.D. 1539, we find Archbishop Cranmer sending to Secretary Cromwell the following "Bill concerning the device for the new establishment to be made in the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury:—"

	£.	s.	d.
" First, a provost	150	0	0
<i>Item</i> , Twelve prebendaries, every of them at 40 <i>l.</i> by the year, sum	480	0	0
<i>Item</i> , Six preachers, every of them 20 <i>l.</i> a year	120	0	0
<i>Item</i> , A reader of humanity, in Greek, by year	30	0	0
<i>Item</i> , A reader in divinity in Hebrew, by year	30	0	0
<i>Item</i> , A reader both in divinity and humanity, in Latin, by the year	40	0	0

That this state of things prevailed up to the period of "the Great Rebellion," history bears the strongest witness. Then cathedral establishments were broken up, their revenues were scattered, and the members, superior and inferior, small and great, betook themselves hither and thither where best they might, in order to save their lives, and wait for better times. For sixteen years, the harsh and crude doctrines of the Puritans were alone permitted to be heard within "the long drawn aisles and fretted vaults" of those noble piles, which still adorn many of our cities and provincial towns. The choral service of the Established Church was entirely abolished. Organs were destroyed, as remnants of Papists, by the rude soldiers of Cromwell, and Fairfax, and Ireton, who having littered down their horses in the naves of the cathedral churches, amused themselves by whistling

	£.	s.	d.
<i>Item</i> , A reader of civil.	20	0	0
<i>Item</i> , A reader of physic.	20	0	0
<i>Item</i> , Twenty students in divinity, to be found ten at Oxford, and ten at Cambridge, every of them 10 <i>l.</i> by the year.	200	0	0
<i>Item</i> , Sixty scholars to be taught both grammar and logic, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, every of them five marks by the year.	200	0	0
<i>Item</i> , A school-master 20 <i>l.</i> and an usher 10 <i>l.</i> by the year.	30	0	0
<i>Item</i> , Eight petty canons to sing in the choir, every of them 10 <i>l.</i> by the year.	80	0	0
<i>Item</i> , Twelve laymen to sing also, and serve in the choir, every of them 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> by the year.	80	0	0
<i>Item</i> , Ten choristers, every of them five marks by the year.	33	2	4
<i>Item</i> , A master of the children.	10	0	0
<i>Item</i> , A gospeler.	6	13	4
<i>Item</i> , An episteler.	5	6	8
<i>Item</i> , Two sacristans.	6	13	4
<i>Item</i> , One chief butler, his wages and diets.	4	13	4
<i>Item</i> , One under-butler, his wages and diets.	3	6	8
<i>Item</i> , A cater to buy their diets, for his wages, diets, and making of his books.	6	13	4
<i>Item</i> , One chief cook, his wages and diets.	4	13	4
<i>Item</i> , One under-cook, his wages and diets.	3	6	8
<i>Item</i> , Two porters.	10	0	0
<i>Item</i> , Twelve poor men, being old and serving men, decayed by the wars or in the king's service, every of them at 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> by the year.	80	0	0
<i>Item</i> , To be distributed yearly in alms.	100	0	0
<i>Item</i> , For yearly reparations.	100	0	0
<i>Item</i> , Six to be employed yearly, for making and amending of highways.	40	0	0
<i>Item</i> , A steward of the lands.	6	13	4
<i>Item</i> , An auditor.	10	0	0
<i>Item</i> , For the provost's expenses in receiving the rents and surveying the lands, by the year.	6	13	4

See Works of Archbishop Cranmer. Parker Society edition, vol. ii. pp. 396—398. Mr. Whiston also gives the following table of the money payments of eleven Cathedral establishments, as fixed A.D. 1542.

TABLE OF CATHEDRAL INCOMES IN THE YEAR 1542.

	Canterbury.	Rochester.	Peterboro.	Gloucester.	Worcester.	Bristol.	Carlisle.	Chester.	Winchester.	Durham.	Ely.
Dean	£ s. d. 300 0 0	£ s. d. 100 0 0	£ s. d. 100 0 0	£ s. d. 100 0 0	£ s. d. 133 6 8	£ s. d. 100 0 0	£ s. d. 120 7 6	£ s. d. 100 0 0	£ s. d. 196 13 9	£ s. d. 266 13 4	£ s. d. 120 7 6
Prebendaries or Canons, each ..	40 2 11	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	22 5 0	20 0 0	31 11 8	33 6 8	30 0 0
Minor Canons, each	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	6 at £10	10 0 0	10 0 0	8 at £8	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0
Head Master	20 0 0	13 6 8	16 13 4	13 6 8	20 0 0	13 6 8	13 6 8	16 13 4	No school	10 0 0	16 13 4
Organist	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	12 6 8	10 0 0	9 15 0	8 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0
Under Master	10 0 0	6 11 10	8 0 0	6 13 4	19 19 4	6 13 4	6 13 4	8 0 0	10 0 0	6 13 4	8 0 0
Lay Clerks, each	8 0 0	6 11 10	6 13 4	6 13 4	6 13 4	6 13 4	3 6 8	6 13 4	6 13 4	6 13 4	6 13 4
Subsacristas, each	{ two at 6 13 4	6 0 0	6 0 0	4 15 4	6 0 0	4 15 4	0 10 0	6 0 0	{ two at 6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0
Verger	{ two at 6 0 0	6 0 0	3 6 8	6 0 0	3 0 0	6 0 0	3 6 8	6 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	3 6 8
Bellringer	{ four at 6 0 0	0 0 0	5 6 8	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	{ two at 5 0 0	5 0 0	0 0 0
Barbitonsor and Porter	{ two at 6 13 4	6 0 0	{ 6 13 4 and 5 0 0	6 0 0	{ 6 0 0 and 5 0 0	6 0 0	3 6 8	£6 and £5	6 0 0	{ 6 0 0 and 5 0 0	6 0 0
Choristers, each	3 6 8	3 6 8	3 6 8	3 6 8	3 6 8	3 6 8	3 6 8	3 6 8	3 6 8	3 6 8	3 6 8
Grammar Boys, each	4 0 0	2 13 4	2 13 4	0 0 0	2 13 4	0 0 0	0 0 0	3 6 8	3 6 8	{ 3 6 8 2 at	{ 3 6 8 2 at
Bedeasmen, each	6 13 4	6 13 4	{ six at 6 13 4	6 13 4	5 0 0	6 13 4	5 0 0	6 13 4	6 13 4	6 13 4	6 13 4
Vice-Dean	6 13 4	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 6 8	2 13 4	1 6 8	1 6 8	2 0 0	2 13 4	2 13 4	2 0 0
Receiver	20 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	1 6 8	5 0 0	3 6 8	1 6 8	5 0 0	6 13 4	6 13 4	5 0 0
Treasurer	10 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 6 8	2 0 0	1 6 8	1 6 8	2 0 0	2 13 4	2 13 4	2 0 0
Sacrist	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 6 8	2 0 0	1 6 8	1 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Precentor	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 6 8	2 0 0	1 6 8	1 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Seneschall, or Clerk of the Courts ..	10 0 0	2 13 4	6 13 4	2 13 4	3 6 8	2 13 4	1 6 8	3 6 8	10 0 0	5 0 0	2 0 0
Auditor	6 13 4	2 13 4	6 13 4	2 13 4	3 6 8	2 13 4	2 13 4	4 0 0	10 0 0	6 13 4	3 6 8
Deacon and Subdeacon	10 0 0	{ each. 6 11 10		6 13 4	8 0 0	6 13 4	6 8 8	8 0 0	10 0 0	6 13 4	8 0 0
Caterer	6 13 4	0 0 0	5 0 0	0 0 0	6 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	6 13 4	6 13 4	6 0 0
Butler, or Manciple	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	6 0 0	3 6 8	6 0 0	6 0 0	{ 6 8 8 Und. But.	6 0 0
Cook	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	6 0 0	3 6 8	6 0 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	6 0 0
Under Cook	5 0 4	1 15 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 18 4	1 15 0	1 6 8	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0
Preachers, each	25 0 0	{ Students each £5 to 6 13 4			1 18 4	1 15 0	1 6 8	{ Students each 6 13 4	6 0 4	2 6 4	3 6 4

through the pipes, e'er they were melted down for bullets, or cut up for firewood. With the restoration of the Stuarts, the cathedrals were re-established. A few clerical and other members, who had escaped the trials of the commonwealth, struggled back from their hiding places to their old homes, and, petitioning Charles II. for restitution of their properties and privileges, were restored to their functions and their maintenance.

The old cathedral statutes, we find were at once re-adopted, and for the most part acted upon, though in some instances the monarch in council added to their clauses, whilst pains were taken to render them more efficient under the altered circumstances of the times.

Since the reign of Charles II., an immense change has gradually been developed in these cathedral establishments, although their statutes have undergone no alterations. The value of money not only became immensely different, but the ease and quietude, which succeeded the turmoil of the Cromwellian period, enabled the higher officers of cathedral corporations to do much as they listed with the funds at their disposal. Whatever statutes had been altered at the period of the Stuart restoration, greater power was given by *that* alteration to the deans and prebends than they had previously possessed. They became more positively than heretofore trustees for the administration of the general fund. The payments of the inferior officers out of the common funds was universally committed to their charge; whilst, in order to ensure a due and accurate administration of such funds, an appeal was provided to the visitor, who, generally the bishop of the See, had little or no participation in the capitular revenues; his own estates, fees, and first-fruits being reserved for his separate use and maintenance, and being considered amply sufficient, independently of the property of the church over which he presided.

With the augmented value of money and increasing revenues the greed of the capitular bodies inordinately increased. Speedily it was forgotten by them that they were but trustees for the benefit of others. They therefore, gradually, and doubtless almost imperceptibly at first, began to add to their own pecuniary receipts, and to forget the duty of providing a similar augmentation after the statutable adjustment for the inferior claimants. Year after year slipped by without those inferior members becoming cognizant of the injury done to them. As vacancies occurred in their offices, the deans and chapters, who had the nomination of succes-

sors, seeing that they had banded together to share the surplus amongst themselves alone, took care to appoint persons to fill them, of a more needy condition than ever it had been intended by founders and benefactors "should serve" cathedral "tables." By such worldly wisdom they might avoid complaint, and escape detection. Whether the officials, whom they had introduced into the Church, for the performance of its services, were efficient or not, was no longer a question with them. Their sole design was to appropriate the accumulating surplus, to make the most of their life-interest, and to leave it to their successors to follow their example or to alter it, if it seemed fit or needful to them so to do. The mammon profit was too good to be lost sight of. It would last their time in all human probability, and if after they were gathered home to their graves a deluge should follow, they would not suffer the pecuniary loss—whatever other loss their dishonesty might occasion!

Thus, we find, that deans and chapters, as if acting by common consent throughout the country, first introduced inefficient and illiterate men into the minor offices of cathedral quires, and then abolished "the common table"—half of their annual remuneration—"at one fell swoop." As this *daily* provision was expensive, they tendered a money payment to its recipients in lieu thereof; but most miserably disproportioned to the actual right of the occupants of that table, in the sure conviction that it dared not be refused. Most of the members were family men, who doubtless preferred taking their meals with their wives and children at their own homes, and either from not venturing to protest against the loss they sustained, or not caring for the right of their successors, they accepted the paltry pittance allotted to them, and took it annually, not as an equivalent; but instead of the meat and drink of the common table.

But as there were two classes of inferior members—the minor canons, whom the statutes required should be ordained clergymen, and lay-clerks or vicars-choral, who were to aid in the singing of the service—so separate means of providing for them were devised. It is of no moment as to what cathedral statutes we refer in order to discover what were the intended duties of minor canons—the episcopally-ordained inferior members of the ecclesiastical body. In every instance, their duties to the choir are identical. They were to aid in the singing of the daily and Sabbath services, as well as to chaunt—or, as it is most usually called, to intone—such parts of those services that were unaccompanied by music;

and they were, furthermore, to supply the places of the prebendaries in preaching, when those officers were either too lazy or too incompetent to teach the congregation. In every cathedral, the minor canon was as much a daily officer as the other members. The statutes provided a maintenance for him as for all the rest. There is no specification whatever of his being permitted to undertake the charge of a parish either in the cathedral town or elsewhere. His services were secured for the cathedral itself, and for the cathedral alone. In the selection of their members, the dean and chapter could not deal with brother clergymen as they ventured to do with lay-clerks or vicars-choral. As episcopal ordination was indispensable as a qualification for their appointment, so was an university education equally imperative. The dishonesty which actuated deans and chapters so far as to induce them to appropriate the surplus of cathedral funds to themselves, without dividing them amongst *all* the members of the ecclesiastical establishment, it is true, induced them to treat minor canons with contumely and indignity, and to consider them as "men of inferior birth and limited education."* But they did not dare to thrust laymen into this office. As is too frequently, however, the case, those who do an injury seek to conceal it by insulting those on whom such injury is inflicted. But insult minor canons as deans and residentiaries might, their consciences were not, however, so thoroughly seared, as to consider 10*l.* or 20*l.* per annum to be an adequate remuneration, under the altered circumstances of time and money. They felt that it was imperative to make some better provision for them than this annual pittance, which was their fixed stipend in 1542, when deans had but 120*l.* or 100*l.* *per annum*, and a few shillings a day for the *corps* of their deanery; and prebends had 16*l.* or 20*l.* a year, and a few pence a day also for the *corps* of their prebends. It was therefore arranged that small preferments in the cathedral towns should be given to these clerical "inferior members," to make up for the deficiencies resulting from the breaking-up of the common table, and the misappropriation of the surplus funds, after the deans and prebends had paid them-

* This opinion, we regret to say, is not confined to deans and chapters of the period to which we are here especially referring. We met with it in one of the letters written seventeen years ago by the Hon. and Rev. George Pellew, D.D., Dean of the Cathedral Church of Norwich, concerning Cathedral Establishments: a letter which, although now kept carefully out of print, is not out of the memory of those who are determined to do their utmost to make deans and chapters restore to their inferior officers the rights of their inheritance.

selves and the other officers the original amounts, as fixed by statute, in order that they might divide all that remained over and above amongst themselves! The livings to which the minor canons were preferred were, furthermore, the worst paid in the cathedral list of rectories, vicarages, and perpetual canonries. Generally speaking, the great tithes of those livings helped to make up the surplus, which was annually divided, and ought to have been "shared and shared alike," according to statute, amongst the whole body corporate. But not satisfied with palming off these "star-vations"—livings, it would be an insult to the men who hold them to call them—upon persons whom a parochial charge removed from a due and sufficient performance of their cathedral duties, deans and predendaries positively "took to hold" one or more of the best of their preferments themselves, as an augmentation to the stipends of their offices, as well as the money they had misappropriated.*

We say nothing here of the manner in which the best livings were also given to sons and sons-in-law of deans and prebends, quite irrespective of their fitness for the duties they had to discharge. Minor canons have complained, and do still bitterly complain, that they are overlooked in the distribution of capitular preferment, whilst the relatives of the higher officers are pushed into them, although much younger than the hard-worked and ill-paid minor canon, vicar, or perpetual curate.† We have not to deal with this question at all. If, as we hold, the minor canon—according to the statutes of the cathedral of which he is a member—is required to do certain duties, and *nothing else*; if, by the disposition of founders and benefactors, it was never intended that a minor canon should hold a living at all, and that he should derive a maintenance from his cathedral office for his

* As a proof of what has been done in this respect, even in modern times, we may instance the case of the late Rev. Philip Fisher, D.D. This gentleman held the following appointments:—Master of the Charter House, London, Precentor of Salisbury, Prebendary of Norwich, and Incumbent of SEVEN other places of preferment as rector or vicar! Happily such instances of pluralities can never occur again; but a dean and a canon may now hold a living in conjunction with their cathedral office, and as an instance we may name the Rev. George Pellew, D.D., Dean of Norwich, who, besides being under the old regulation, his appointment dating before the first Ecclesiastical Commission, and therefore in receipt of all fines upon renewal of leases, he lately exchanged his rectory of St. Dionis Back Church, London, returned as worth 439*l. per annum*, for the rectory of Great Chart, Kent, returned at 668*l. per annum*!

† An instance has occurred within the last month at Durham, where the son of Mr. Canon Edwards, only six years in orders, has been appointed to a valuable living over the head of a minor canon of long service in that cathedral.

duties, which are specified; the few gentlemen whom the first Ecclesiastical Commission has permitted to retain this office at the beggarly income of 150*l. per annum*, whilst a dean is to be paid 1000*l. per annum*, ought rather to petition the Legislature that their rights be considered in the distribution of capitular funds, and that no alienation whatever be made of such funds for the augmentation of small livings, which deans and chapters—aye, and bishops too—deprive of their fair remuneration, until *they* are put in just that position which it was intended they should hold, and derive their maintenance from the performance of their statutable duties.* Whether, however, they can do this is doubtful, inasmuch as deans and chapters have taken good care not to keep up the nurseries in their choirs for training choristers, who should eventually become minor canons, and be able to perform the statutable duties, and have preferred to select gentlemen for the office for whom the place is very well suited, even at 150*l. per annum*, though they themselves are most unfit for the place.†

We suppose, however, that the statutes 4 & 5 Vict. are not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, “which alter not.” The same power that framed them may abrogate them, and pass better enactments, more in consonance with the letter and

* “By Stat. 3 and 4 Vict., c. 113, s. 45, the right of appointing minor canons is, in all cases, vested in the respective chapters, and made exercisable by them only. Where, however, any dean, before the passing of that Act, enjoyed a right, as such dean, to appoint any minor canon, Stat. 4 and 5 Vict., c. 39, s. 15, preserves it to him and his successors. By the former Act (s. 45), regulations are to be made by the confirmed recommendations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, for fixing the number and emoluments of the minor canons in each cathedral and collegiate church; but the number is not in any case to be more than six or less than two; nor is the stipend of any minor canon, appointed after the passing of that Act, to be less than 150*l. per annum*. And arrangements were also, by the same Act, authorized to be made for securing to any minor canon, already appointed, and not otherwise completely provided for, an income, as minor canon, not exceeding 150*l. per annum*.”—*Stephens on the Laws of the Clergy*, vol. i., p. 419. The first Ecclesiastical Commissioners seem quite to have overlooked the fact, that minor canons had been “competently provided for” by cathedral statutes, but that they had been deprived of their due, and had been miserably pensioned off upon the small capitular livings. It is not, however, remarkable that it should have been so, as many of those Commissioners were connected with cathedrals; and what idea they had of a competence may be inferred, by fixing the minor canon’s stipend at 150*l. per annum*,—a smaller sum than that which many a dean pays to his butler!

† One of the duties of the minor canons is to chaunt, as well as to take part in the vocal services of the Church. We could mention one cathedral where a minor canon—who also held two of the best cathedral livings in the town—not only was ignorant of a note of music, but had not the slightest idea of sound.

spirit of cathedral statutes. If it is advisable to keep up cathedrals in their choral efficiency—which we hold it to be—the new Ecclesiastical Commission ought, at once, to restore the original number of minor canons, to provide that they be paid in proportion to the stipends fixed for deacons and chaplains; and to take care that the choristers be educated also, as enacted by statute, so as in future time to be able to become efficient minor canons. We have, however, very little hope of this much-to-be-desired consequence from the composition of the new Commission, which has too much of the old cathedral dean and chapter leaven in it to deal consistently with this portion of the question under their consideration. We know that great things are expected of it; but these expectations can scarcely be realised, when one of the principal questions recently put to organists of cathedrals by the secretary, has been, that they should be informed whether *gratuitous* vocal help may not be obtained for the choirs. Had there been any disposition whatever to restore minor canons to their proper functions, the absurd, we had almost said, dishonest, question, could not have been asked at all!

We must not, however, overlook, another class of statutable cathedral officers, who take rank next to minor canons, and are as much members of the corporate body as deans and canons are themselves,—the lay-clerks, or vicars-choral. These gentlemen were nominated—we use the express words of Archbishop Cranmer—"to sing in the choir," and for that purpose they were to be paid by a money stipend, and maintained at a common table, by the direction of the statutes at the Reformation, which were further reimposed and confirmed at the Restoration. In 1542, at Canterbury, when the stipend of the dean was 800*l.* *per annum*, and that of the prebend 40*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*; the lay clerks received 8*l.*! In 1831 and 1849, when the dean's income was 2,050*l.*, and the prebend's 1,010*l.*, the advance to the clerk was found to have reached but 32*l.* *per annum*! The common table has long been abolished! At Rochester, in 1542, the dean received 100*l.* *per annum*; the prebends, 20*l.* each; and the lay clerks received 6*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*! In 1840, the dean's stipend was 1,426*l.*; the prebends, 680*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.*, and the lay clerks, 50*l.*! At Peterborough, in 1542, the dean had 100*l.*; the prebend, 20*l.*, and the lay clerk, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per annum*! In 1840, the dean's income had swelled to 1,166*l.*, and the prebends to 539*l.*; but the increase to the lay clerk was but to 40*l.*! At Gloucester just the same state of things

obtained; and so at Worcester. In 1542, when the dean's salary was 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and the prebends, 20*l.*, the sum allotted to the lay clerk was 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1840, the dean's stipend had increased to 1,486*l.* *per annum*, and the prebend's to 626*l.*, but the lay clerks had gained no more than 41*l.* 10*s.* At Bristol, the dean received in 1542, 100*l.* *per annum*, the prebend 20*l.*, and the lay clerk, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1840, the dean's income is returned at 890*l.*; the prebend's, 415*l.*; but the lay clerk's only at 41*l.* 10*s.*! At Carlisle, the deanery was worth, in 1542, 120*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*; the prebend, 22*l.* 5*s.*, and the lay clerkship, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1840, the deanery is raised to 1,334*l.*, and the prebend to 639*l.*, but the lay clerk's 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* had realized no more than from 25*l.* to 50*l.*, according to seniority. At Chester, in 1542, the deanery was worth 100*l.*; the prebend, 20*l.*; and the lay clerks received 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1840, the sums of the two former offices are found to be augmented to 1000*l.*, and 500*l.*, whilst the lay clerk's 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* has reached no more than 50*l.* At Winchester, in 1815, the deanery is returned as worth 199*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*; the prebend at 31*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*, and the lay clerk, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1840, the three offices are relatively worth, 1430*l.*, 642*l.* and 70*l.*! At Durham, in 1542, the deanery averaged 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; the prebend, 33*l.* 6*s.*; the lay clerk, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1840, the deanery had grown to the enormous sum of 4800*l.*; the prebend to 2280*l.*; but the lay clerk had to console himself with 114*l.* 12*s.* In 1542, at Ely, the deanery was given in as affording a stipend of 120*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*; the prebend, 20*l.*, and the lay clerk, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1840, the deanery was worth, 1357*l.*; the prebend, 632*l.*; but the lay clerk had nothing more than 23*l.* 8*s.*! The returns from which this account is taken merely specifies the averaging annual revenue. It does not refer to the division of fines, and quit rents, &c., which all went to augment the revenues of dean and chapters under the old system; but of which neither their canons, lay clerks, or choristers received a shilling. And these are the sums, with the balance upon the incomes, which the Commission is to take to augment small livings, before, it is to be feared, doing justice where justice is due. Whilst the deans' stipends had increased from *hundreds* to *thousands*, and those of prebends in a like ratio, in no one instance, save at Durham, had a lay clerk's income reached 100*l.*.*

* That no changes has taken place for the better in the incomes of lay clerks and vicars-choral, may be seen from the series of letters, published last year, in *Bell's Weekly Messenger* newspaper, from almost every cathedral in the kingdom, in which Journal the cause of the inferior members of cathedrals has been most energetically advocated.

That such a system of perversion of funds, and breach of trust, could ever have obtained seems scarcely possible. But we defy all the deans and chapters in the kingdom, to deny that matters stand otherwise than we have stated them. The predecessors of those now in office, it is true, commenced these infamous proceedings, and took care, as we have seen,* to nominate persons who dared not venture to complain, and who were quite unable to fulfil the duties they were called upon to discharge; thus "adding sin to sin." But that others have done wrong is no reason that the wrong should be perpetuated; nay, to have been passive, if nothing more, under such nefarious doings, is to be "partakership of other men's sins." It was cruel towards minor canons to rob them of their dues; but for them some other means of payment was provided, unstatutable, indeed, but still an admission in fact, that they could not live upon the funds that were ample in the times of Henry VIII. or Charles II. It was, however, doubly cruel towards lay clerks, and vicars-choral; for not only had they been deprived of their board, but no real equivalent was given for it, and the petty additions that were made to their incomes, to bring them up to less than 100*l.* per annum, were but "adding insult to injury."

The statutes of cathedrals provided that these men—as they are often insolently called—should live by their office. What has come about by their being deprived of their inheritance, but that they have to pick up, as well as they can, a precarious income for their wives and families by following some humble trade, which their daily attendance at the cathedral prevents them from properly fulfilling; or from singing at dinners and concerts, and sometimes upon the stage, to eke out the means, which may enable them to appear respectable. We would not have upon our conscience for worlds what deans and chapters must have to answer for in this respect. Many a lay clerk has been driven to desperation by the grinding process which has been applied to him in a cathedral town. Many a one, who has sought for independence, and ventured to protest against the deprivation of his statutable dues, has been hunted down and ruined. Many and many are the almost broken hearts, and saddened spirits, that twice a day, as if in solemn mockery, occupy their places in the cathedral choir; and join in the responses—how often of the lip only, whilst the heart is full of

* Page, 405.

bitterness—responses of gratitude, to “the Giver of all Good,” for benefits they were intended to possess, but of which they have been dishonestly deprived. Twice every day of the year, morning and afternoon, must the lay clerk be at his post in the cathedral choir, or he is fined for his absence. Even illness in some cathedrals is accepted as no excuse by his superiors, who avail themselves of it to withhold the “attendance money,” as it is called, that it may fall back into the general fund; which is to be appropriated at the annual audit to the dean and canons, and which hereafter will go to augment small livings, unless the new Ecclesiastical Commissioners do their duty, and first of all secure the maintenance to the lay clerk and chorister which was appointed for him, instead of devoting it to an extraneous purpose. The dean is required now, under the new regulations brought in by the first Commission, to reside six months in the year upon his deanery, and the canons, in proportion as to months to their number; but there is *no compulsion* to them that they should attend every service, there is *no fine* for them, if illness prevents them from “coming to service;” but the poor lay clerk, whether ill or well, must toil, through every year of his life, over 730 services for a pittance considerable under 100*l.* per annum, at the very hours too of the day, when if he happens to be in trade, he is most required to be giving his attention to it. The life of a galley slave is almost preferable to such an office. To him, in most cases, there is a hope of relief; but to the poor lay clerk there is none; neither is there much prospect of his condition ever being bettered. “The hope,” that the day will come when some member of the legislature will call attention to his sad case has been so long deferred, that his “heart is sick” indeed. He is called upon to make a respectable appearance upon 50*l.* to 100*l.* per annum, all the while that he feels he is dishonestly deprived of his right! There are indeed more ways than one of calling upon men to furnish their tale of bricks, whilst they have no straw given to them to complete their arduous tasks.

We are informed, that from almost every cathedral in the kingdom, petitions have gone up to the new Ecclesiastical Commission from lay clerks and vicars-choral. Will that Commission give them the attention demanded at their hands? Looking at the elements of that Board, we have no sanguine expectations. But how can any benefit accrue to those preferments which the alienation of cathedral revenues is intended to augment, if the just claims of members—ill-

used and plundered as they have been for years past—be overlooked? The Almighty is a God of Justice; and never yet, in the world's experience, has it been found that those persons or institutions which have been fed by means arising from extortion and spoliation, have prospered. If, then, the claim of lay clerks and vicars-choral be repudiated by the new Church Commissioners, we may easily prognosticate for them, as for their predecessors, an amount of failure that will overwhelm them with disgrace, and shew them, in the ever-memorable words of the poet, that

“ Things bad begun, make strong themselves by ill.”

We will now, however, pass from the injustice done to minor canons and lay clerks, or vicars-choral, to the abuse of Cathedral Educational Trusts. Upon this subject,—a subject which Mr. Whiston has fought successfully through several Courts of law, and obtained a judgment in behalf of the poor boys of Rochester Cathedral School,—that gentleman's remarks will fully repay a perusal. They shew an amount of breach of trust scarcely to be believed, and certainly very little to the credit of those who, upon their being members of the Rochester chapter, took the following stringent oath :

“ I, A. B., who have been nominated, elected, and instituted, a canon of this cathedral church of Christ, having in my hand the sacred and holy Gospels of God, swear that I will keep *all and every one* of the *statutes and ordinances* of King Henry VIII. our founder, and will take care that they shall be kept by others (so far as may in me lie), and that I will not hinder what may lawfully be done for the profit and *honour* of this church, but will study and promote its interests. *All and every one* of these things I will take on myself. So help me God, and these Holy Gospels of God.”

The oath of the dean is even more stringent :

“ I call God to witness, that I will well and FAITHFULLY observe *all and every one* of the statutes and ordinances of Henry VIII. our founder, and will take care that they shall be studiously observed by others, so far as they concern them. So help me God, and these Holy Gospels of God.”

When it is remembered how fully Mr. Whiston established the case of violation of the Rochester Statutes against the dean and chapter, can it be wondered at, that he should have used the following strong and expressive terms, when denouncing the fearful neglect to which the poor scholars of Rochester had been subjected?

“ Such are the oaths taken by the dean and canons of Rochester and other cathedrals, and were I to assert, that after taking them,

and pleading* the statutes and ordinances of their founder, and although bound to keep the latter 'every individual member of those chapters by the strongest and most sacred ties'—were I to assert, that after and notwithstanding all this, they yet continued to swell their dividends by 'disregarding their statutes, and loosening the obligation of their oaths,' still, however strong the episcopal and capitular words of such an assertion might be, it should not be complained of by the dean and canons of Rochester. Rather should they reflect upon their own declaration, that by publishing the former editions of this work, I have been guilty of '*irreverence*,' (as if they had been something divine) and 'have acted in *contempt* and disregard of the oath,' by which I bound myself to pay to them, the 'respect which is their due.' "†

"How far indeed such an assertion if made, would be *true*, the reader must determine by what I shall prove hereafter. At present it is enough to state generally that their statutes positively require and order the chapter of Rochester to maintain and support, *i. e.* to find board and lodging at least, for twenty foundation scholars, in addition to the maintenance or alimony of four students at the universities: notwithstanding which they do not maintain one of them. Now the language of the Rochester statutes on this head is too plain to admit of doubt: it cannot be questioned, and (*mutatis mutandis*), it is the same for the other cathedrals, Canterbury, Worcester, Ely, &c."

As to Canterbury, Mr. Whiston established a similar misappropriation of educational funds. We have seen above,‡ that Archbishop Cranmer had taken care that "sixty scholars should be taught both grammar and logic, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin," and should receive "five marks by the year," amounting to no less than 200*l.*—an enormous sum in those days,—and that "ten choristers" should "every of them, have five marks by the year," amounting to 33*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* But the old Canterbury statutes were even more expressive, for they enjoined that a table and commons should be provided for them. Let them, however, speak for themselves:

"We (Henry VIII.) make the statute and ordinance that there be for ever in our church of Canterbury fifty boys, poor and destitute of the aid of friends, to be *maintained out of the goods*, '*De bonis Ecclesiæ nostræ alendi*,' or property of our church, with dispositions (so far as may be) naturally inclined and fit for learning. We will, however, that these boys be not admitted among the poor scholars of our church, before that they know how to read and

* Memorials of the Dean and Chapter of Rochester, April 6, and December 1, 1836. Also the memorials of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and of the Chapters of England.

† Debitam reverentiam præstabo.

‡ Page 402.

write, and have gained a moderate acquaintance with the first rudiments of grammar. And we will that these boys be *maintained at the charges of our church*, ‘*Hos pueros volumus impensis Ecclesiæ nostræ alii*,’ until they have obtained a moderate knowledge of grammar, and have learned to speak and write Latin, for which purpose a space of four years shall be allowed, or, if it so seem fit to the dean (or if absent, to the vice-dean) and head-master, of five years at the most, and not longer.”

“The remainder of this statute,” Mr. Whiston observes, “is peculiar to Canterbury,” and is to the following effect:

“We will, however, that so often as the dean of our chapel royal shall signify to the dean and chapter of our church of Canterbury, that he intends to send from our said chapel a chorister who has served there, till he has lost his voice, for the purpose of learning grammar in our church, then the dean and chapter shall, without *any fraud or bad trick*, ‘*sine ulla fraude aut dolo malo*,’ elect and admit that chorister so nominated and signified, into the place which may first happen to become vacant after that signification or notice. We will, moreover, that no one, except he be a chorister of our chapel royal, or of the cathedral church of Canterbury, shall be elected a poor scholar of our church, who may not have completed the ninth year of his age, or who shall have passed his fifteenth year.” . . . “We also make it a statute and ordinance, That the treasurer of our church do at the beginning of every month, deliver, count out, and pay to the monthly steward for the *table* and the *commons* of all those who have their meals together in the third rank, *i. e.*, for each of the *grammar* boys and the *choristers* 3*s.* 4*d.* a month, or 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* a year.”

“Now, after premising,” says Mr. Whiston,

“that *the presence of the grammar boys in the choir is enforced according to this statute*, we may ask whether any one with these insurmountable injunctions before him, can avow that it was not the donor’s intention that the fifty boys of Canterbury Cathedral, and the twenty of Rochester, as well as others, were to be *maintained*, and that liberally, out of the funds of those cathedrals? And if so, may not the choristers, the grammar boys, and other members of the church of Canterbury, sincerely as well as solemnly, adjure the dean and chapter of Canterbury, ‘as *they* expect comfort at the last day, to dispose of the church’s lands, for Jesu’s sake, as the donors intended?’ What will a poor scholar, with his 4*l.* cut down to 1*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, think of a prebendary with his 40*l.* swollen to 900*l.*, or it may be 1025*l.*,* and reading from the altar, ‘Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them?’ The lad may know him to be a clergyman by profession, will he think him in faith and practice a Christian?”

* Report No. 2, of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners gives 14,377*l.* as the sum shared by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury in 1831.

And a similar question may be asked as to the opinion which must be formed of every dean and chapter in the kingdom, where it is known that Educational Trusts have not been one whit less violated than in the case of Canterbury and Rochester. Let the case of the choristers of Westminster Abbey be taken as a specimen. By the statutes of that collegiate it is enjoined, that the choristers shall be educated at the King's College attached to that capitular establishment.

But what chorister, within the recollection of any member of Westminster Abbey, has ever enjoyed the privilege, without his parents' paying for the additional education imparted to him? Several parents, aware of the right which belongs to their children, have attempted to avail themselves of it; but the children have met with such treatment from the elder boys of the college, that they have only been too glad to withdraw them. The canons of Westminster, so far from insisting upon the choristers receiving that education in the Westminster Collegiate School, to which they are statutely entitled, take no care or thought about the matter; but, knowing that they are entitled to an education, they save their conscience with providing a little school-room, which has lately been erected at the bottom of the organist's garden, in which one of the subsacrist, an illiterate man, pretends to teach them reading, writing, and arithmetic, for a stipend of 30*l.* per annum! Far better would it have been for the poor children, if the sub-dean and canons had sent them over to the National Schools in the Broad Sanctuary, where they would have stood some chance of receiving a good plain education. But this would have been too palpable. It would have caused people to enquire why the Abbey choristers are not properly educated under the Abbey roof; and that enquiry would have brought the fact out before the public, that there is as strong a case of abuse of educational trusts at Westminster Abbey, as ever has been established by Mr. Whiston in several Courts of law against the Dean and Chapter of Rochester!

But that which prevails at Rochester and Westminster Abbey, is equally in force in every other cathedral. Take Norwich as an instance. By the 15th chapter of the statutes of that Ecclesiastical Corporation, eight choristers are to be appointed. By the requirements of this statute the eight boys are to be taught, independently of singing, to play upon different kinds of instruments, and "*shall be at the master's house to reside, and shall have great care and pains taken with*

them, more especially the four seniors, who, according to their conduct, are to be brought forward for places in the choir, should their voices be suitable for that purpose." They are also "to be well instructed *in sound and good literature*, and have their yearly diet." Now the number of choristers, and their being taught to sing, are the only portions of this direction that are observed. In the recollection of the oldest member of the cathedral or city of Norwich there has not been an instance, in which the dean, who has the sole appointment of the children, has taken the slightest care and trouble to have this part of the statutes, which he has sworn to keep, fulfilled. We lay it not to the charge of the present dean of Norwich that he alone is culpable in this respect. Each of his predecessors, Deans Lloyd and Turner, were equally indifferent to the obligations laid upon them by the statutes. Dean Pellew has but followed the example which these previous dignitaries had set him. But that others have disobeyed a strict injunction, made binding on the conscience by the enforcement of a solemn obligation, can be no excuse for the continuance of such neglect of duty, which is at least the most tender term that can be applied to the infringement of a statute. The choristers of the cathedral church of Norwich have not been for nearly a century taught to play upon different kinds of instruments! They are not so taught now at the expense and charge of the dean and chapter. Now and then, the most apt at acquiring a musical education have been apprenticed to the organist *by their parents*, to be taught to play the organ and pianoforte at a large amount of premium, to which the dean and chapter have never contributed more than 20*l.*, if so much. The means for obtaining a livelihood, which the statutes evidently intended to insure, have been withheld from these children for generation after generation, and still are kept back by the continuance of an abuse which, we regret to say, would scarcely be found existing among other than a clerical corporate establishment. But we have not told the one half of the deprivations by which the Norwich choristers are injured. It is enacted that they should reside in the master's house. This part of the statute has been as well kept as that of their being taught to play on different kinds of instruments! The boys are *not* lodged by the chapter in any house at all! They reside in the town with their parents, and receive 10*l.*, 5*l.*, and 2*l.* a-year, according to seniority, as an equivalent, or *as a compensation*, for this deprivation. So far also from "great care and pains being taken of them," they are left very

much to their own resources, and are kept often so late at night in the singing practice school, as to give them anything but a taste in after life for intellectual improvement. As to "the four senior boys being brought forward for places in the choir," there are a few instances of this part of the statute having been complied with; but, then, the process has been of late years for the most part by compulsion, and only towards a lay clerkship; the minor canonry, for which the instruction "in sound and good literature" was evidently intended for a stepping stone, never having been placed within the reach of a single chorister! Indeed, the education imparted to these children, so far from being "sound and good," would disgrace the commonest hedge school in the wilds of Ireland. The only time of the day devoted to reading, writing, and arithmetic,—all the education given and little enough—is from five till seven in the evening; the rest of the day before these hours being devoted to the morning and evening services, and to making children sing well; not for their own advantage, but for the profit of their teacher, who himself, not being statutorily paid as he ought to be as organist, is but too glad to make the choristers a sort of pattern card of his ability for teaching singing, by which he ekes out the means of his livelihood. The master of the choristers was formerly one of the lay clerks, who having received a similar modicum of education to that which he is called upon to impart, could not by any possibility be very efficient in the discharge of his duties. More recently, we understand, that a master—not a member of the cathedral—has been selected by the dean at a salary of 24*l.* per annum! which is again in direct and palpable violation of the statutes; but not a whit better system of education is given than heretofore—indeed, what could be expected for 24*l.* a year?—the authorities, though educated men themselves, not seeming to have, *as yet*, any notion of what really is that sound and good literature which benefactors intended for the choristers. Several of these gentlemen are active enough in the promotion of the education of the poor outside the precincts' walls, but they quite forget the children especially placed under their charge, whom they neither have taught to play on different kinds of instruments, nor lodge in the master's house, nor feed, nor clothe, as their statutes enjoin!

At Ely, as Mr. Whiston has shown, the choristers do not obtain anything like the statutable education to which they are entitled. Dean Peacock has, it is true, been the first of

his order to introduce a change for the better amongst the choristers of his cathedral, but the amount of reformation imparted is, even now, quite incompatible with the improvements in every branch of learning and the progress of the times. At Exeter, not a single direction towards the cathedral boys is fulfilled. The intention of the donors of the fund for this purpose is not carried out, and the state in which the children is placed is so disgraceful that respectable parents invariably refuse the honour of an appointment!

But let us now stretch across the country from Exeter and stop at Peterborough. Here we find the choristers to be ten in number, six of whom receive 7*l.* a year, and the other four 5*l.* They ought, by right, to be admitted into the grammar school of the town, and are now being sent there by degrees; but this school seems to be in no better plight than that of Rochester, inasmuch as the *twenty-four* foundation scholars receive only 2*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* per annum! Till very recently the choristers were not sent to this school at all, and indeed it is very questionable whether they have any claim to be admitted to it. The dean and chapter of Peterborough are bound by statute to provide their choristers with a sound education. The intention there—as at Canterbury, Norwich, Ely, and every other cathedral in the kingdom—was, that the choristers should be trained for future positions in the quire, either as minor canons or lay vicars; but the trust has been broken, the duty unperformed, the solemn obligation violated; whilst deans and chapters have met in audit to divide large surpluses, year after year, for their own especial benefit, and salved their conscience with the notion that they were fulfilling the intentions of their founders and benefactors, when they had paid their “inferior members” the same sum, and but little more, which their predecessors received two hundred years ago!*

We might go on with this sad exposure *ad infinitum* from the materials before us. We must, however, be content with

* “Within these few years a better provision has been made for the choristers (of Winchester). *They now receive 4*l.* a year, with two suits of clothes!* It is much to be regretted that a sufficiency is not supplied from the church revenue to avoid the beggarly practice of these boys going from house to house at Christmas, by which means a sum of about 8*l.* is collected and distributed amongst them. A great portion of their time is occupied in practice (singing) and attending the two full daily services, which will partly account for the too general complaints of the very scanty supply of that most invaluable acquirement—education.”—Letter of a Correspondent to *Bell's Weekly Newspaper*, April 30, 1853.

laying before our readers but a few of the facts which have so much tended to bring our great cathedral establishments into disrepute; presuming, however, this much, that we have only touched the surface of the subject, and told not a tenth part of the delinquencies which abound in every town which is afflicted with the presence of a dean and chapter.

It may, perhaps, be inferred from our observations that we desire to abolish these institutions, and to level them with the ground. That be far from us! Our desire is to witness their purgation, to behold their restoration as seats of learning, and as establishments of sound religion, honesty, and virtue; to live to see the day when the breath of suspicion cannot sully the fame of men who are appointed to be God's ministers, and when dignitaries shall practise what they preach. We fully expect to be met with the old cry that we are destructive; and so we are, if to be destructive means the abolition of a system which has festered the cathedral establishments with a foul gangrene. Martin Luther was denounced as a destructive because his vigorous and unflinching honesty could not tolerate the enormities which the Church of Rome had palmed off upon her victims, to the very suppression of every manly sentiment and holy opinion. Yet Martin Luther desired nothing more than the purification of that Augean stable of falsehood, tyranny, and oppression, which forbade the voice of conscience to be heard, or the cry of indignation, long pent-up in the bosoms of the faithful, to be uttered. What Martin Luther desired he lived to accomplish, and we owe the glorious Reformation to that prowess which the strength of God enabled him to put in motion. Mr. Whiston was calumniated by the dean and chapter of Rochester as an innovator and a destructive, because his conscience would not permit him to countenance the betrayal of a sacred trust. He asked faithfully, but firmly, at the outset, for the redress of the poor scholars placed under his charge, because he had examined the cathedral statutes, and found that they were not obeyed. He was met with insult and contumely. The dean and chapter of Rochester thought that they would put him down, but they misunderstood the man with whom they had to deal. If they had been conscious of rectitude; had they felt that they could come into court with clean hands; had they been pure and irreproachable in the fulfilment of the imperative duties which their statutes enjoined,—they would have at once said to their schoolmaster, "Here are our

statutes; here is our account of our discharge of the duties imposed upon us; here is our regular account of the money we receive, of the payments we have made, of our partition of the amounts annually due to ourselves, and of our watchfulness of the interests of our "inferior members." Whether Mr. Whiston had a right to ask for the information he desired to obtain, ought not and would not have been a question with the dean and chapter of Rochester had all been straight and above-board in their dealings. But not having the *mens sibi conscia recti*; not having "a clean breast;" not being able to say, "We have done our duty to every one beneath us before we considered ourselves,"—they met Mr. Whiston with a haughty opposition, which that gentleman proved in a court of law to be tantamount to self-inculpation. They proceeded from bad to worse. They suspended him from his functions; they withheld the payments due to him; they did everything, in fact, which a powerful body can do when it has agreed to crush an individual! But the result has shown that "they reckoned without their host," for not only has Mr. Whiston established his case, but he has wrung an instalment of the privileges which belong to the poor scholars of Rochester from the dean and chapter's own assessor, Judge Parke, and opened the way for the reform not only of the cathedral church of Rochester, but, we should hope, for every other cathedral in the kingdom.

If this has been to be a destructive, we are content to be reckoned in such a category; for we take up the question where Mr. Whiston has left it, and raise our voice for speedy, sound, and effectual reformation of our cathedral establishments—a reformation that will ever hereafter preclude the possibility of such charges being laid against ecclesiastical dignitaries as hitherto have been too truly advanced, and which will deprive them of the means of being accountable for wrong-doing to any one of their inferiors. Deans and chapters have held a trust for nearly three centuries. They have, in the course of that time, fearfully betrayed it. The abuses of which we complain are not of mushroom growth, they have not sprung up even within the last half century, they have grown with every year since Charles the Second's time, and been accepted by succession; nay, such things have been done, and such jobbery has been perpetrated, within the secret recesses of chapter houses, as no layman would have ventured to have thought or attempted. Abuse, great and strong, has prevailed in every lay corporation in the United Kingdom; but—and we say it with the deepest

grief—it pales and hides its face before that which has been done in every cathedral establishment since the days of the Stuarts. Even the Legislature, loath as it has been to think ill of cathedral establishments, has been convinced that something was rotten within the purlieus of their precincts and minster yards, for it has appointed two Commissions to improve the regulation of capitular property, and to render it more advantageous to the altered circumstances of the present time. But the Legislature had no suspicion of the extent of abuse or the wrongs that are still done to the “inferior members.” The Legislature took for granted that funds were properly dealt with and monies regularly and strictly paid. It felt that cathedral property might be made more advantageous for the religious wants of the people; and, by better administration, might be held to extend church accommodation for the masses, and the improvement of the revenues of the poorest benefices. But politicians do not take the trouble to inquire into the condition of such members of cathedrals that have as much right to their statutable remuneration as a dean or a prebendary. They took it for granted that they were paid their due, and so left them in the lurch; whilst by appointing men upon the Commissions who have had something in their time to do with the management of cathedral funds, they placed these poor, unpaid, and ill-used class of persons who do the duty of the daily service *hors de combat*, and rendered them absolutely helpless, unless some men of independent mind and purpose could be found to take up their cause and expose their wrongs in the face of day.

The first Ecclesiastical Commission commenced its work by the abolition of prebendal stalls, setting aside the proceeds of those stalls for the increase of the revenues of ill-paid vicarages and perpetual curacies, for which ample funds could have been secured, had Parliament dealt freely with episcopal, capitular, clerical, and lay impropriations. The monies received from the suppression of their stalls has never been accounted for, and *never will be!* They were left to the care of a treasurer, who betrayed his trust. This is matter of history. Little enough has been done with the sums that remain for the advantage of the Church; but, to our minds, it is not singular that it should have turned out thus. The consequence is only retributive. The funds of those suppressed stalls, if they had been rightly administered, would have gone, together with a portion taken from the remaining stalls, to pay over to the minor canons, lay clerks, vicars and choristers,

and other parties connected with the cathedral establishments, their fair rate of statutable remuneration. If the Commission, instead of suppressing these stalls, had taken all the capitular funds into their management; had improved the manner in which leases are granted upon fine and renewal; had fixed the stipends of the deans and canons at the amounts which are now assigned to them; and, by a *pro rata* proportion, agreeably to the purpose of the statutes, had received the stipends of the other members and servants of the cathedral, there would have been ample funds, nay, more than enough, to pay every individual properly; and there would have been a surplus for church extension of considerable amount, which in the course of time would have become a blessing to thousands. Instead of this, however, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, thought of no one class but the deans and the prebendaries. They were to be held harmless, whilst all the other members were to be continued upon their starvation pittances as heretofore. Minor canons, it is true, were to be diminished in number in future, and to be paid the *liberal* stipend of 150*l.* per annum, as we have seen; whilst a dean was to have a fixed income of 1000*l.*, and a prebend not less than 400*l.* or 500*l.* But the lay clerk, vicars-choral and choristers, the vergers, the bedesman, the subsacrist, &c. &c. were to remain at pauper wages, and as heretofore to be unrewarded, uncared for, and cheated!

For nearly twenty years the unfortunate persons to whom we have so continually been referring, have been left in their deplorable condition, when all at once a new Commission has been formed, and fresh inquiry is set on foot! Warned by the experience of the past, the inferior members of cathedrals have now memorialized the members of this newly-nominated board, and laid their case before them. We should be glad, indeed, if we could hold out any prospect of the new Commission being inclined to do its duty in this unprincipled matter. We cannot, however, draw any such inference either from the composition of the Commission itself, or from the reports which are in circulation as to its purposes. Nothing will bring a thorough restitution of corporate rights to the members of our cathedrals, but the voice of public opinion; and as the wrong doings of deans and chapters does not press upon the generality of the public, but little account is taken of it. There is, indeed, a general impression abroad, that the Church requires an extensive and immediate reformation, and capitular bodies would be all the better for a thorough cleansing; but the

impression has, as yet, taken no definite shape, and unless it be speedily turned to account, deans and chapters may manage to get another reprieve; although the consequences of such reprieve, will, sooner or later, be fatal to their existence.

But this brings us to a point—after the consideration of which we may well bring our observations for the present to a close—whether those clergymen, who have been appointed deans and canons, since the establishment of the first Ecclesiastical Commission, at fixed stipends, can satisfy themselves and their conscience by permitting a wrong still perpetuated upon their inferior officers to stay any longer unredressed. By a singular anomaly, although these recently appointed dignitaries receive their stipends according to the arrangements of the Ecclesiastical Commission, they have yet to deal with the granting of leases, and the general management of the cathedral revenues. Lay clerks, vicars-choral, choristers, and others, are still in receipt of their unstatutable incomes. This, by the direction of the dean and chapter, is in the hands of the chapter-clerk, according to the usual custom that has prevailed from time immemorial. We could name many clergymen of the highest probity, of the most scrupulous honor, nay, of the deepest religious convictions, who have been nominated to the posts of “learned leisure,” for which deaneries and canonries are supposed to have been established. It would be an insult to the character of such men to suppose that they can be willingly “the partakers of other men’s sin.” But they may suffer much wrong to be done “ignorantly, and through unbelief” of its existence. They, having come but recently into the chapter, may feel some diffidence in making inquiry of their elder brethren as to the distribution of the funds at their disposal amongst the inferior members. But diffidence ought not to hold them from the discharge of a solemn duty. The facts, we have recorded in this paper, are sufficient to induce them, if they wish to be induced, to give their immediate attention to a breach of trust that calls loudly for instant reparation. If the new Commission should resolve to take all capitular funds into their disposition, the duty of the gentlemen, to whom we allude, is plain and positive! They have not been involved in the wrong doing, as their predecessors have been; therefore, they can with a clearer conscience, enter upon a task which would redound to their everlasting praise. The Commission, it is said, will go to Parliament for powers to take all capitular property into their

possession, with a view to improve the system, which it has been hitherto based upon fine and renewal. Although many stalls were, as we hold, illegally and improperly suppressed, by the first Commission; yet ample funds, under a new and better system of management, may be provided, not only for liberal church extension, but for the statutable remuneration of the inferior cathedral officers, and for the education and maintenance of the choristers. This it is the first duty of the Commission to attend to; but if it should be as unmindful of its trust, as deans and chapters have been before it, what act could be more graceful or more honest, than that the more recently nominated deans and canons should make common cause in behalf of those, with whom they have to come in contact daily, and for whose well-being, both here and hereafter, they ought to have as much consideration and forethought as for themselves. A word from such men could not be overlooked. The claim would be as imperative as the duty is undeniable. By pursuing such a course they may clear their character from the stigma that rests upon the doings of deans and chapters; they may adorn the progress of reform, with a halo as bright and cheering as the misdoings of their predecessors has been dark, impure, and degrading.

In taking up the subject of deans and chapters in these pages, we have discharged nothing more than an imperative duty, and one, which we could have desired, never to have brought before the public. But the time is come for ecclesiastical bodies to be put upon their trial. Accusation is loud and formidable against them, and they ought to be either convicted of the delinquencies charged against them, or honourably acquitted. If they be guilty, as we think Mr. Whiston has clearly shewn in the Rochester case, which is but a sample of the entire cathedral establishments throughout the kingdom; if the charges we have brought forward can be substantiated, as we well know they truly may; if much more is behind than has yet come to light, then is it time indeed that something effectual be done to obviate the repetition of abuses, that would not be for an instant tolerated in the ordinary dealings of human life. It certainly is no enviable ordeal through which deans and chapters have to pass, if the new Commission fulfils its duties strictly and dispassionately. But as a sore, which endangers the life of a patient, requires to be deeply probed to obtain a perfect cure, it is devoutly to be hoped that no means will be left untried to

bring capitular bodies into a healthy condition, and to make them useful through the country. It has much too long been a fearful fact, that in no city or town does vice more revel, or abound in larger proportions, than in those where a cathedral exists; there is an almost universal deadness to evangelical religion in such places—a paralyzing torpor amongst the inhabitants. Religion is looked upon as a mere matter of interest by the multitude; and dissent flourishes, because those who have any thought at all cannot possibly respect teachers, who are heard to say one thing in the pulpit, and are known to act directly contrary in the chapter house. The leaven leavens the whole lump, and completely enervates all proper means of usefulness. It drags the most solemn truths through the kennel of corruption; and leads those, who have a vivid impression of what is right and what is wrong, to infer that the best text of Scripture to be engraved on the noble west front of the cathedral church would be, “My house shall be called of all nations the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves!” That such a reproach as this ought to be immediately wiped away, all, we think, must allow who value the time honoured establishments of the country. It is, therefore, for the purpose of “blotting” out such an hand writing of ordinances which is against deans and chapters, that we have made these remarks. Our feeling is not to join with the thoughtless multitude, who are too apt to augment the cry—“Down with them, down with them, even to the ground;” but to subserve the purposes of a sound and thorough reformation, so that our cathedrals may become pure temples of the living God, and those who are appointed to administer their affairs may become “true and just in all their dealings,” and as henceforth to “hurt nobody by word or deed.”

We purpose to pursue this subject in our next number, to show how livings and dignities are even now heaped on the fortunate holders of canonries; how minor canons multiply to themselves the smaller benefices, and sometimes hold office in two or even more cathedrals; and to point out how searching must be the investigation which is to lead to a reform of so much corruption.

- ART. VII.—1. *A Letter to the Right Reverend the Bishop of London, on the Popish Manner in which, contrary to the Rubrics, Divine Service is Performed on Sunday Mornings at the Parish Church of St. Paul's, Wilton Place, Knightsbridge.* By ONE OF THE CHURCHWARDENS. London: Charles Westerton. 1853.
2. *The Services and Furniture of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. A Letter to the Right Rev. Charles James Lord Bishop of London, by the Hon. and Rev. ROBERT LIDDELL, M.A., Incumbent; in Reply to a Protest from One of the Churchwardens. (Published by Request of the Lord Bishop.)* London: J. T. Hayes. 1854.
3. *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice; or, a Defence of the Catholic Doctrine that Holy Scripture has been, since the Times of the Apostles, the Sole Divine Rule of Faith and Practice to the Church, against the Dangerous Errors of the Authors of the Tracts for the Times, and the Romanists, as particularly that the Rule of Faith is made up of Scripture and Tradition together; in which also the Doctrines of the Apostolical Succession, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, &c., are fully Discussed.* By WILLIAM GOODE, M.A., F.S.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge; Rector of All-Hallows the Great and Less. In 3 vols. 8vo. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. London: Jackson. 1853.

IT would be inviting our readers to a stale banquet, and telling them a thrice told tale, were we, in the middle of the year 1854, to enlarge on the differences between the various sections of our Church, with which the Edinburgh Reviewers, have so lately made themselves merry. Disregarding the minor varieties, as those which arise from the peculiarities of various minds, there are two which appear to stand out in strong relief from the rest. Starting, in the first place, from different points of view with regard to the office and nature of the Church, they have diverged more and more at each successive step, until it is scarcely possible to discover any common grounds of opinion between them. Were it not for the professions which both make of devoted adhesion to the doctrines and articles of the same Church, it would be difficult to recognise in Mr. Keble and Mr. Beamish, in Dr. Hook and Mr. Maurice, in the Bishop of London and his brother of Worcester, in the Primate and the Bishop of Exeter, the members and ministers of the same communion.

We are often told that this difference is more apparent than real, that could they agree upon phraseology, their doctrines would not so widely diverge as they appear to do, and very often that which looks like a war of opinion, is in truth but the persistence in the use of differing symbols. And while we allow its full weight to this argument, and admit that among the more moderate of all parties the differences are comparatively little, and even that which does exist is more in terms than doctrines; still the same allowance can not be extended to the more advanced parties. Among them we shall see the material discrepancy enlarging with each divergent step, till we find among the extreme members of the evangelical party, men more Erastian than Erastus, and more Calvinistic than Calvin; while at the other extreme we shall be struck with astonishment at beholding Anglican clergymen,

"Romanis ipsis Romaniores."

Our object in the few following pages, will be to call attention to the doings of the latter within the central and important diocese of London; to trace, so far as public evidence goes, how far the teachings of the Vatican, and the lessons of the confessional, the reverence for the Sabbath of the Book of Sports and Pastimes, and the morality of Dens, are substituted for the pure and simple doctrines of the Church of England. In order to do this it will be necessary to examine not a few sermons, charges, pamphlets, letters, and newspaper articles; giving to each their due weight, and making requisite allowance for the character and dignity of the writers. If it should appear, that such teaching and practices have to any great extent prevailed; and still more if thereby the consciences of the laity have been outraged, their allegiance turned away from the Church, or even their lawful prejudices unnecessarily shocked; if occasion has been given to the "adversaries of the Lord to blaspheme," and to tax with treachery those who ought to be the strongest and sternest defenders of our Protestantism; then it will be quite clear that the enquiry has neither been made too early nor pushed too far. From causes which we shall investigate before the close of this paper, the diocese of London has been for many years regarded by Tractarians as one of the strongholds of their party. In it, either in their own persons or in the persons of those who were unwilling to oppose them, they have succeeded in obtaining nearly every living, church dignity, or ecclesiastical post of importance. It may almost be said, that the sole exceptions are to be found among the

canons of St. Paul's, who are appointed by the Crown. Nor does the mischief stop here. The importance, the wealth, the authority of the metropolitan diocese exercise an overwhelming influence upon the general body of the Church. That which is admired, approved, or tolerated in the Capital, will be sure, in a greater or less degree, to have the same advantage in the provinces. And had we not instances before us, we could hardly imagine the extent to which this kind of influence is carried. It is reasonably to be expected, that the more educated and enlightened should give laws to the less advanced; and sad as it is to acknowledge, it is nevertheless true, that the influence of fashion is not altogether without effect, even in the teaching of religious truth. Advertising clergymen refer with complacency to their "acceptance in a metropolitan sphere of duty,"—"deem themselves competent to address a metropolitan congregation,"—speak of their success in inculcating "Church principles among the higher classes of the metropolis." Nor indeed, does it seem, that these boasts are made without grounds. In many provincial towns of importance, those who, under such guides and teachers, have practised an apprenticeship in London, permanently locate themselves; and thus the dry, effete, and half Popish theology, unhappily furnished to many of our great parishes, becomes stereotyped for the use of the country at large.

Scarcely can either Oxford or Cambridge be said to exercise more influence on the younger clergy than the great City university; which, without the title, has its professors and tutors, who, under other appellations, are sending forth their disciples, already high graduates in the school of Tractarianism. They have their periodicals,—quarterly, monthly, weekly, and daily; they have their publishers bound hand and foot to their system; they have their acolytes,—young, active, and energetic; they have the means of scattering throughout the country, in all conceivable ways, the seeds of their system; and they have enthusiastic bands of female devotees, who are thoroughly persuaded that they are indeed the saints, and that piety shall die with them. Were this system pursued only to a limited extent, there might be some plausible grounds for saying, as their adherents do say, "why meddle with that which arises from a sincere and devout belief? There must be varieties of opinion, leave them, then, to the enjoyment of their own. Any strenuous opposition will but tend to augment the evil, if it be an evil, and moreover, must more or less assume the form of persecution for

the sake of religion." There is no maxim more truly deserving of respect than that which teaches us to give to all matters of opinion the opportunity of free development. The very suppression of error, if it be done by force, is productive of more mischief than the error itself which it suppresses; and hence we must carefully guard against the appearance of violence, even though it be but the violence of the pen, in treating of the erroneous doctrines and practices of those from whom we differ. But it does not therefore follow that we are to allow them to pass unnoticed, or that we are to countenance and support the conduct of those rulers in the Church, who place and maintain in posts of honour and emolument, clergymen alienated in affection, doctrine, and practice from the Church whose bread they eat. Men have a clear right to give expression to their honest convictions, to hold all Roman or all Genevan doctrine, and to make their doctrine and practice agree; and no man has a right to make them afraid in so doing. But it is equally clear that they are, *ipso facto*, bound to separate themselves from a communion which repudiates both, and of which they can only continue members by the grossest hypocrisy.

That such men feel this difficulty is clear from the strange shifts and contrivances to which they have recourse, in order to justify themselves in casting aside Gospel truth while they retain the emoluments paid them for supporting it. To understand the Articles in a non-natural sense, is an act at once non-natural, non-honest, and non-sensical.

We suppose, however, that the desire of the founders of the Tractarian system was to effect three results:

1st, Unity in the churches;

2nd, The restoration of rubrics;

3rd, The revival of priestly discipline. The two latter were, in some sort, subservient to the former; but it is necessary, in order to elucidate the subject, to state them all as *ends*. We can imagine a conscientious mind tired and vexed with polemical discussion, and disputed forms and authority; or if of a more zealous nature, or perhaps a more ardent imagination, chilled by the inanity of apparently lifeless profession, equally devoid of external stimulus or periodical self-denial. The careless disrespect with which the holy places were treated, the apathetic negligence of pastors and of people, the lax indifference of all to church rubrics or to spiritual discipline, affronted taste, if they did not awaken prayer and pious solicitude. Hence arose an earnest longing for some established ground of unanimity—some acknow-

ledged source of rule which might be at once the foundation of authority and order. This was evidently the great burden upon Mr. Bennett's mind,* as well as upon Lord Fielding's, and, in fact, has formed the staple element of complaint with most seceders from the Church of England. They forgot that it might be the Divine will *not* to grant perfect uniformity to the visible Church of Christ, they were ignorant that unity could least of all be found in Roman communion.† Moreover, as the Bishop of London wisely remarked, "a supposed misinterpretation of the Church's mind upon a particular point of doctrine, could hardly be regarded as sufficient reason for renouncing her communion, and embracing all the errors, both of doctrine and practice, which the Church of Rome imposes." These ardent but indiscreet inquirers—whose founder was Naaman, and not Newman‡—left the healing waters of Jordan, flowing from spiritual faith in the cross of Christ, to bathe in the Abana and Pharpar of human works, and the traditionary streams of human authority.

Holding, therefore, not the Head, but resting merely upon formulæ of man's institution, we find Mr. Bennett complaining that "the foundation of his faith was crumbling away," merely because of the disagreement prevalent among Church rulers in the case of Mr. Gorham.§ We quote Mr. Bennett, because he appears to us to have acted with more straightforwardness than many others, even in his error;—error, indeed, of a grievous nature, which could thus confound the faith which stands on the wisdom of man with that, the only saving one, which emanates from the power of God.

The restoration of the rubrics, appeared to present a method of obtaining the desired uniformity in a manner both salutary in itself and warranted by the Church's own expressed will; and hence, though virtually a means, rubrical perfection in observance became the second end to be attained. Every canon, therefore, was diligently examined, and exploded forms eagerly revived, in careless oblivion as to whether such practices might "impart to the congregation

* Vide Letter to Bishop of London, No. 2.

† See this point masterly proved by Dr. Cumming, "Tracts for the Times;" Romanism in England Exposed; not forgetting Liguori "the Saint!"

‡ The principle of both being, "Can I not do some great thing, and be clean?"

§ Vide Bennett's Letter, No. 2.

a taste for forms and ceremonies, which would lead them to seek for its future gratification in the Church of Rome.”* Personal self-discipline was to be as much encouraged as public recognition of ecclesiastical power; and although, in the treatise of ceremonies, our early reformers clearly and distinctly admit the possibility of reform,—(and it is generally allowed that, in the transition from Popery, ordinances and expressions were left which though our reformers did not originate, yet they did not deem it expedient to remove,†) a strict exactitude was to be carried out in the design of the Tractarian party; so that all members of the Church should at least externally assimilate even though by being stretched on the Procrustean bed of a rigid ceremonial.

But to direct this revival, and to give to their Frankenstein not only vitality but vivacity, a certain inscrutable yet indefectible authority was requisite—vague, yet ubiquitous—which might destroy dissent by forbidding inquiry, and relieve the masses of what is at once their boast and their burden—the exercise of private judgment. Hence the restoration of priestly discipline was coveted, to substantiate which patristic authority and synodical anathemas were dovetailed and blended into one basis of sacerdotal tyranny. Nay, so remarkably did this appetite—for at once being ruled over and for ruling‡—manifest itself in many; that, like the bird tampering with its liberty, they flew literally into the cage of monastic serfdom, and exchanged for the slavery of Rome the atmosphere of a gospel system. We mistake greatly if many do not now deeply repent them of their error. Apostacy, like the judgment day, ushers in the discovery of great mistakes; but the chain is about their necks, and the fetters around their feet, and false shame or “a strong delusion”—to say nothing of external pressure—hinders their recovery. None but He “to whom all hearts are open” knows, we think, their anguish, who, too late, awake to the discovery of how much they have lost, and how little they have gained, and find, when the Philistines of infidelity, in the apostate church itself, are upon them, that they

* Vide Bishop of London’s Letter to Mr. Bennett, No. 2.

† Vide the Report of the Plymouth Clerical Reform Association, printed in the Local Journal.

‡ This is by no means an unusual phase of mental infirmity, especially when priestcraft can, by the acceptance of this apparent anomaly, subdue other consciences, and get rid of its own.

“Doubtless the pleasure is as great
In being cheated as to cheat.”

are shorn of their strength, and that the Lord's presence has departed.

But humanity is anomalous. Its pride is its weakness, it boasts of its shame, it is ashamed of that which constitutes its excellence. You wish a man to take the initiative in a philanthropic act, and he declines upon the score of his responsibility! Let him be called upon by his vices for their gratification, and he will forget his avarice and his responsibility together! It is not wonderful, for this reason, that the haughtiness which domineers and the sycophancy which bows,—that the self-love which would desire to rule and the impotency of will which would incline to cringe,—should characterize the same mind!

Whether at first conscientious or deceitful, a very brief investigation of the history of Tractarianism suffices to prove that the above were the ends projected in the original movement; and although, as we remarked before, the two latter, viz., the restoration of rubrics and of priestly discipline were subservient to the former, yet their consideration must necessarily enter into the analysis we are constrained to give, but however briefly, of the means by which the party endeavoured to compass their design. No axiom was ever more clearly deducible from experience, than that concession to error never yet benefitted the cause of truth; yet we find such concession substantially put forward as one great basis for admission of novelties into the service.* Nay, in the very mistakes and primary delusions of the party, we have at once the ground and illustration of their method of proceeding. They had to combat with three evils—disunion, rubrical laxity, and impatience of authority; they endeavoured to correct them by jesuitical expediency, superstitious form, and monastic dominion. Whatever the desire might have been, the method was at least suspicious, and it became dangerous from its identity with principles notoriously those of the Romish communion. That such *was* the character of the elements set in motion for the purpose, the avowed history of the party proves; but they were persisted in, in the face of results and repeated warnings, which should have inspired the conscientious members of the party with caution, if it did not induce them to bear the “ills they knew, rather than fly to others which they dreamed not of.”

* This is Mr. Bennett's plea for putting the bread into the mouths, instead of into the hands of the communicants. Vide his correspondence with the Bishop of London.

For were not the doctrines enunciated so palatable to the human heart as to become suspicious, from their resemblance to that which is in itself, "deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked?" Was not the restoration of external observances likely (unless prayerfully controlled,) to bring back the form, but sacrifice the power of religion, especially when brought about with little preparation of men's mind, at a period of universal laxity in ceremonials? Does not Erasmus quaintly tell us, that the human understanding, like an intoxicated man, falls on one side if too much supported on the other? Does not the sensuous perception, if encouraged, war against the calm operation of the judgment, and the love of novelty beget a morbid disrelish of nutritious aliment?

"*Nam quod adest præsto, nisi quid cognovimus ante
Suavius, in primis placet et pollere videtur
Posteriorque, fere melior res illa reperta
Perdit et immutat sensus ad pristina quæque.*"*

Common sense then, if no higher motive, would have prompted caution in advancing novelties, and its dictates would have been corroborated by history and a well-regulated moral idiosyncrasy. But the new teachers were cognizant, at once shrewdly and superficially, of the constitution of our common nature; wise to catch others, they were powerless to protect themselves; dealers in poison, they yet possessed neither charm nor antidote! He who trusts his own heart is a fool; he who would keep it with all diligence from scrutinizing another's is wise; how many lament, whom conscience now "*surdo verbere cœdit*," that they did not fly with Joseph, rather than presumptuously tempt the power of their faith with Peter?

The results have verified the mistaken direction of the attempt: not one of the desired ends, but exactly the opposite, has issued. Instead of union we have now a deep rooted and fast spreading heresy infecting, in many instances, the very rulers of our Church; the ecclesiastical trumpet giving a most uncertain sound; the rubrics contravened, (as we shall shew,)[†] and their contravention winked at; priests guilty of practices incompatible with the Reformed Church, whose articles were specially drawn up against Popery;[‡] and a

* *Lucret. v. 1413.*

† This is incontestably proved by Mr. Westerton, in his note to the Bishop of London: printed by the former, 1853.

‡ To say nothing of the Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz. and 14 Chas. II.

hierarchy of the Establishment, not very long ago, flying in the face of an authority, he himself once admitted as valid :

“*Nam cupide conculcatur nimis ante metutum.*” *

So that for Church unity, which was one object sought, we have the laity running over to dissent † and Popery ; for restoration of rubrics, universal discrepancy of ceremonial ; and for ministered comfort, the dogmatical teaching of disguised Jesuits or formal—we write the word boldly—worldlings. ‡ Verily, the fruits bear witness to the tree, and the soil in which the latter grew was decidedly neither true spiritual knowledge nor common sense.

For either of these would have taught a very different lesson, would have shown the true nature of gospel worship, before the spiritual touch of which, perversion however disguised, starts up—like Satan at the ear of Eve—“discovered and amazed.” Either would have shewn too, that a system must be bad which carried out its dogmas by deception, and such jesuitical devices as have been recently exemplified. The case of one is before us, who, declaring his adhesion to the articles of the Protestant faith drawn up especially against Popery, admitted, after his perversion to the latter, that he had always regarded the Popish communion with especial favour ; and whilst officiating as a minister, and receiving the emoluments of the reformed Church, he took advantage of private friendship and functional position to pervert, by Popish books, the creed of his host’s child. § We hear of another, who deprecating attacks upon his Protestantism one week, entered the Romish communion within a fortnight: neither need we allude to the essentially deceptive nature of Popish tenets themselves which sanction, nay, even encourage falsehood, in open as well as indirect opposition to the Christian obligation to worship God in truth. Arguments throng upon us, drawn from the allowed class books of Romanism,

* Lucret. If any private clergyman had indulged in the extravaganzas of resistance to authority enacted by Dr. Philpotts, what would have been his fate ?

† The Bishop of Exeter’s encouragement of Tractarianism has done more for dissent in his diocese than a thousand oratorical recruits from Homerton.

‡ The Sunday amusements at Belgravia rival the Sabbath desecration of Belgium or Portugal. The Tractarian party have established what they call “high teas,” concerning which we shall only say, Why not copy Eleusis altogether, and for shame’s sake preserve the decorum at least of “a mystery?” How do these people read the word “hallow?”

§ See the miserable exhibition of treacherous deception in the Leicester Journal of this month, (March), in the case of the Rev. Mr. Anderson and Dr. Noble.

and appeal to Protestants of all ranks, but especially to the masters in Israel, to offer their distinct and decided opposition to the introduction of wolves in sheep's clothing, or the implanting in Christ's vineyard of that noxious thistle, from which we vainly seek to obtain the fruits of righteousness.

We say then, that the result of Popish practices in our Church, should induce our bishops to regard with jealous scrutiny the revival of observances which, otherwise insignificant, have proved in the issue so detrimental.

When the plague rages, wise men are cautious whom they touch, and seek to anticipate its earliest symptom. Why instead of this caution, this wise and holy jealousy on the part of our episcopal rulers, do we find courtesy pushed to the very verge of timidity, vacillation, contradiction, and even connivance! Alas! this leads us into deeper principles and causes of error, which we must elucidate fearlessly, and if from no one else, from us at least must all classes within the Church hear the truth.*

There is an unseen but immovable barrier against evil borne in the heart of the child of God, which realizes the promise of the "voice behind him" saying, "This is the way, walk thou in it." This heavenly principle is not fanaticism, but spirituality; it is not imaginary, but real; hence it is the only element of consistency man's nature can receive. Expansion it admits, to the utmost limit of holy discretion, in all plans set out for the glory of God; but the instant that zeal becomes mental intoxication, or the finest and most subtle mote of error (otherwise called expediency) threatens to obscure gospel faith and sincerity, that instant the expression, "Get thee behind me Satan!" is uttered to the soul. Now, worshippers are of two sorts—real, who possess this heavenly light; self-deceived, who have it not. These two classes at present sit together upon the Episcopal Bench; the knowledge of the one is pure and simple; the conscience of the other, like the mitre itself, hollow and divided!

Of all the parishes in London where, in Tractarian eyes, the Church service was carried out in the most satisfactory manner, St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, with the chapel of St.

* We are fully alive to that vicious modesty which could deprecate interference; but it is a part of a real friend to the Establishment to tear the veil from the evil, and not

"To silver and to gild the ulcerous sore,
Whilst foul corruption rotting all beneath
Infests unseen!"—*Shakespeare*.

Barnabas, Pimlico, stood the most prominent. The Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, the incumbent, had gradually imbued all, or nearly all, Roman doctrine, and was labouring hard to establish also all Roman practice. That he had an immense number of followers is not denied; that he was supported in all his proceedings by many wealthy and noble parishioners is but too certain; yet the parishioners at large were so disgusted with the Popery which they were compelled to witness, that they remonstrated, with sufficient zeal and earnestness for the Bishop of London to see the necessity of interfering; and the controversy ended by his Lordship requiring Mr. Bennett to resign the benefice. The incumbent complied with this demand, and the Bishop immediately afterwards appointed the Hon. and Rev. Robert Liddell.

A letter recently published by one of the Churchwardens, addressed to the Bishop, tells us, that a short time after the present incumbent's

"accession to the ministry, we perceived a decided improvement in the performance of Divine service; but it soon became evident that the Rev. Mr. Nugee, the former curate under Mr. Bennett, who was retained in his office, and who had ever been conspicuous in his tendency towards the idolatrous ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church, had obtained a dangerous influence over the mind of Mr. Liddell; and that he had succeeded, by slow and almost imperceptible degrees, in persuading him to adopt all the former obnoxious practices, until they have at length obtained the same unhappy completeness as a system which became so intolerable to us under the ministry of Mr. Bennett."

When we recollect the scandal cast upon our Church by the painful disclosures brought to light by the correspondence between the late incumbent and his diocesan, concerning wax candles, altar clothes, crosses, crucifixes, to say nothing about "*hæ nugæ canoræ*," we cannot but regret that such a serious sacrifice of character should have been invested, merely to produce the barren results which it now appears have been secured to this much-vexed parish. If, however, we look a little more carefully into this matter, and explore its depths and soundings with careful attention, we think we can detect the secret of much which at first sight appears inexplicable, if we are only permitted to suppose that the application of the *non-natural* doctrine is not entirely confined to subscription of the Articles. The besetting sin of the whole school is not only an irreconcilable antagonism between its practices and professions, but even amongst its several professions of faith and rules of conduct. It de-

nounces the right of individual judgment, and yet its doctrines are introduced to the world upon no other authority than that which belongs to its own individual teachers. The clergy are indeed appealed to with decisions, more or less correctly cited, of Fathers and Councils; but the laity are told that they are to hear with meekness, and not examine too closely—

“ Audi, vide et tace
Si vis vivere in pace.”

say the monkish rhymes, and we have examples enough of the advice being seriously tendered from the pulpit. And what are we to expect from a profession of faith, or a condition of discipline, which condemns the natural fruits of principles which it affects to approve? Can we rest in comfortable reliance upon an Oracle which declares it sees “no harm” in the two wax candles, provided they are *not* lighted; and which sagaciously approves “of an arrangement lately adopted in several churches, by which the clergy-men look to the *south* while reading prayers, and to the *west* while reading lessons?”

We have in the letter above referred to, the following graphic description of the mode of performing morning service on each Sunday at St. Paul’s:—

“ While the clergy bell is ringing, the choristers, boys and men, about twenty in number, issue from the clerk’s vestry in procession, followed by one of the curates cap in hand. When they have taken their places, Mr. Liddell and two curates, with occasionally volunteer clergymen, walk in procession from the vestry, each bearing one or more of the vessels to be used at the Communion. As they approach the altar, on which stands a large cross, Mr. Liddell bows to it reverently, and places on the Credence table by its side the vessel he has brought. Mr. Nugee, also bowing reverently, now approaches, and giving up what he has brought to be placed there, takes his place on the south side of it, followed by the others, who having followed his example, with the exception of bowing, take their places behind him. While this is going on the choristers and congregation have all risen.”

The churchwarden then proceeds to complain of several important deviations from the ordinary practice of reading the Liturgy; and he certainly furnishes a statement which might bear comparison with any thing we had previously heard concerning the novelties and irregular practices introduced into the church of St. Paul, Knightsbridge, during the incumbency of Mr. Bennett

Since this letter was published, the complaint of the

churchwarden has assumed a much graver aspect, and the subject matter of his charges has been laid before the Bishop of London, in a formal memorial. This mode of proceeding has been adopted, because, among other advantages, it will afford the Bishop of London an opportunity of proving to the Church the sincerity of views which have for some time past, however unjustly, lain under suspicion; and we therefore rejoice that he has found a fitting opportunity of setting himself right with his Christian brethren, and of allaying the fears of those who express dissatisfaction with his treatment of Tractarian innovations.

This memorial has now been before his lordship upwards of a month, but no formal decision has yet been conceded to the memorialist. However, we have some evidence that the document has engaged a portion of his lordship's attention, for within the last fortnight a letter, announcing on its title page the fact of its being published *by request of the Lord Bishop*, by the Hon. and Rev. Robert Liddell, has made its appearance. It is difficult to understand the object of the publication of this letter; and more difficult is it to believe that his lordship could have given his sanction to such a publication before he had formally adjudicated upon the complaint to which the letter of Mr. Liddell purports to be an answer. By this irregular mode of proceeding, the public are placed in possession of the defence of Mr. Liddell before they are made cognizant of the charges brought, in the memorial, against him. It is not, however, our business to criticise any mode of proceeding the Bishop of London may be advised to adopt, our duty limits our remarks to the contents of Mr. Liddell's pamphlet, which we shall now proceed to examine. The incumbent of St. Paul's, thus introduces the first article of his defence. He says:—

“I will content myself with generally disclaiming any Popish tendencies. I will leave your Lordship, and others who know me, to judge of my loyalty to the Church of England by my conduct in her services for the last twenty years; and I will proceed at once to review Mr. Westerton's objections in their order:—1. He protests against ‘the impertinent ceremonial and Romish custom of the choristers being formed into regular order,’ and going ‘in a kind of theatrical procession’ to their seats in the choir, accompanied by one of the clergy.”

Mr. Liddell admits the fact, and justifies the observance by citing the following text of scripture:—“Let *all* things be done decently and in order.” The *italics* are Mr. Liddell's own, and so is the application of the text. We have only to

regret, that we do not see in what way it can be supposed to justify a procession palpably imitated from the Church of Rome, and having no foundation in the practices or ordinances of the English Reformed Church.

It would appear, from the letter of Mr. Liddell, that the memorial charges him and the clergy of St. Paul's, with certain "indistinct and inarticulate mumblings," and with *singing*, instead of *saying* or *pronouncing*, certain portions of the Liturgy; for he gives us his defence on the latter in the following passage:—

"1st. That in St. Paul's it was done two years ago, with the full knowledge of your Lordship; and, 2ndly, that I believe, under ordinary circumstances, this matter is left to the discretion of the incumbent; and that not merely by general usage, but by a well-known legal decision of Lord Stowell's, in the case of *Hutchens v. Denziloe*."

That a practice which had existed in St. Paul's for two years is necessarily correct, or that the protracted existence of an irregularity should justify it, or make that right which was originally wrong, is a manifest absurdity. With regard to the case of *Hutchins v. Denziloe*, it is simply beside the question. That case decided a different point; viz., the extent of the power of the churchwarden to interfere with the incumbent, by obstructing or prohibiting a practice which had been authorized by him. Moreover, the rubrics are conclusive upon this subject, and Lord Stowell was the last man in the world who would have ventured to set his authority against that of the *lex scripta*. The use and abuse of singing in the performance of the services of the Church are two distinct matters. It is, we presume, the abuse, and not the use, of singing which is charged against Mr. Liddell; and he that would indiscriminately condemn singing, and exclude it altogether from the service, would be as little justified as the minister who, by its abuse, renders the services of the Church unintelligible to the great mass of the people. Mr. Liddell assumes that he has a right to adopt the choral service in the church of St. Paul's, instead of the ordinary mode of reading, according to the rubric, of the Book of Common Prayer: and here we would take issue with him, and unhesitatingly pronounce his assumption to be unfounded, untenable, and unauthorized by the practice observed in parochial churches since the Reformation. Mr. Liddell seems also to labour under some difficulty in reconciling the different customs observed in cathedral and parish churches. He might, however, have been enlightened

had he taken the trouble to have consulted Bishop Burnet, who informs us that—

“A complaint was made in the visitation held after the passing of the first Act of Uniformity (1549) that the priests read the prayers generally *with the same tone of voice that they had used formerly in the Latin service, so that the people did not understand it much better than they had done the Latin formerly!*” That “he himself had seen this represented in many letters; that the matter was very seriously laid before Archbishop Cranmer, and that the course taken in it was *that in all parish churches the service should be read in a plain audible voice, but that the former way (singing) should remain in cathedrals where there were great choirs*, under the hope that as the old priests dropped off and died, others would be put in their places who would officiate in a *plainer voice.*”

Amongst the injunctions issued by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, we find the following:—

“XLIX. *Item.* Because in divers collegiate, and also some parish churches, heretofore there have been livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children to use singing in the Church; by means whereof the laudible science of music hath been had in estimation and preserved in knowledge; the Queen's Majesty, neither meaning in anywise the decay of anything that might conveniently tend to the use and continuance of the said science, neither to have the same in any part so abused in the Church that thereby the Common Prayer should be the worse understood of the hearers, willeth and commandeth that, first, no alteration be made of such assignments of living, as heretofore hath been appointed to the use of singing or music in the Church; but that the same so remain, and that there be a modest and distinct song, so used in all parts of the Common Prayers in the Church, that the *same may be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing.*

And again:—

“LIII. *Item.* That all ministers and readers of public prayers, chapters, and homilies, shall be charged to *read* leisurely, plainly, and distinctly; and also such as are but mean readers shall peruse over before, once or twice, the chapters and homilies, to the intent they may read, to the better understanding of the people and the more encouragement of godliness.”

Unless Mr. Liddell is prepared to show that the church of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, is a parish church which was, *before* the date of the injunction of 1559, endowed with “a living appointed for the maintenance of men and children to use singing in the church,” he does not bring his practice within the language of the exception to the rubrics; and, therefore, the case of St. Paul's falls within the general rule,

and is consequently a palpable violation of the rubrics contained in the Book of Common Prayer.

We learn from the letter of Mr. Liddell, that some complaint has been made with respect to the articles of church furniture now in use in the church of St. Paul; for Mr. Liddell tells us, that the furniture complained of is that which he found when the church was intrusted to his charge; and that having been consecrated with the rest of the church furniture, it is no longer obnoxious to the law declared in the celebrated case of *Faulkner v. Litchfield and Steane*: a case, by the bye, better known by its popular appellation of the "Stone altar" case. In the same way Mr. Liddell proceeds to justify the use at St. Paul's, of the various other objectionable particulars referred to in the charges of the churchwarden, including, amongst these, the altar and cross. It would be a waste of words to examine seriously into the validity of such a flimsy argument as that involved in the defence by Mr. Liddell. He does not attempt to justify the use of these things as being lawful, but simply insists, that if they were originally unlawful they have been consecrated, and he leaves his readers to draw the inference that the act of consecration has made that lawful which was in itself contrary to law.

The subject of altars has been so fully discussed in the judgment of Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, in the case of *Faulkner v. Litchfield*, that any observations by us are rendered unnecessary. It is to be gathered from the letter of Mr. Liddell, that complaint has been made of the use in the church of St. Paul's of an altar erected after the fashion of the ancient altar, known before the Reformation as the "High Altar;" a fabric, it will be recollected which was directed to be removed from our churches, in order to banish, as far as possible, all superstitious notions attached to the performance of the rites of the Church. We learn from Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, and also from the works of Bishop Ridley, published by the Parker Society, that an Order in Council was issued to Bishop Ridley to take down all altars, and to place *tables* in their stead; and Bishop Burnet informs us, that in November, 1550, letters were sent to every bishop, "to pluck down the altars;" and the high sheriff of Essex was sent down to see Bishop Ridley's injunctions carried out.

We regret that our contracting space warns us to close our remarks upon Mr. Liddell's pamphlet, and the more so that we are conscious of having left untouched many

topics in the letter of Mr. Liddell which seem to invite refutation. But if we have not quoted Mr. Riddell more fully, we have, at least, done him justice; and if we have not transcribed all that Mr. Liddell has boldly asserted, it is because he has relieved us from such a duty, for much that he has promulgated refutes itself, and it has seldom been our task to peruse a more feeble defence in behalf of Tractarian practices than that of Mr. Liddell, published by request of the Lord Bishop of London.

After statements such as these, the question will naturally be asked, how came the Bishop of London to tolerate such proceedings? Is he not sufficient of a theologian to understand how extremely untenable are the doctrines thus maintained, and the practices thus continued? Does he wield the crozier with so weak a grasp as not to be able to repress proceedings which he has again and again condemned, both by word and writing? Is one clergyman to set him at defiance on the very ground for which he had exacted from another the resignation of his benefice? or does he indeed and in truth, approve of the whole system of the Tractarian party? Are his denunciations to be understood merely as occasional sacrifices to public opinion? All these reasons have been alleged in turn by those who think less highly of him than we would desire to think. And when stripped of the polite phraseology in which they are conveyed, they amount to directly taxing him either with ignorance, with weakness, or with insincerity. Nor can it be at all a matter of astonishment, that those who neither respect the office, nor have any peculiar affection for the man, should lay them all three to his charge. The time is long past when the mere possession of high office would enable the holder to defy the judgment of the world. And if in the remarks which follow, we are able to show that so severe a sentence is uncalled for by the circumstances of the case, we must yet frankly and freely admit, that those who have passed it were not without strong apparent reasons in their favour.

We have already sufficiently alluded to the case of Mr. Bennett, to show that a strong pressure from without was brought to bear upon the Bishop. It was impossible to pass over his mimicries and mummeries. He merely left the poetry out from his Popery, and the dignity from his degraded church-service. And the Bishop appears to have remonstrated strongly and sincerely with him again and again. His remonstrances were unheeded, his advice was rejected, and he was at length compelled to exact from Mr. Bennett that

resignation of the benefice which the latter had engaged to make, should the Bishop require it. And thus Mr. Bennett obtained his commission in the noble army of martyrs;—unattached, indeed;—sent out on no desperate mission, no forlorn hope, but still a martyr; and to be admired and revered accordingly. Neither do we know whether he may be said to have “sold out” from that noble army, by accepting the vicarage of Frome-Selwood—a living to which he was appointed, contrary to the will of the patron, and by the connivance, at least, of the Bishop of London. Here, located in Somersetshire, we leave him, and return to the flock which he had left at St. Paul’s Knightsbridge.

But now that the objectionable minister had been ejected, was there none worthy to take his place among those who preached evangelical truth? Could no one be found, save an exact counterpart of himself, to fill the church which he had vacated? Had Protestantism so entirely died out in the Church of England, that no one could be found to maintain her doctrines and support her truly apostolical practice? Surely if Mr. Goode, or Mr. Champneys, or Mr. Villiers, had been applied to, they could have supplied a list of names from among which the episcopal choice might have been made. But, alas! the “promise which had been kept to the ear was broken to the heart.” The people, by their energetic remonstrances, had relieved themselves from one Tractarian, and the Bishop, by whose immediate act this had been done, forthwith saddled them with another. Were they then to be blamed if they doubted the sincerity of his lordship; if they felt, that under the pretext of complying with their requests, their hopes had in fact been deluded?

A glance over the patronage which for many years has been exercised by the Bishop, would only tend to confirm them in this view. Tractarian after Tractarian had been appointed, until every church was either filled with their adherents, or with those whom the Edinburgh reviewer calls “high and dry.” And yet, regarding the attainments of most of them in the Gospel, may they not be emphatically called “low and slow.” Had there been a few instances of truly evangelical men promoted by the Bishop of London, they might have fixed their eyes upon them and said, here is a proof that however his lordship esteems classical learning, mediæval erudition, and church antiquity, he does not altogether pretermitt the claims of gospel truth. But when they come to examine the list, they find that the preachers of the genuine Gospel in the diocese of London, either occupy

small posts indeed, or else were placed where they are by other hands than those of the Bishop. If they look back to the celebrated—too celebrated—charge of 1842,* they will see that then he gave the weight of his name and influence to that party which had been long known for its adherence rather to the forms than to the spirit of truth. Fortunately, the wiser among the London clergy disregard the injunctions of their diocesan, and received his thanks for so doing. But the effect of the charge was greatly to discourage the Protestant party in our Church; and to induce a belief that, however much he might sanction them by occasional words of praise, the Bishop of London was, in heart, altogether alienated from them.

We have laid these circumstances simply and plainly before the reader, not because we wish to aggravate an impression, which after all may not be a just one, but merely to show that it was not taken up without grounds. And we are bound now to show the reverse of the medal. If we cannot exhibit any encouragement to the evangelical clergy, any discouragement (except in one instance) to Tractarian or semi-popish practices and principles; if we cannot point to a list, commensurate with the length of his episcopal rule, of true Protestants promoted by the Bishop of London; we can, at all events, direct attention to his published sermons, and to the large amount of evangelical truth which they contain; we can also account, in some measure, for the favour shewn to the Tractarian clergy, and those who approach to their doctrines, by the readiness which they have ever shewn to

* One of the severest satires which appeared shortly after the publication of this charge, was entitled, "A Fragment from the History of John Bull," and is now known to have been the production of an amiable and distinguished writer lately removed from among us. In it he set forth the difficulty under which Mr. Bull laboured, of rightly deciding whether he should wear a white or black waistcoat at dinner; and whether, in the case of his dining in the middle of the day, he ought to have the family candlesticks on the table, with lighted candles in them; and also as to the posture in which grace should be said. He was directed to apply for information to a certain learned juris-consult, named Carlo-Jacobus, who after taking much time for deliberation, at last announced his decision in these terms: "That it would be well to wear a white waistcoat in the morning, and a black one in the evening, until such time as he could light upon a pious plaid which would be equally suitable for both occasions: that with regard to the candles they ought on all occasions to be on the table, but on no account to be lighted; and that as to the posture to be used in saying grace, whereas some bowed over the sirloin, and others turned their backs on the company, the more expedient mode was to go to the window and see which way the wind blew, and having ascertained this important fact, to say grace in that direction; a practice which he, the adviser, had adopted for many years, and found great benefit resulting therefrom."

support and carry out into practice; the plans and projects of the Bishop. It may be, that he has been trammelled in his choice; that he has not been so much of a free agent as were to be wished; and that those who most blame him might have found, had they been in his position, that the episcopal see of London is not always a bed of roses. It is true, that he has experienced also a great deal of opposition, and no inconsiderable amount of most unwarrantable insolence, from the very party whose general obedience has been unquestionable. But this is in strict accordance with their principles. They obey the Bishop so long as he commands that which they prefer, and take great credit to themselves for the merit of "*holy obedience*." While, on the other hand, no sooner does any difference of opinion occur between the diocesan and themselves, than they straightway discover that there is a higher authority in the Church than that of the bishop, and Saint Somebody or other furnishes them with a noble example of *holy disobedience*. It may, indeed, be doing no service to this distinguished and profoundly learned prelate, to point out the general obedience of the Tractarian party: it might provoke the remark, that they would not have been so complying, had they not felt themselves to have been very much of the same school with their ecclesiastical superiors. Neither can it be supposed that they had persuaded him that the worse were the better reason, nor overcome by their sophistries his noble and masculine intellect. His own writings bear evidence to his deliberate judgment on the chief points of the tractarian controversy, and for any discrepancy between that judgment and his episcopal conduct he must stand fairly responsible.

Another so called "Anglican" church, (Margaret Chapel), affords us an opportunity of saying a few words on the adaptation of Popish devotions to what ought to be Protestant congregations. Did the Romanists treat their half-perverts with common civility; did they acknowledge these longings after the "true Catholic church;" did they generously stretch forth a hand to help the Romanizers over the line of division, then, indeed, there would be some ground of consolation for these latter, even in the midst of the stern denunciations of all true Protestants. But this small comfort is denied them. They are repudiated by both parties alike; disowned by one and snubbed by the other. The sooner they quit their bat-like position, and either soar with the eagle, or take openly their part with "the beast," whose mark is already upon them, the better both for their peace and their consistency.

Hear how the "*Tablet*" treats these inventors of a piebald Popery:—

"It must be admitted that the Anglicans have made decided progress in Hymnology (to borrow a phrase of their own) since the time of Messrs Tate and Brady, Sternhold and Hopkins, who, I am afraid, would not be much edified by some of the compositions which are now sung by their descendants. The practice of pilfering from Catholic sources is carried on to the greatest extent, and in the most unblushing manner. Thus, the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society has put forth a 'Hymnal Noted,' which is exclusively derived from the Roman and other Missals and Breviaries, and in which the hymns and sequences are assigned to the same days, and, for the most part, to the same services or times of the day as in the Catholic church. The sequence in the Mass for the Dead is assigned to the Anglican Burial Service, and hymns in honour of Saints and Angels (including even the 'Iste Confessor') are freely translated, and formally recommended for general Anglican use. That for Martyrs, commencing 'The Merits of the Saints!' an expression which, to say the least of it, seems hardly reconcileable with their Lutheran 'Articles of Religion;' and even the daily hymns for the lesser hours are given, and assigned to the third, sixth, and ninth hours respectively. At Margaret Chapel (the 'Titchfield-street twig of the Anglican branch,' as it has been called), Catholic hymns are also appropriated with characteristic modesty, and even some of the antiphons and introits of the Missal and Breviary, several of which are not, in words at least, taken from Scripture. Thus, on All Saints' Day they sing the same introit as is used by the Pope, and all his bishops and clergy, in the Mass of this day, 'Let us rejoice and keep a festival in honour of all the Saints, on whose solemnity the Angels rejoice,' &c.; and the greater antiphons of this season (which are also used) cannot be said to be derived from any other source than the Roman Breviary. But not only are our hymns, and antiphons, and introits appropriated by these good people, who aspire to be 'Catholic without the Pope,' Catholic prayers and offices are equally used by them. Thus at Margaret Chapel the *Preparatio ad Missam*, and the *Gratiarum* from the Roman Missal, have been 'privately printed' (as the title-page states) and circulated among the congregation, with prayers from St. Bonaventure, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Ignatius of Loyola, and other Catholic Saints, containing, of course, the doctrines of Transubstantiation and the Mass, Purgatory, &c. And another small publication, got up in a similar manner, and published, or rather printed, 'by the same well-known dispenser of such signs of life,' has Catholic prayers at Mass (apparently from the *Paradisus animi*), adapted to the Anglican communion service, notwithstanding the rubric at the end of this office against the real presence. Here, too, are prayers for the dead, the sacrifice, &c., in language which cannot be mistaken. But I have wandered from the subject of hymns."

The congregation of this church were once made the victims of a very reprehensible jest. At the time when Cardinal Wiseman was in the midst of that odium and unpopularity excited by the recent papal aggression, and the papacy-loving propensities of the Margaret Chapel flock were the subject of much and indignant comment, some unhallowed wight, forgetful that the church, however desecrated, was still the house of God, obtained a number of sparrows, and attiring them in scarlet gowns and cardinals' hats, leaving at the same time their wings unconfined, set them loose in the midst of the evening service, among the worshippers. Their extraordinary and impish appearance, their beating against the lamps, and the confusion which they occasioned, gave rise to a scene such as it is to be hoped will never again be beheld in any church professing to belong to the English communion.

But we, too, have wandered from the subject of hymns. The church of St. Peter at Pimlico, once Charlotte Chapel, enjoys an unenviable notoriety of the same kind, and receives the same polite attention from the Popish organ :

"The hymn-book used at the Puseyite Chapel in Charlotte-street, Buckingham Palace, (the minister of which lately became a Catholic, and was soon followed by other clergymen in his locality), is almost entirely derived from Father Caswell's beautiful translation of the Breviary and Missal hymns, though it has a few from the Oratory hymn-book (which will not edify the *Times*), and other sources. Here, also, we have the antiphons and introits, to which I before alluded, with some additional ones. In the hymn for All Saints, (taken, I believe, from the St. Saviour's selection), the following verse occurs :—

" 'Mary leads the sacred story
Mary with her heavenly child ;
Sharer with Him now in glory,
Maid and mother undefiled !'

And hymns from the Office of Our Lady are given, with those in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, including the 'Pange Lingua,' 'Tantum Ergo,' 'O Salutaris,' &c., and a portion even of the 'Lauda Sion !' These hymns I understand, used to be sung during the communion service, the 'O Salutaris' immediately after the supposed consecration, and so on in the same manner that the Mass is accompanied in the Catholic Church, the clergyman saying his part in a low tone of voice like a priest. There are likewise Catholic hymns to the sacred heart and precious blood of Our Lord, so that the *Times* might have commenced its attack on these devotions somewhat nearer home. This book is published by Mr. Cleaver of Piccadilly, (Mr. Bennett's publisher), and dedicated to

Mr. Hoare, the banker. I forgot to mention, (and it is only fair that I should do so), that the Margaret chapel collection contains certainly one Protestant hymn, and that Luther's! But this was probably intended as a prudent set-off to the rest of the contents, that in the event of trouble ensuing, they might be able to say that they no more approved of all the sentiments of the Catholic authors, than they did of Martin Luther's. But it is said, that Bishop Blomfield has from the first winked at these things, and I see that his brother of Oxford* has lately presided at a church music-meeting in that town, at which the 'Dies Iræ' and other Catholic hymns were sung in the original Latin. Mr. Richardson has on sale an Anglican 'Horæ Diurnæ,' which is entirely derived from the Roman Breviary, and with but few 'adaptations' or omissions."

But if the Romanizers receive but scanty courtesy from the members of the Church of which they would fain be members, those who have already passed the line do not always fare much better.

Dr. Cahill, whose outrageous violence is too well known to need much notice here, but who is nevertheless a man both of ability and learning, has made, *more suo*, a most ferocious onslaught on those unhappy perverts whom he calls "the three parsons in Portman-street," simply because they contend that the English Bible, bad as it is in their view, is not quite so bad as the abominable works of Dens, Liguori, and Sanchez!

But we must hasten to a close. If the work last-named at the head of this article—a monument of learning, research, and piety, such as we have rarely seen combined since the days of Jewell—had been duly studied and valued by the clergy of the Church, we should have been spared such spectacles as those which have been but too frequent in the Metropolitan Diocese. It is because the authority of God's word has been deliberately postponed to that of man's word—because fathers and councils have been preferred to apostles and scripture—that not a few have been given over "to delusion, so that they might believe a lie!" May the Holy Spirit of truth purge his Church, and purify the hearts of His people.

It may be necessary to say, that we are indebted for a portion of this article to an unpublished pamphlet, which will probably before long see the light in a complete state. [Ed. Church of England Quarterly Review.]

* This shot falls harmless. The Bishop was perfectly in the right, as much as if he had been presiding at an Archæological meeting. It is one thing to hear the *Dies Iræ*, sung in Latin at a musical meeting, quite another to make it a part of English and Protestant worship.

- ART. VIII.—1. *The Russo-Turkish Campaigns of 1828 and 1829; with a View of the Present State of Affairs in the East.* 8vo. By Colonel CHESNEY, R.A., D.C.L., F.R.S. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1854.
2. *The Russian Shores of the Black Sea.* By L. OLIPHANT. 8vo. London: Blackwood and Sons. 1853.
3. *Recent Events in the East.* By D. URQUHART. London: Trütner and Co. 1854.
4. *Progress of Russia.* By D. URQUHART. Trütner and Co. 1853.
5. *Ranke's Servia, Bosnia, and the Slave Provinces.* 8vo. H. Bohn. 1853.
6. *The Ottoman Empire and its Resources.* By Dr. E. H. MICHELSON. London: Spooner. 1854.
7. *Secret History of the Court and Government of Russia, under Alexander I. and Nicholas I.* 2 vols. 8vo. By J. H. SCHNITZLER. London: R. Bentley. 1854.
8. *The Cross versus the Crescent.* London: Harrison. 1854.

NAPOLÉON'S epigrammatic prediction at St. Helena, that within fifty years all Europe would become either Republican or Cossack, is so trite, and has been so often slighted as merely a smart saying, that an apology is perhaps requisite for its quotation; nevertheless, like many other sayings of that remarkable man, the one alluded to is calculated to suggest serious thoughts to considerate minds; and will furnish a convenient *point d'appui* whereon to rest a discussion of Russian policy and prospects sixteen years within the date prescribed by Napoleon for their supreme dominion. The vehement but ineffective efforts made in 1848 to realize the republican phases of Napoleon's vision are too well known to need our recapitulation; and we moreover think that the Russian alternative deserves the more careful study of the two, inasmuch as Russia's march towards her long coveted aim, unlike the discursive efforts of German republicans, has been, from the days of Peter the Great to the present year, persistent, steady, and marvellously successful. History furnishes, indeed, no other example of equal pertinacity, in prosecuting *per fas nefasque*, a predetermined course of aggrandisement; the process has been reduced to a regular formula: disorganization by means of corruption and secret agency, then military occupation to secure the tranquillity it has itself disturbed, next protection, and lastly incorporation, alias subjection, closes the scene. Before, how-

ever, we proceed in our attempt to notice certain facts illustrative of Russian policy, we will write a few words upon a doubt which has been thrown out in many quarters, whether any reliable information can be obtained upon Russian affairs, to serve as a basis for profitable discussion. Michelet says roundly, that until the year 1837, France knew nothing of Russia whatever! This is a startling confession of ignorance from a professor so laborious in his researches as M. Michelet, but these apothegms must be taken with many grains of salt. Undoubtedly, mystification pervades all matters in Russia, both great and small, whether they relate to the protectorate of a province, or the arrival of an opera dancer, the departure of a diligence to an adjacent village, or the march of an army to the Caucasus. "There is a singular difficulty in getting at the truth," writes Mr. Oliphant, whose lively account of his voyage down the Volga we have prefixed to this paper, "probably originating with subordinate officials, whose duty it seems to be to deceive you, and whose support is derived from bribes which you give them for their information. Whatever may be the cause, the effect certainly is, that a most mysterious secrecy pervades every thing; and an anxious desire is always visible to produce an impression totally at variance with the real state of the case."

Other travellers, both English and foreign, concur in this complaint of the difficulty of obtaining information in Russia; while as to matters political, most writers, from those contemporary with Catherine down to Mr. Urquhart, represent Russian diplomacy as a web whose complications it passes the keenest wit of man to unravel, and whose intrigues it is utterly impossible to trace. Nevertheless, we venture to think that sufficient facts are patent to enable a calm observer to form a reasonably sound judgment on Russia's present position, and Europe's future policy in respect to her. Without affecting to trace the dark and devious windings through which Russian agents have wriggled to encompass this or that particular country, the fact of its subjugation may be manifest to every eye. Russian fetters are visible, though a mist enveloped the process of fastening them on.

Without yielding to that timid and half insane terror which sees a Russian plot in every transaction, however remote, and so magnifies Russian power as to believe it capable of absorbing Europe forthwith; but carefully eschewing the opposite error of underrating Russian power, or deriding it as a bugbear; we are disposed to adapt to existing circumstances the terms of Dunning's well known motion against the prerogative of

the Crown, and to say, "the power of Russia has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

Before we dwell upon the territorial vastness of the Russian empire, or recapitulate its rapid and recent extension, it may be well to regard her peculiar origin, and trace out her lineaments, so distinct from those of the rest of the European family. *Melius est petere fontes quam sectari rivulos.* Much has been written and spoken, and very insultingly written and spoken, of the Turks being only encamped in Europe—Asiatic barbarians who only crossed the Straits yesterday. The Turks at any rate have been settled in Europe for four hundred years, while little more than a third of that time has elapsed since Peter the Great announced to unconscious Europe, as a solemn fact, that Russia is an European power. The whimsicality of Peter's express and formal declaration will best be felt by supposing his cotemporary, William of Orange, inserting in the first proclamation he issued at Torbay, an assertion to be maintained at the sword's point, that the English were Europeans; an assertion, however, which Peter made with a grave face respecting the Russians, so little was Europe in that day conscious of the existence of her northern child. We, for our part, regard this question of antiquity or newness of descent as of small importance; for, if an existing generation is wise and powerful, and has achieved greatness for itself, without the stimulus of an illustrious ancestry, the more credit is due to it for force of character: but we could not avoid noticing the point, as so many taunts have been levelled thence at the Turks, and even arguments founded thereon, to the effect, that their Asiatic constitution had not yet become acclimatised in Europe! Now, without denying the many high intellectual gifts of the Russians, their keen sagacity, their imitiveness and flexibility, an insight into their early history will disclose how little they owe to European civilization. The three prominent elements of that civilization were, the Roman practical wisdom, sharpened by the intellectual activity of ancient Greece,—the Teutonic liberty, that lusty offspring of the woods, which infused a vitality into the decaying and already decomposed members of the Roman empire—and the spiritualizing influence of Christianity.

Of the first of these elements the Russians were entirely destitute, for the Roman eagles never flew over their torpid plains: of the second, the Teutonic element, they had little, and that fragmentary, assignable to individual stragglers, separated from the general Teutonic body; for example, the

Northmen established at Kief and Novogorod. In the Crusades which exercised such a marvellous influence over Europe, by mingling nation with nation, and opening to each the views, knowledge, and thoughts of the rest, the Russians took no part, no Russian knight displayed his pennon at Ascalon. When Ghengis Khan poured his Asiatic hordes over Muscovy, she sank beneath the torrent, unwept by Western Christendom, because unknown. What Christianity she had emanated from the Greeks of the Lower Empire, a people wasted, worn out, fallen into second childhood, bowed to the earth under despotic rule, and with whom religion, become debased, had lost its regenerating power.

A prostration of two centuries duration succeeded the Mongol invasion, but a new impulse was imparted by Ivan the Terrible, fourth of that name. With the accession of the house of Romanoff, the Russian nation appeared to have found its vigour; still, however, under the earlier sovereigns of the house of Romanoff, Russian manners and Russian government stood in striking contrast with the West.

Religion was a barren formalism, a shelter for every superstition, but inimical to all spiritual life, to all investigation, and all progress. The clergy, grossly ignorant, seldom or never preached to the people, and, unhappily, in their own persons displayed not what has been called the "silent eloquence of a well-spent life." The sovereign was worshipped by the people with their heads bowed to the ground. Aristocracy, in anywise resembling the barons bold of England, the gay cavaliers of France, the stately Spanish knight, or the graceful Italian one, was a thing unknown. The so-called boyars—made so at the pleasure of the Czar, and unable to transmit their dignity to their children—in no respect resembled the nobles of the rest of Europe: they were slaves in the presence of a mighty lord; slaves, indeed, at different degrees in the scale of rank, but all creeping, cringing, crippled by overhanging fear; and whose servility was more revolting than that of the very lowest class, because practised by men pretending to nobility. So recently as the reign of Alexander, when, upon one occasion, that amiable ideologist and would-be reformer was urging a general enfranchisement of the serfs, a Russian nobleman is said to have exclaimed, But who, sire, will emancipate *your* serfs? pointing the while significantly to the brilliant circle around.

A class similar to that called by the French, *la bourgeoisie*, and by the English, yeomanry, existed not, nor yet exists, in Russia. As chivalry was absent from Russia, so the soften-

ing empire of woman was absent too. No nobility—no sentiment of honour; no burgher class—no independence; a debased and ignorant clergy—no purity of life or enlightenment of mind; no respected and honoured women, and therefore the prevalence of brutal vices. Such was Russia when Peter the Great appeared and pronounced her an European state. No eye saw her deficiencies more clearly than Peter's did; no one was more sensible than he was how she lagged in the rear of all those nations with whom he boldly proclaimed her to be on a level, and determined to place her shortly in advance. After the many portraits of Peter drawn by more powerful pens, we shall merely observe that Peter had an iron will, a penetrating perception, and a sort of instinct for civilizing a barbarous people. He saw that Russia was oriental in everything but climate, and he determined she should become European. Catherine, the greatest of his successors, said that he was assisted in his attempt by the inconsistency which then existed between the habits of his people and their climate. Peter saw that Russia was isolated and alone. He determined she should be united closely with the European family. He attracted foreigners to his court, and hired a foreign body guard, not so much for the ordinary purpose of protecting his person as to train and discipline native soldiers. Further, he introduced, to the great disgust of his Muscovite lieges, foreigners into every department—arsenals, workshops, the court—to mould Russia on the pattern of Germany, France, and Holland. Russia was thoroughly inoculated with foreign manners, and the upper classes readily took the new type. The lower classes cherished their beards, clung to their caftans, and were less flexible. Peter too often seemed, perhaps from necessity, satisfied with the mere external change. Whilst all material progress excited his sympathy, the idea of elevating and purifying the moral character of his country, and of contributing to her social and religious perfection, appears not to have entered his thoughts. The moral culture of his people was overlooked, but when their material interests were concerned nothing escaped his attention or exhausted his patience. We have somewhere read the remark, that the superfluities of life were introduced into Russia before the necessities; and Peter's haste to make his people assume the semblance of civilization, occasionally resembled the frolic of dressing up a footman in the habiliments of his master. If John will be silent he may pass for my lord, but action or excitement speedily reveals the lackey. So the champagne-

civilization of Russia—frothy, sparkling and superficial—has been designated tinselled barbarism. We are not detracting from Peter's merits in pointing out this superficiality of his reforms, for it was unavoidable, or, at any rate, all he could accomplish.

A czar of Muscovy could build ships, dig canals, erect cities, excavate docks, but he could not by his fiat change the hearts and dispositions of his people with their garments. In material matters Peter accomplished his work. He joined the Baltic to the Caspian; he profited by the mighty rivers which intersected his European dominions, and connected him closely with Asia; and his projects have been, with wonderful fidelity, carried forward by his successors, with the solitary and brief exception of the maniac Paul, who appeared to have an insane pleasure in undoing any of his mother's works; and Catherine worked enthusiastically and worthily on Peter's models; and she, by her armies and diplomacy, compelled the recognition of Russia as an European power, whereas Peter had only dogmatically proclaimed it such. "We overlooked its greatness," wrote D'Argenson, a hundred years ago, "in our contempt of its ignorance and barbarism; but it has become formidable, and it behoves that its excess of power should be repressed." From the period at which the above warning was written, little has been done in Europe without Russia. Her preponderance in the European scale is a "great fact." Is it a permanent fact, or an ephemeral, fleeting fact? Does the power of Russia rest on a solid basis, or is her strength, like her civilization, a make-believe and a sham, as several writers have represented?

"Russia," writes Mr. Schnitzler, the latest writer thereon, and in our judgment the best, for he is thoroughly acquainted with his subject, impartial and dispassionate, "Russia is more than half of the surface of Europe; and ten times that of France. The country is continued into Asia almost without bounds, and forms nearly a third portion of the globe. If exact figures are wanted, the surface of European Russia, given in geographical miles, contains 92,689 square miles; that of Asiatic Russia, contains 254,199 square miles; and that of American Russia, contains 17,500 square miles; a total of more than double the size of Europe, and nearly a sixth of all the countries on the globe, habitable and uninhabitable. The Russian possessions in Asia and America, with all their disadvantages of climate will, by the decree of nature, never be possessed by a dense population, or large means of maintenance. But this vast colonial territory adjoining the mother country, forms one whole with her increasing capabilities and resources.

"A fifth part of Siberia, taken at a low estimate, is, however, susceptible of good cultivation, and the soil of other parts conceals treasures which offer temptation to the cupidity of man. Gold and silver, platina, and the coarser metals are all found within its bosom. When we turn our eyes on Russia in Europe, there are still vast wastes entirely uncultivated, which stretch beyond the range of human vision. But notwithstanding the unproductiveness of many parts of the territory, the empire of the Czars reckons fifty-six (seventy?) millions of subjects; and in order to obtain a just idea of the importance which this new world may one day acquire, it is only necessary to recollect; that with regard to the population, the births are as one to twenty-five or twenty-four; in France the proportion is only one in thirty-four or thirty-five; and that thus the annual increase of souls in Russia, is two millions, while in France it is not quite one million. Such is the rapidity with which the Russian population increases, that, perhaps, not more than eighty years would be required to double it. Again, there are other elements to be considered in the calculation of Russian power. Portions of the soil of Muscovy are extremely fertile; its productions are abundant and varied; and the genius of the people is fruitful in resources. In the absence of creative powers, which certainly we cannot accord to them, we must still grant them wonderful aptitude for all kinds of work, and an extreme facility in imitation. Remarkable for native vigour they easily adapt themselves to all situations. Gentle in character, alert and hardy in danger, they are at the same time greedy of gain, distrustful, and submissive. If they have the faults which are the results of a degraded condition, their portraiture has its bright side also. Lovers of intrigue, and possessed of a moral subtlety equal to their physical capability of adapting themselves to all things, they by no means shrink from a lie or a dishonest action; but they are capable of being made better than they are. The civilization of Russia is as yet young, and it is active and ambitious. The country in all its vast extent is united and compact, and subject to one unvarying rule, to which religion, notwithstanding its want of light and clearness, is a constant support and sanction."

Upon this subjection of Russia to "one unvarying rule," so tersely and pithily expressed by M. Schnitzler, we must enlarge somewhat, for the idea of absoluteism is with difficulty apprehended by, at any rate is not familiar to, the English mind. A sovereign of Great Britain cannot send a squadron of half-a-dozen frigates to the Baltic without more than twice half-a-dozen public offices previously writing about it, *alias* impeding its outfit, departure, and consequent onset on an enemy already warned of its approach. The commander-in-chief writes; the secretary-at-war writes; the lords of the Admiralty and all their secretaries,—very often viceroys over their principals—write; the Board of Ordinance writes; and the House of Commons debates upon, and prints

and publishes, and again debates upon all this farrago of official correspondence, before a frigate can weigh her anchor at Spithead, or a corporal march his guard to the water side. From all these hinderances and obstructions, so familiar among ourselves, that they are never thought of unless drawn forth in all their prolixity, the Russian Czar is exempt. Parliament, Horse Guards, Admiralty, Ordnance, Church, all centre in and are comprised in the single person of Czar. We have named the church specifically, because it should be borne in English minds, carefully at the present crisis, when so many sophistical arguments about the Russian Church are current, that the church in Russia is as simply a state implement, wielded at the Czar's sole will and pleasure, as is a squadron of Cossacks or a brigade of artillery. The Czar is privileged to kill, and prelates sanctify the crime.

The fact of all the myriads of human beings which inhabit the vast territories of Russia in Europe, Asia, and America, being swayed by a single will, swayed, moreover, in both body and spirit, is startling; and when duly apprehended by the mind, may well justify the fears of Western Europe. The mere possession of arbitrary power stimulates to its exercise; but as if this was not enough, Peter transmitted a political testament to his descendants which inculcates aggression, and urges his successors thereto, whatever may be the bias of their several idiosyncrasies. Catherine, in a letter to Zimmerman, confessed that she was at heart a republican, but was constrained by "her place" (her own phrase) to act often contrary to her inclinations.

Nearer our own day, Alexander, a pupil of the republican General Laharpe, commenced his reign with avowed, and we are disposed to think sincere, intentions to devote himself to the internal reform of his dominions;—a task ample enough to have occupied every hour of the longest life,—and for a while reform succeeded reform, amid the applause of admiring Europe. Alexander was the only genuine liberal in his dominions; but he shortly forsook his internal reforms to the prosecution of which he had so ostentatiously devoted himself, and followed the steps of Catherine and Peter.

The philanthropic and pacific Alexander added more than 30,000 square miles to his inheritance; not counting Georgia, Jeneretta and Mingrelia, countries of the Caucasus, which had been acquired by his father, but which were definitively added to Russia in his reign. He completed the conquest of Finland; and, on the Asiatic side, he wrested from Persia, together with a portion of Armenia, the ancient

seat of a Christian population, several Mussulman khanships, situated on the other side of the Caucasus; and he brought under his sway the greater part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Alexander was by no means built of "the stuff that conquerors are made of," he was constitutionally benevolent and gentle; but his "place," to use once more his grandmother's phrase, constrained him to aggression. "Sincere as a man in all that concerned humanity," said Chateaubriand, "Alexander was cunning as a Demi-Greek in all that related to politics." Napoleon's judgment of Alexander was, that he was a Greek of the Lower Empire; and more diffusely M. Rabbe has written of his personal character, that "it offered only a radiant superficies, of softened lustre it is true, but where weakness was more conspicuous than strength, and over which borrowed ideas successively glided and systems with no necessary connection between them."

Alexander was succeeded by his stronger-minded brother Nicholas, the present Czar, whose recent acts have been such as to awaken fears that the conclusion of his reign will not fulfil the promise of its commencement. The reign of Nicholas was inaugurated by tumults. His first advance to the steps of the throne was obstructed by a formidable military revolt, the direct product of secret societies, whose ramifications extended throughout his empire. As the insurrection itself evoked a display of the undaunted courage of Nicholas, so the inquiries it caused opened his eyes to the frightful position in which his throne was placed, how rotten were its foundations, what a volcano lay smouldering below. A desire for security, if benevolence towards his subjects were absent, would have moved Nicholas to the investigation of abuses, and policy would have suggested their correction. Accordingly Nicholas addressed himself to the investigation of the interior of his empire, if not with the benevolence of his brother, at least with a more persistent purpose. One of his first and his grandest projects was to reduce the confused mass of laws into order, a task commenced, as everything noteworthy in Russia has been, by Peter, continued by Catherine, and partially by Alexander; but still remaining so far from completion as to entitle its codifier to the fame of Justinian. A czar of Russia has a sort of lineal title to be a codifier, for Justinian himself was a Scлавon; and M. Schnitzler informs us that his birth-name was *Oupravda*, of which Justinian is a Latin translation. The very terms of the imperial decree authorising the codification of the scattered Russian laws (*Svod*), curiously bespeak the *everythingness*—if we may coin such a word—of the Czar.

“At the first glance at the different branches of the administration of my empire,” says Nicholas’s decree of January 31st, 1826, “a glance directed with special interest to the code of our national legislation, I have seen that the efforts applied to this subject for a great number of years have been frequently interrupted, and for this reason the aim has not been attained. Cordially wishing to secure the progressive completion of this work, I have judged it necessary to *take it under my immediate inspection*, and I have consequently commanded a special section to be assigned to it in my private chancery.”

M. Schnitzler gives an elaborate review of this stupendous work, but it must suffice us to state briefly that the first section of the collection of laws published in 1830 comprises no less than forty-five quarto volumes; and the compilation of the digest, intended to furnish their concordance, and published in 1832, forms fifteen quarto volumes more. Over this voluminous compilation Nicholas presided in person, with what benefit to the labouring jurists we have not been informed; but we have heard French lawyers record the trouble Napoleon’s fidgetty interruptions used to inflict on the compilers of his comparatively tiny Code Napoleon. In estimating this really great work, commenced under the auspices of Nicholas, and not yet completed, though increased in bulk by many additional volumes since 1832, the peculiar difficulties obstructing codification in Russia must be borne in mind. Every other European country had a share in that rich inheritance—the Roman law, as embodied first by Theodosius, and afterwards by Justinian. Russia has been obliged to derive her whole legislation from her own national resources, from customs, traditions, and experience. But to hasten over details: as Russia had to draw upon her own resources for her code, so czarship dominates over its beginning, middle, and end.

We have seen that the labour of reducing the confused mass of laws into system, was commenced and prosecuted under the Czar’s “own immediate inspection,” and at the conclusion, we find this fundamental principle propounded which, to a constitutional mind, neutralizes all the virtues of the celebrated *Svod*. “The autocrat, from whom emanates every kind of justice is the only irrevocable judge; his decisions are alone definitive.” What stability have the laws of a country which fluctuate at the caprice of a single individual? What moral force can judges exercise who enjoy no independence of action? It was only, in July 1827, that a cause not progressing through the courts so rapidly as the Czar desired,

and as we believe, in this instance, justice demanded, his Imperial Majesty manifested his displeasure at this delay of justice, by imprisoning the Attorney-General and the Chancellor of the department to which the law suit belonged for twenty-four hours in the *corps de garde* of the Senate. A well authenticated anecdote of the above kind will serve to illustrate Russia's autocracy, as well as those more revolting stories which are scarcely believed, however accredited. The amiable Alexander's reply to the compliments of Madame de Stael,—who expatiated after her own fluent fashion on the happiness his people must enjoy under such a sovereign—"Ah, madame, I am but a lucky accident,"—describes the precise position of the millions of the Russian empire, their helpless dependence on the momentary caprice of a single individual. That such a state of dependence is unfavourable to individual happiness, as well as to national improvement it is quite unnecessary to insist. All accounts concur in representing the social condition of Russia as most wretched. "Realities occur in Russia," writes Golovine, "such as the most fertile and brilliant imagination elsewhere could never conceive. The most unblushing fiction would hesitate to describe a lady scourged by orders of government for meddling with politics; examples, however, prove that the Czar (Nicholas) has not recoiled from the committal of such atrocities." In fact, the more closely the internal condition of Russia is studied by the light of the best accessible authorities, the more evident it becomes that Czarship is as efflorescent in the present day as in those of Peter. Nicholas would not, on a cold day, snatch a wig from the head of a functionary seated near him at church and clap it upon his own, as Peter is reported to have done; neither will he get drunk among his boyars, as his dissipated and eccentric predecessor was wont to do; but he would, with equal unscrupulousity, on the mere impulse of his own will, consign an attorney-general to the guard house, or a high state official to Siberia: and in respect to the flagellation of women, always so revolting to the English mind, the evidence against Nicholas is incontestable, not vague and scanty as that upon which Barclay's draymen whipped poor mad old Haynau. But it is not our purpose to dwell upon the internal condition of Russia, or to seek to reconcile the different reports thereon which different writers have given. We are quite convinced that the social system prevalent in Russia is not a comfortable one to live under, neither is its propagation among other races of mankind desirable. But this is what Russia has invariably essayed to do, in the case of each coun-

try as it severally came under her dominion. Now, without subscribing to the egregious nonsense which has been written and spouted of late about "nationalities," we most decidedly object to the practice of ancient Procrustes, which was exactly symbolical of the modern Russian treatment of every subjugated people. If this treatment is contrasted with that enforced by another conquering nation—whom it is the fashion of many to vilify, while they exalt the benevolent and magnanimous, and polished Czar,—we think that the Osmanlis will rise immensely in public esteem. The *Times* newspaper, which prides itself on its superior accuracy of information, assumes, in most of its arguments, Turkish intolerance to be an incontrovertible fact, and speaks of its being "impossible for a foreigner to have any interest in Turkish soil." We extract this assertion from a leading article which appeared in the *Times* for January 30th; and on the 31st of the same month, at the opening of Parliament, Earl Grey coolly asserted in the House of Lords that he "knew that to this day the Christian subjects of the Sultan were labouring under an oppression as severe, and in some respects, more so than that of the negro population in our colonies, &c., &c." Without wasting words upon Earl Grey's want of taste or spiteful temper, we will observe that his knowledge of Turkey, presuming that he speaks what he knows, and that his words were correctly reported, is upon a level with that of one who draws his ideas of Islamism from such a source as "*Bajazet*, or, *the Raging Turk*." We will oppose to Earl Grey's rash and splenetic statement the deliberate declaration of one of the Sultan's own Christian subjects. Risk Allah, an educated Syrian, an *attache* of the Turkish embassy in this country, and also an associate of King's College, in his beautiful book, entitled *The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon*, observes: "It is difficult to satisfy Europeans, especially Englishmen, that they can make safe investments in the Turkish dominions; but it is only requisite to inquire into the tenure of all sorts of property, as held by Europeans in all parts of Turkey for the last two centuries and upwards; their vested rights have never been questioned, and when any injury or loss was proved to have been sustained to any such property, the official representative of the owner had only to submit his claim, and in every instance full and satisfactory redress was instantly afforded." Risk Allah fortifies his assertion of the security of property invested in Turkey by Europeans by many cases, of which we can make room for only one and that an amusing one, but *ridentem dicere verum quid vetat*? "The alarm," continues Risk Allah, "entertained by Eng-

lishmen with regard to the insecurity of property, and the absence of all redress is wholly imaginary. In proof of this I shall quote merely one instance, that of Mr. Goodall, an American missionary, who was plundered by the soldiers during the Greek piratical invasion of Beyrout in 1829. As soon as quiet was re-established, the Consul applied to the Pacha for a restitution of the stolen property or a tantamount value. A list was made out, and so punctilious was the Pacha, that even a fowl that had been ready trussed for roasting was included among the missing articles, and every farthing was paid down out of the government treasury. And this is the case in all instances where a European is the aggrieved party; the Pacha of the district will be sure to see justice done him; and the treasury is entitled to collect the sum disbursed from the heads of the villages in the immediate neighbourhood where the theft was committed. This answers a double end; it satisfies the injured party, and ensures almost to a certainty the capture of the felon, for all the villagers are on the watch to discover the rogue that has brought on them such a taxation."

In what point is this Turkish system inferior to our own remedy against the hundred? In none, while it has the signal advantage of being available at the present day, while our much vaunted Anglo-Saxon enactment is obsolete, or at any rate so operose as to be practically useless. These facts are perfectly familiar to the *Times*, which, however, never scruples to ignore whatever does not suit the argument of the hour. But it is lamentable, it is disgraceful, that falsehoods, such as these respecting the intolerance of the Turks, their oppressions, &c., should be uttered uncontradicted from his place in Parliament by a peer of the realm. The lies vended for Russian gold by the Fanariot Greeks, and circulated among the gossips of Pera—the most gossiping place in the world—are often amusing, though framed for a bad purpose. To give a few examples: it was circulated and believed, that the French ambassador had had a lady who disturbed him put in chains and sent to Algiers; and, better still, that Lord De Redcliffe, while Sir Stratford Canning, had caused some English Chartists and Irish refugees to be dyed black and sold as negro slaves. These fibs are at least laughable, but Lord Grey's are dismally grim. Where was the historical knowledge of either mediæval or modern times among the Lords who listened in silence to Earl Grey's monstrous misstatements?

The tolerant spirit of the disciples of Mahomed was conspicuous at the time when Popery sent forth its Alvas and

Granvilles to burn, ravage, and destroy its adversaries in such torrents of blood as flowed on the eve of St. Bartholomew. When Protestantism represented the nationality of Hungary, they, who supported the long struggle for civil and religious liberty, sought the alliance of the Ottoman power. Wherever the Ottomans have ruled they have been remembered with regret, on the soil that no longer re-echoed to their retreating steps. Patriots have turned from oppressed nations towards the Eastern crescent. Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, repeat in our days the experiences of Hungary in the 17th century ; and long before the Russian outcasts, who dare to deny the godship of the Czar, found refuge in Turkey, a host of Protestant Magyars fled from the fury of the Christian government to the protection of the Porte. But the Turks are not merely tolerant, they abstain from proselytizing. The Porte has enacted, that every Bulgarian who desires to become a Mussulman, must be put for three days under the hands of his bishop, who shall do his best to instruct him. If, after the lapse of these days so employed, the candidate for Islamism is still determined, he may repair to the mosque. A Servian song relates that George Brankovitch once inquired of John Hunyad, what he intended to do with regard to religion should he prove victorious. Hunyad did not deny that in such an event he should make the people Roman Catholics. Brankovitch thereupon put the same question to the Sultan, who answered that he would build a church near every mosque, and would leave the people to bow in the mosques, or cross themselves in the churches, according to their respective creeds. The general opinion was, that it was better to submit to the Turks and retain their ancient faith, than to accept the Latin rites. And to descend to our own times, since 1848 the parts played by Turkey and Russia respectively have been completely reversed. The Russian dominion is dreaded, and, whenever possible, avoided, while the Sultan is welcomed as the protector of the Serbs and Roumani from Muscovite aggression. So far from the Christian populations being oppressed by the Turks, as Lord Grey and the *Times* represent, and the Russians craftily labour to insinuate, the history of the Slavonic tribes displays, in every other page, proofs that the Osmanlis, in their most furious moods of conquest, never aimed at extinguishing the nationality of a subjugated people. But this the Russians have invariably, and at the earliest possible moment, attempted to do: every national usage, however cherished in the popular heart, is ordered to be forthwith abandoned ; dress, manners, language, religion, all must be adjusted to a Russian

model and standard. This commencement of Russian rule by a stringent Act of uniformity, is especially distasteful to the Slavonic tribes, who have clung to their national traditions through successive ages, and held them fast amidst the wreck of empires. Russia has for years been stirring up insurrections against the Porte in Bosnia and Bulgaria, to be ended by Muscovite arbitration—the cunning lawyer swallowing the oyster and presenting a shell to each disappointed suitor, is naturally suggested by the mention of Russian arbitration); but the good sense of the Slaves has repeatedly defeated these machinations most perseveringly renewed by declaring for the Sultan and his reforms. Thus Slavonic Christians are becoming daily more and more the principal support of the Ottoman Empire:—an important fact, which Russia uses her utmost efforts to misrepresent, distort, and if possible suppress. In vain do Serbs, Bosniacks, Bulgarians, Wallachians and others, proclaim that they are contented with the Sultan's rule, Russia asserts that they are oppressed and declares her resolution to protect them; and when any doubt of the purity of her protectorate is whispered, any suspicion hinted of other than the most benevolent motives actuating that Conservative power, the insinuation is resented as an intolerable insolence, and Nicholas begins to whine and whimper about his outraged honour, and the infidel perversity which thwarts his paternal intentions. It is the Czar's policy to propagate a notion that the Christian subjects of the Ottoman are oppressed, and that he is their heaven-appointed protector.

An examination of proveable facts will demonstrate that the Czar's professions are not believed by those more immediately to be affected by them, however they may be credited by Lord Grey, and be circulated, without being credited, by the *Times*. As it is behind Panslavonism, as a stalking horse, that Russia advances against the Ottoman Empire, and as this is one of the most specious as well as recent phases of Russian deception, we will pause awhile upon this said Panslavonism, which has been propounded in several forms. Russia was undeniably the first agent in awakening the Slavonians of Turkey from the lethargy in which they had long lain buried. When the inhabitants of Bohemia, Hungary, and Illyrian Dalmatia witnessed the success of the Russian arms against the Turks, when they saw even Napoleon fall before the northern power, the slumbering recollections of their own past prosperity seem to have been stirred, and a desire for future independence to have been excited. It was this general

awakening of the Slavonians which suggested to scheming brains the idea of Pansclavonism, which Russia has, *suo more*, been doing her dexterous best to use as an implement for her own aggrandisement. The idea of amalgamating the various members of the Slavonian family into one compact nation, is to sober views chimerical. The different branches of this ethnographical family, comprising seventy, or according to some a hundred, millions of human beings, are not less widely disunited than those of the Teutonic race—Germans, Dutch, Danes, Swedes; or those of the Roman family—French, Italians, Spanish, Portuguese. Without alluding to other distinct and strongly marked nationalities, we may note that each of the leading branches has its peculiar literature. There exists a Bohemian, a Polish, and a Russian literature. The first phasis of Pansclavonism is the fusion of Poland with Russia; another, directed against Russia, being a partial confederation among the Slavonians, exists in Austria; a third form is a simple intellectual communion among the different peoples speaking the Slavonic tongue. This last sort of Pansclavonism, which is a question of civilization rather than of politics, presents the most pleasant aspect of the three for contemplation, as it would not be a political league formed to aggrandize any power; but upon each many discussions have been held and many arguments founded. We allude to Pansclavonism, not under this guise of a literary union, but to the vague, indefinite, dreamy notion, propagated by Russia, of a general confederation of the Slavonic family under the presidency of Russia, and the formation thereby of a universal empire. Confining ourselves to one small corner, as it were, of this extensive subject let us see, by what lights we can procure, how far the Slavonians of Turkey, that is the Serbs, Moldo-Wallachians, Bulgarians, Bosniaks, are disposed to accept Russia as their leader. Upon the solution of this question hinges that of the continuance or dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. The Slavonians of Turkey retain, with little modification, the character and manners of their ancestors; they remain in all essential particulars what they were in the sixth century. Now, this cherished nationality, cherished through the “still and stormy waste” of twelve centuries, must be surrendered as the price of Russian protection. Will these Slavonic races pay the price now they know it? We think not, for all their antecedents are redolent of attachment to nationality. When the Russian eagle first caught their startled sight, they followed its flight with admiring eyes, but

they knew not then that it was no "silly bird," but one whose craft was more formidable than its talons. The bold Slavons would have cheerfully followed the imperial eagle in its chase of a noble quarry, and have undauntedly shared its dangers; but all their past history forbids us to expect that they will barter their nationality, the inevitable penalty of a Russian alliance, for protection. But if the Slavons eschew Russia and her offers of present protection, will they, in hope of future advantages, support the Ottomans in their hour of need? Many recent events and their apparent tendency, induce us to cherish such an expectation. The early efficiency of many of Sultan Mahmoud's changes was impeded and impaired by the prejudices of the older Mussulmen; and Europe, as if through an envious spirit of detraction, began clamorously to deride the reforming Sultan's failure. It was jeeringly said, that the attempt to engraft European civilization upon the old Mahometan stock was an absurd whim which must end in disappointment—the bulwark of the Ottoman Porte was thrown down with the Janissaries, and the reformed Nizam were simply good Turks spoiled by European dress and drilling. Thus jeered old Mussulmen and impatient or interested foreigners, at Sultan Mahmoud's honest and pains-taking endeavours to develop the native capabilities of his people, and place them upon a footing with contemporary powers. We have spoken of the foreign detractors of Mahmoud's reforms as either impatient or interested; for they were either those superficial and hasty mortals who expect every thing to be done at once and off-hand, or else Russians solicitous to ensure the failure which they took such pains to announce. The decree which the Czars of Russia, Lord Aberdeen and his Conservatives,—save the mark!—would stereotype, if they could, respecting the Turks is *sint ut sunt, aut non sint*. But thanks to Sultan Mahmoud's daring enterprise, and his successor's calm perseverance in the path chalked out for him by his father, the Turks have not stood still, nor taken a retrograde step in obedience to the Russian adjutant's fierce command—"as you were;" they have steadily progressed; while the inattentive surmised that they had been standing still they have renewed their strength like eagles, while their insidious foes have been representing them as grovelling on the ground in helpless, hopeless, careless imbecility.

One obvious element of defence for the Ottoman Empire was neutralized, if not rendered positively noxious, by that old Mussulman fanaticism which it was Mahmoud's incessant

endeavour to eradicate, or at least abate, we allude to the exclusion of the Christian population of Turkey from the Ottoman army. The four principal stocks inhabiting European Turkey are the Osmanlis, the Greeks, the Roumanians of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Sclavonians. Of these the Osmanlis amount to about 1,100,000, the Greeks to 1,000,000, the Roumanians to 4,000,000, and the Sclavonians alone to nearly eight or nine millions. Upon the attitude of this latter race, let it be observed in passing, depends, in a great measure, the future condition of the Ottoman Empire and the world. This warlike race, however, were scarcely regarded by the early Mussulmans in the light of defenders of the Ottoman throne; they were more frequently watched as its nearest foes. A more enlightened view of his Christian subjects was taken by Mahmoud and his successor, but owing to one obstructive cause or other, the amalgamation of Christians in the Ottoman army has only practically, and to any considerable extent, taken place within the last year. Various suggestions have been made, and some important ones adopted, with a view to overcome the difficulties which must beset the entry of any recruit from Europe into an army organized on Asiatic principles. Implicit obedience to a commander-in-chief—be he the leader of an army, a division, or a regiment—is readily paid; but the utility—nay, necessity for the efficiency of European discipline—of serjeants and corporals, is either derided or disregarded. Most of the recent mishaps of the Turkish forces in Asia are assignable to the deplorable inefficiency of the subaltern officers, and the all but absolute neglect of the details of command. The Lacedæmonian mora owed its pre-eminence among the contemporary armies of Greece to its minute but nicely-adjusted graduation of commands; and, by a like organization, the Macedonian phalanx scattered the myriads of Darius, individually, perhaps, as brave and as strong as their Hellenic conquerors. To introduce this vital element into the Turkish army—an element so simple and comprehensible by ourselves that we cannot conceive the stolid repugnance of Asiatics to its reception—it has been suggested to allow each Christian contingent from Bosnia, Servia, or Bulgaria, to have its own colours in camp as in their own country, and its own non-commissioned officers to drill and command it in its own language. The secret of creating an imposing army in Turkey would be to make each people—Bosniaks, Serbs, Bulgarians—interested in it on its own account; organize warlike tribes like Prussian landwehr, but drill the levy of

each province, as much as possible, at home, that they may feel a military pride in the midst of surrounding relatives and friends, instead of merely the bitterness of a conscript's farewell. Let these levies, of course, be mobilizable at need. We have alluded to the tenacity with which the Sclavonic tribes have clung, through stormy centuries, to their national institutions, habits, manners, and traditions; and we believe that if once a Bosniak, Servian, or Bulgarian local militia felt that in defending the Sultan's throne they were defending their own hearths and usages, they would shed their heart's blood, with Spartan firmness, in the Sultan's defence. Nor is a long induction of particulars, drawn from recondite annals, required to justify this anticipation, for successive events of recent date have demonstrated that wherever the Ottoman government has removed abuses—and it has frequently and honestly and effectually done so—or strengthened the internal independence of its subject states, the Russian Czar has lost his influence, and been detected in his fraudulent aims. The Sultan, once dreaded as a master, has been cherished as a true and beneficent protector. The form of Panslavonism we are inclined to advocate is, we think, more feasible and useful than any of the three we have alluded to, and may be designated a Sclavo-Ottoman Federation. We would express ourselves with diffidence on a confessedly difficult question; but on one, and that the most vital point, we are quite decided in our judgment, and that is, that the cause of genuine Christianity would be better promoted by the continuance of Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and the Moldo-Wallachian provinces, under the mild sway of Abd-ul-Medjid than under that of Russia. Neither are we deterred from this expression of our opinion by the audacious and mendacious manifesto of the Emperor Nicholas, that, in so writing, we are pleading the cause of the crescent against the cross. We are glad to find upon our side so good and able a man as Lord Shaftesbury, who placed the whole question so lucidly and so popularly before the House of Lords, on the 10th of March, that we will quote some extracts from his speech. After adverting to the "encroachments of an ambitious and aggressive power that seemed disposed to darken all that was light, and to subjugate all that was free among the nations of mankind," Lord Shaftesbury laid the following interesting statistics before the House:—

"Perhaps the House would permit him to describe, in a few words, the gradual progress of wealth, intelligence, and civilization

during the last twenty years, among the Christians of Turkey. He did not deny that there had been occasional outbreaks of Mussulman bigotry; but they had been local, not general—the result of the agitation of some ill-conditioned fanatic, and not authorized by the Government. The truth was, that the great enemy of the Christian in these provinces was not the Turk, but the Christian himself. A very large proportion of the spoliation, the torture, and the imprisonments that took place was stimulated by Christian agents of the Greek priesthood, with the view of obtaining domination over the Greek laity. But, to proceed. During the last twenty years, the diffusion of the Bible in Turkey had been almost incredible.”

Now, whatever may be the private opinions of any individual with regard to the Bible, nobody can deny this—that the diffusion of the Bible has ever been the precursor of civilization and free institutions. Wherever the Bible has had free course, and been freely admitted into the minds of men, there have surely followed a knowledge of Christianity, the development of civilization, and high aspirations after liberty. It was stated by Mr. Layard in the House of Commons, and the statement was confirmed by the American missionaries, that there were more than forty towns and villages in Turkey in which there were distinct congregations of Protestant seceders from the Greek church. There are, moreover, among the Armenians, both in the capital and the interior, many who are heartily disposed to the Reformation. Twenty-five years ago, not a single Protestant seceder could be found among the natives of the country, and now there are not fewer than sixty-five regular Protestant teachers in Turkey, and fourteen schools in Constantinople alone. The consequence of all this is, that there has been a great increase in wealth and intelligence among the Greek Christians, and the desire among the laity to emancipate themselves from the thralldom of the priesthood, though, of course, much opposed, continues to be successful. Now to what is all this great movement to be ascribed? Lord Shaftesbury’s reply was,

“to the unprecedented liberality of the Turkish system. Free scope was there allowed to every religious movement, and no hindrance was experienced, except from the Greek and Armenian superior clergy. Throughout Turkey, associations for religious purposes were openly recognized and permitted. Printing-presses existed in Constantinople, Bucharest, and other large towns, where the Scriptures were printed in every Oriental tongue, including the Turkish. There were forty dépôts for the sale of the Bible in Turkey, and at this moment there were *colporteurs*

and native agents in great numbers engaged in preaching and perambulating every province, and circulating the Scriptures without opposition. Now, let the House contrast this with what was done in Russia, and from that infer what they had to expect in the Turkish dominions, if they fell under the rule of the Czar. No association was allowed in Russia for religious purposes; no printing presses were permitted for printing the Bible in modern Russ; and no versions of the Scriptures were allowed to be imported into Russia, except those that were in English, French, Italian, and German. Not a single copy of the Bible in modern Russ, the only language the people understood, was allowed to be in circulation. This was forbidden under the severest penalties, and it was believed that not a copy of the Scriptures had been printed in Russia in the language of the people since 1823."

The Emperor of Russia has within his dominions a population of nearly 2,000,000 Hebrews, but he does not permit to pass his frontiers for the use of these people, a single copy of the Scriptures in Hebrew. The Hebrew Bible is even more resisted than the Scriptures in modern Russ. If all this be so—if this be the spirit that governs the Emperor of Russia in his own dominions, he is not likely to manifest a different spirit if he once gets possession of those provinces, by right of conquest, in which he now observes the development of liberty under the nascent rights of conscience. As far as it was possible for man to do it, the Eastern provinces of Turkey will be brought to the same pass in which we now find the internal provinces of Russia. Nor has the Emperor been more liberal towards missions—not missions, let it be remarked, to disturb the Greek church, but missions to the wild and ignorant heathen of his own dominions—the out-skirting provinces of his own empire, where the people are sunk in idolatry and the grossest darkness. Even there he will not permit the missionary to go. Till this hour, no mission even from the Greek church has been sent among these heathens in the wilds and steppes of Russia. How methodical, how systematic does he not show himself in all this!

"The Moravian Brethren laboured many years among the Calmuc Tartars between the Black and Caspian Seas. In 1823, about three hundred converts had been gathered together, but the missionaries were forbidden to baptize any one of them, on the ground of an old existing law, 'that no heathen under Russian sway shall be converted to Christianity and be baptized, but by the Russian Greek clergy.' This mission was therefore abandoned in the next year—viz. 1824. The Scottish Missionary Society began a mission in Russian Tartary in 1802. Their operations were widely ex-

tended in 1823. A Mahomedan convert of high standing was baptized by the missionaries, upon which a series of vexatious restrictions and persecutions began on the part of the Government, which compelled that society to relinquish its operations, after more than twenty years' labour, and a large expenditure, just at the time in which they were reaping some fruit of their labours. The Basle Missionary Society commenced a mission among the Tartars on the confines of Persia, and laboured first in the Persian dominions. Meeting with opposition there, they removed into the Russian dominions about 1823, and continued for ten years, till they were ordered to quit the Russian empire; and the missionaries, to the number of eight or ten, removed into other fields of labour. The London Missionary Society undertook a mission in Siberia, on the frontiers of Chinese Tartary. They were countenanced by the Emperor Alexander, and joined by several Russian missionaries. But, in the year 1841, after twenty years' expence and labour, this mission was suppressed by an order from the Russian Synod, the reason given being 'that the mission, in relation to that form of Christianity already established in the Russian empire, did not coincide with the views of the Church and the Government.' In contrast with these, it must be stated that the Turkish government had not only given full liberty to Christian missionaries from Europe and America, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, to carry on their operations to any extent, by preaching, by the circulation of the Scriptures, and by extensive printing establishments, but also by the issue of edicts of toleration, which protected every subject in the exercise of that religion which he might conscientiously profess.

As the personal inclinations of a reigning Czar are all in all in Russia, it is well to note the striking contrast presented between Alexander and the present Czar by the following facts:—"He no longer wondered at the Imperial hatred of Sir Stratford Canning, or the Nesselrode calumnies, that took so much trouble to set aside; for that great and good man (Sir Stratford) had, year by year and day by day, dogged the steps of Russian tyranny, and had enabled them to expose its colossal conspiracy against the national, civil, and religious liberties of the fairest portion of the globe, and fourteen millions of the human race. He believed this to be a long-conceived and gigantic scheme, determined on in ancient times, and to be now executed, with a view of suppressing every hope of liberty. He felt convinced that this had been the policy of the Emperor from the moment that he ascended the throne. The Emperor Alexander was a very different man; he did all in his power to promote the liberty of the Greek Church, while the present Emperor did all he could to stimulate it for the purpose of his own aggrandisement. He would show the state of things under Alexander, and

contrast it with that under the present Emperor. In the reign of the Emperor Alexander there was the most free, unfettered scope for the labours of the Bible Society, as much as in England itself. The Emperor gave his personal sanction and aid to it. He issued an order that all letters on the business of the society, as well as the Bibles and Testaments, should be transmitted by post, free of charge, to every part of the empire. He gave a house, and 15,000 roubles for an addition to it. He formed the Moscow Bible Society, and announced it in this remarkable passage:—

“ I consider the establishment of Bible Societies in Russia, in most parts of Europe, and in other parts of the globe, and the very great progress these institutions have made in disseminating the Word of God, not merely among Christians, but also among heathens and Mahomedans, as a peculiar display of the mercy and grace of God to the human race. On this account, I have taken on myself the denomination of a member of the Russian Bible Society, and I will render it every possible assistance in order that the beneficent light of revelation may be shed among all nations subject to my sceptre.”

He died, and in 1826 the Emperor Nicholas ascended the throne, and what did he do? He suppressed, by ukase the Russian Bible Society with all its branches, suppressed every privilege granted to religious societies, and brought back the night of the human intellect and the human heart that he seemed to prize so dearly. Had Turkey done anything of the sort? Had she not in twenty years done more than Russia in the famous nine hundred years that the Emperor vaunted as the period of alliance between the Slavonic nations and the Greek communion? One thing was evident—that if the Sultan had been less liberal towards freedom of religion and the rights of conscience, there would have been no Menschikoff Note, and no invasion.”

We have given this extended extract from Lord Shaftesbury's speech because it presents a lucid and popular view of a complicated subject, and because his lordship deals with facts and results instead of attempting to gauge motives, calculate probabilities, and forebode eventualities as too many writers and speakers have done. The publication of our Ambassador's secret and confidential conversations with the Emperor Nicholas, has engaged so much the public attention as to render it unnecessary for us to do more than refer to it. We confess for our part, that the tone of the Emperor by no means surprised us, and we do not mean to impugn the many excellent personal qualities attributed to him by making this

observation. Nicholas may be all that the admiring and fascinated Mr. Pease predicates of him, but the position of a Czar of Russia would corrupt or pervert the noblest of natures. The uncontrolled dominion over seventy millions of human beings is too weighty a deposit to be entrusted in any man's hands; and the developed intelligence of civilized nations has recognized this fact, by the gradual curtailment of absolute power. The vital questions are, not whether the articles in the *Times* or *Morning Herald* are modest and in good taste, or whether Nicholas is an "exemplary husband" and tender parent, but would the possession of Turkey by Russia be prejudicial to Europe at large, and could it be obtained without the perpetration of flagrant injustice? The Czars of Russia have so long counted upon Constantinople as their own, that they speak of the decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire in the language and with the feelings of a greedy heir awaiting the dissolution of a dying relative. A host of writers, too, not only in Russia and in the interests of Russia, but throughout the European Continent, have for the last two centuries been speaking of the Ottoman Empire as a corpse, and speculating upon its dissection.* We see nothing astounding in any of the Emperor's observations thereon to Sir Hamilton Seymour, nothing at least to excite astonishment as coming from the mouth of a Czar of Russia. Nicholas affects to speak of his grandmother's flights of ambitious fancy as if he abjured them, but he is so evidently under their influence, and has so habitually counted Turkey as his own, that he looks upon any interposition between himself and his prey as a wrong, and assumes the language of a deeply injured man. Mr. Pease may class us, if he pleases, among those who irritate the imperial temper by such remarks, nevertheless we write them because we believe them to be true. Whatever his flatterers may say, and whatever the ill-informed portion of Europe may think upon the subject, the Emperor himself must be conscious that a march to Constantinople is not so easy a matter as his reported language implies. The campaigns of 1828 and 1829, when Russia attacked Turkey under signal disadvantages, demonstrated that the Ottoman Empire was anything but a corpse bereft of life, strength, and motion. The Sultan Mahmoud was then in the midst of his sweeping reform measures, his

* "Turkey," said Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons, and his lordship is no mean authority on such a point. "Turkey has made greater progress and improvement during the last thirty years than any other country."

army was not organized, his people were disaffected, and yet for two protracted campaigns he successfully resisted the first military power of Europe, and at last signed the ignoble treaty of Adrianople sorely against his own judgment, and only at the earnest solicitations of his ministers, duped by Russian misrepresentations.

For the interesting details of the Russo-Turkish campaigns in 1828-29, we confidently refer our readers to the excellent volume of Colonel Chesney, which we have named at the head of this paper. Englishmen, who at this very season "cannot expand their minds sufficiently to embrace simultaneously Lord John Russell's Reform Bill and the contemplation of a war to be waged far from their own hearths and homes!" ought to sympathize with and admire the Sultan Mahmoud's struggles, who held fast *his* reform bill, and manfully carried it out, while a formidable foe was assailing his very gates and sapping the fidelity of his most trusted servants. England and France, moreover, are both in honour bound to repair, by their subsequent activity, the injury they have already inflicted upon the Sultan Abdul-Medjid, by preventing his attacking the Russians, as his generals wished, in June last on their passing the Pruth. Had Omar Pacha been permitted to do so, it is the opinion of competent military authorities that he would have effectually crippled for a season, if not altogether have crushed, the Russian army then in those parts. Its continued stream of reinforcements between the month of June and that of October, when the first collision took place, has not enabled the Russians to do more than hold their own, if so much can be affirmed.

In conclusion—for our lessening limits warn us that we must presently conclude—in conclusion, we would offer a few words upon a subject on which the Czar Nicholas has profanely expended many. We allude to his allegation that England is preparing to fight the battle of the crescent against the cross. This is a very grave charge, but so unfounded that much argument is not required for its refutation.

In the first place, and without arrogating exclusive enlightenment to our own days, we may observe, that the time has passed when it can be contended that the faith can be lawfully propagated by the sword. Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics cannot be converted by force, nor must they be exterminated if they refuse conversion. But in our judgment many a sober Turk is nearer the kingdom than a multitude of nominal Christians such as the Czar-worshippers

of Muscovy : the Turk loves and exercises mercy, justice, and truth ; can as much be said for the Russian ? And in our opinion, not hastily formed, the cause of Christianity will be more effectually promoted by the conservation of the dominion of the gentle, tolerant, and amiable Abdul-Medjid, than by the substitution in his stead of the intolerant, domineering Nicholas. The juxtaposition of Christian races to Islamism has already penetrated it in every part. We do not mean by that phrase the Christian religion ; nor would the words culture, civilization, fully convey our idea ; but Islamism itself is being enlightened by the genius of the West ; by that spirit which transforms wild hordes into disciplined armies, that traces roads, cuts canals, (why does Russia thwart every effort to effect a canal from Rassoia to Kustendji, which would open the trade of Hungary and the interior of the Austrian Empire to Western Europe ?) covers all seas with fleets and converts them into its own property, which fills remote continents with colonies, that has taken possession of the domains of knowledge and cultivates them with unflagging industry, which maintains order and law among men in spite of the diversities of their passions. Within the last ten years it has made prodigious advances in the Ottoman Empire ; it has created sources of diffusion for itself in Greece and Servia, Egypt and Constantinople. We have already alluded to the incorporation of the Christians into the ranks of the Nizam—the regular Turkish army,—and in this we recognize the germ of renewed strength to the Ottoman Empire. Unfortunately, until quite recently, these levies of Christians took place with violence, after the manner of the Russian recruitings in Poland, and the incorporation of the vanquished Italians and Magyars in the Austrian armies.

But, we repeat, the secret of creating an imposing army for Turkey is to make each people interested in it on its own account ; and above all, to organize among the warlike tribes of the mountains a *landwehr* like the Prussian. If the young men of each province were organized as National Guards, *mobilisable* at need, they would, in case of invasion, furnish the governors of the Ottoman citadels with expeditionary corps admirably adapted for harrassing the enemy. Left in their own provinces in all time of peace, these civic forces should be called out, as in Prussia and Switzerland, at the first sound of war, and placed at the disposal of the central military authority. Once trained and disciplined, they will desire to enforce their rights. The question of nationality

will then be practically revived in its fullest extent, and the Ottoman Empire may be re-organized in renewed vigour on the basis of federalism. Federalism has undoubtedly every chance of success in its favour. Since 1848, the parts played by Russia and Turkey have been completely reversed. The Turk has ceased to be the oppressor, the Russian to be the protector. No Moldo-Wallachian would now dream of going to St. Petersburg to complain of the Porte. All the true patriots of the Danubian Principalities agree in their endeavours to make their respective countries resume their ancient attachment to the Cabinet of the Bosphorus, by the bonds of a common destiny. The Bulgarians, too, feel that their nationality has no more dangerous enemies than those instigators of revolt who come to them from St. Petersburg. The aspirations of all those peoples, Serbs, Bulgarians, Bosniaks, and Moldo-Wallachians, towards a political existence will not die out. They begin to perceive, clearly enough, that no expectation but that of national extinction, impends from Russia; and if Turkey will satisfy them, as the present Sultan evinces every disposition to do, the Porte may, for many a year to come, count upon enthusiastic auxiliaries. The principle of political equality between nations as between individuals, will develop a new life in all the races of Turkey. Even should the emancipated Christians obtain the larger share of influence in the empire in proportion with their activity and their numbers, Turkey would not the less be secured for ever from attacks from without; she would defy the Muscovite, and have no longer any fear of being effaced from the map. By uniting with the Christian genius, the Mussulman genius may drive back Muscovite centralization to its steppes; but only on condition that she opposes to it, from the Danube to Egypt, a federation of peoples founded on principles directly antagonistic to those of Czarism. "Then," to use the glowing words of Ranke, "would that classic region, the most beautiful in the world, and so long the most sterile,—then would that privileged land, the cradle of philosophy, of Islamism, and of the gospel,—at last behold those ancient races embrace each other under the shadow of a civilization truly hallowed because it would be truly universal."

Quarterly Report of Facts and Progress.

PROPOSED REFORM BILL.

THE events of the quarter have been of a very varied character. The interests of peace and those of war have been mixed up in nearly equal proportion ; and since, in the articles which we have presented to our readers in this number, many of these subjects have been treated at considerable length, we shall be able to speak with greater freedom on the few that remain. And first, undoubtedly in interest as well as importance, stands the proposed Reform Bill of Lord John Russell. On this we shall only touch so far as the educational franchise is concerned. We have no desire to reopen the question of the general enlargement of the franchise, at least under existing circumstances. But as the class of readers to whom we address ourselves will all, or nearly all, be entitled to a vote under the veteran reformer's proposed enactments, they will doubtless expect that we should not pass over the subject altogether in silence. Hitherto property has been the sole measure of qualification, except in the case of Universities : and the tendency of all modern legislation has been to enlarge the franchise by reducing qualification, thus proceeding, by more or less rapid strides, towards a complete representation ; or, in other words, universal suffrage. But although philosophers have repeatedly brought the subject before the public, it appears only to have recently occurred to our lawgivers, that although property had its undoubted claims, intelligence had its claims also ; and that the two were not invariably found to coincide in the same persons. Hence the attempt, in the bill now before public attention, to throw the franchise into the hands of at least one or two classes who can give proofs of intelligence, even although the property qualification be altogether unheeded. The Inns of Court are to have a representative—a step which will enfranchise the whole of the bar : and graduates of all British Universities are to have votes in their respective localities. A measure which gives the barrister and the graduate a share in the franchise equal to that of a six pound freeholder, can hardly be deemed one of excessive liberality. But, certainly, the very same cause which requires their enrolment among electors, may be shewn to

operate in a wider circle, and, perhaps, in lower ranks. If the small tradesman, who pays six pounds a year rent for his house, be supposed qualified to have a share for electing members of Parliament, surely the enrolled solicitor, attorney, special pleader, and conveyancer; the physician, surgeon, or apothecary; the clergyman, even if he happen to be a non-graduate, and the licensed dissenting minister, whether he be a graduate or not; the members of the Royal Academies of Art and Music, and all professors and teachers recognised by those academies; officers in the army, navy, yeomanry, and militia; and all certified schoolmasters, may put forth their claim; on the ground that their qualifications are, at least, as good as those of the greengrocer or huckster, on whom the proposed law confers the privilege. We would gladly see all these classes enfranchised, and that on the ground of their presumed intelligence. And as the number added to the list of voters would be comparatively small, most of the persons alluded to possessing the franchise under another form, it would be a cheap as well as an acceptable recognition on the part of education considered *per se*. And we should be glad also to see this restriction upon the clergy which prevents their sitting in Parliament removed; not that we should wish to see their attention called off from their more sacred and peculiar duties; not that we would wish to see the canon of a cathedral, who may already be the rector of a great parish, and chairman or treasurer of innumerable commercial and ecclesiastical bodies, add to his already incompatible offices the duties of a representative in Parliament; but we would not have the mere fact of a man being in orders, if he were free from clerical duties, prevented from representing in Parliament any constituency who chose to elect him. Indeed it might easily be provided, that the cure of souls should be *ipso facto* a disqualification; and thus all the benefit which the present arrangement professes to secure would be obtained, without its disadvantages. As it is we find dissenting ministers in Parliament, who are perfectly at liberty to level heavy blows against the Establishment, while the only representatives of the clergy, properly so called, are in the House of Lords.

Connected with this subject there is another, equally important for the credit and welfare of the Church,—we want the means whereby any clergyman who feels that he has mistaken his vocation, or who has brought discredit upon it, should be permitted to retire. His orders should be cancelled, and in losing all the privileges he should be free from

all the restrictions of the clerical character. As the case stands now, however unfit he may be for the office, he is precluded from exercising any other, save that which requires almost the same qualification, namely, the instruction of youth. How many a man is condemned to be an indifferent and useless clergyman who would make a dashing cavalry officer, an accomplished surgeon, an eminent artist, or a successful merchant! The indelibility of orders appear to us to be an error, Popish in its origin, and most mischievous in its consequences. No man is of any use in the Church who is detained there against his will; and nearly all the scandal of modern times within the pale of the Establishment, might have been obviated by some such permission as that for which we contend. Nor is such a measure altogether unknown even within the Church of Rome herself, she does claim the power of secularising any priest, and instances are not wanting, Cæsar Borgia among the number, of that power being exercised.

EMPLOYMENT OF CRIMINALS.

Now that transportation has been renounced as a punishment, the problem of old times recurs for solution, What are we to do with our criminal population? Whether there are not even yet colonies, such as those for instance on the west coast of Africa, where criminals might be sent with advantage for the mother country, and greatly to the benefit of the colonies, is a question which would admit of much discussion; but on which, at present, we shall forbear to enter. Now that terms of penal servitude, varying in duration, are inflicted instead of transportation, we shall find thrown on our hands every year a class of persons for whom it will be increasingly difficult to find employment. Merchants and traders will, for obvious and praiseworthy motives, prefer those who have retained good characters. The agricultural market is already fully stocked; and for those who have once borne the brand of crime little will seem to remain, but a recurrence to their old haunts, and a return to their old practices. One remedy for this evil, though only to be looked at as an auxiliary to many others, will be the establishment of refuges for those whose term of imprisonment is passed, where they may be at once employed and supported under strict discipline, and be enabled to go forth into the world with a somewhat improved character. A few benevolent persons in the city of London, at the head of

whom we are glad to see Mr. G. Moore, have spent much time and capital in establishing such a refuge at Brixton. But large as their outlay has been, they have been compelled to apply to the public for support ; and they have engaged Mr. Ryle to advocate their cause from the pulpit. Hitherto their attempts have been successful, and we earnestly hope that this success may be continuous and increasing.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

SEVERAL of our contemporaries have spoken of a proposed reform in the constitution of this society, and, from the alleged facts, not before such reform was needed. They instance case after case in which the most deplorable spirit of pique has been manifested ; and the tendency of their observations has been, that no man is elected for the sake of his archeological qualifications, or rejected for the want of them. It is said that the Antiquarians' Reform Bill will contain the following clauses :—First, an assimilation in the practice of electing to the fellowship to that adopted in the Royal Society ; namely, that no name shall be submitted to the body for election until it has first received the approval of the council. That the council themselves be chosen by free election, every fellow being competent to propose either himself or any other fellow for a seat at their board. That the house list be altogether discontinued, and that the list of candidates, printed alphabetically, be sent to each fellow of the Society. That they may be returned by post, with the signature of the fellow against the names which he approves. In addition to this, it is proposed that a new order shall be introduced into the society, having the title of associates, who will pay somewhat smaller subscription than the fellows, but who will not be invested with the power of voting. They will bear the same relation to the fellows that the scholars do at our universities, inasmuch as they only shall be eligible to the fellowship. It is believed that by these measures the party spirit, which seem to be now so prevalent in the Society, will be repressed and disarmed, a large number of persons attracted to its ranks, and probably an affiliation of the various Archeological Societies.

Among these latter the Surrey Archeological Society seems to have made very satisfactory progress, and we may probably expect before long an interesting volume as the result of its labours. And the study is likely to receive a still further impetus from the establishment of a professorship in King's College.

THE GOBAT CONTROVERSY.

The sympathizers with the Greek Church in the East, and the opponents, as such, of Bishop Gobat's proselytism, are now known to us by name and number. No fewer than nine hundred have had their names published in the columns of the *Guardian*, and it is probable that more correct data are thus given for ascertaining the strength of parties in the Church, than by any of those means so amusingly set forth by the *Edinburgh Review*.

As to the merits of the case itself, since we have in preparation an article which will appear in our next number, and which will embrace the whole question, we shall content ourselves here with expressing our entire sympathy with this useful and calumniated prelate. That the Greek and Armenian Churches are in an awful state of corruption no one who has visited the East can deny; and one of the most amusing anecdotes which has been published of late, is that wherein a recent traveller relates a conversation between himself and one of the dignitaries of the Turkish Empire. "Mashallah," said the Turk, "there is one thing which astonishes me greatly, and that is, that you English call yourselves Christians. The fact is, you are no more Christians than I am. You have no Christianity in you. You don't cheat, you don't steal, you don't tell lies, you don't break your engagements, you don't worship pieces of wood painted yellow; in fact, your Christianity is all 'bosh.' My opinion is that the English are next kin to being true believers, and that God, in his own good time, will bring the English to the knowledge of the Prophet."

A controversy has arisen in Ireland connected with this subject, which deserves a little attention. The Archbishop of Armagh has been for some years the patron, was one of the founders, and, for a long time, the chief supporter of a school called St. Columba's College, where an education analogous to that received in the chief English grammar schools was offered to the sons of Irish gentlemen. Over this establishment, at the recommendation of some English friends, his grace placed the Rev. George Williams, formerly chaplain to Bishop Alexander at Jerusalem, and author of a work entitled "The Holy City." At the time of the appointment of this gentleman, it was distinctly stated to, and understood by him, that any thing like Tractarianism, either in doctrine or practice, would be considered altogether inadmissible. It was well known to be his grace's wish that his

own evangelical opinions should be reflected in the college he patronised, and for a long time this rule was adhered to. But in an evil hour Mr. Williams thought fit to attach his signature to a document which, emanating from a Tractarian Committee, solicited sympathy with the Eastern churches, and "*the most holy lords* who presided over them." That these most holy lords were most wholly idolators, seems never to have occurred to the Tractarian clergy who sympathise with them, or that they themselves were regarded as desperate schismatics, and scarce worth the name of Christians. When this circumstance came to the notice of the Archbishop, he very naturally required an explanation from Mr. Williams, and the explanation offered amounted to this,—that his name had been published without his consent ; but, as he approved of the object, he should decline to withdraw it. So far the proceeding appears intelligible enough. The whole conduct of the sympathizers appears to us to be one great mistake : "not the less erroneous for being malicious, nor the less malicious for being erroneous." But if a man chooses to do an unchristian act, and is so blind as not to see its unchristian character, at all events he does right to do it openly, and to abide its consequences. Having obtained, then, this reply from Mr. Williams, the primate next required of him the resignation of his office as warden, reminding him of the conditions on which he was placed at the head of the college. But true to the traditions of his party, Mr. Williams altogether demurred to this, and with a good deal of Tractarian civility, informed the Archbishop he intended to remain where he was. The primate, whose Christian courtesy is above all suspicion, felt himself obliged to assume a tone which, however just, must have been most painful for him to adopt, and after the exchange of several letters, told Mr. Williams, in plain terms, that the retaining of an office, the emoluments of which were furnished from the Archbishop's private fortune, and making use of its advantages to set at defiance the wishes of the patron and founder, was in conformity with the character neither of a Christian nor a gentleman. We have not the Archbishop's letter before us, and are therefore giving rather the spirit than the letter of his words. Finding that Mr. Williams was still persisting in holding the office, the Archbishop withdrew altogether his support and patronage, and the warden is now conducting the establishment on his own responsibility.

THE REV. MR. DOUDNEY AT BON MAHON.

WE have noticed in several periodicals, of the presentation of a purse of £150 to the Rev. D. A. Doudney, of Bon Mahon, Ireland, and we are not inclined to let this pass without a few words as to his labours, and the success which has attended them. Mr. Doudney was, for many years, a printer in London, and at the head of that establishment known as the City Press, in Long Lane. While thus occupied, he became the author of several devotional works; and from the way in which they were received, was induced to turn his attention almost exclusively to sacred literature. By the advice of his friends, and seeing, as he believed, a call of Providence, he determined on renouncing business and entering the ministry of the Church. For some time difficulties were thrown in his way, and he was at one period on the point of giving up the idea and joining a body of Dissenters; but at length an opening occurred in the diocese of Cashel, and Mr. Doudney was ordained to the curacy of Bon Mahon. Here he found abundance of labour awaiting him. His parishioners were of the rudest and most uncultivated description. But when most men would have folded their arms and made the office a sinecure, Mr. Doudney immediately set to work for the advancement of the Church and the good of souls. He gathered together the young people of the district; and while he set before them the things which made for their peace, he established a printing-press, and taught the boys and younger men the art which he had practised himself. Following the example of Mr. Nangle, who had done the same thing himself in the island of Achil, save that he was unable to give *personal* instruction in the art, Mr. Doudney speedily transformed his parishioners from a horde of savages into a set of orderly and industrious men. Schools arose, and were well attended; sermons preached whenever opportunity occurred; and, ultimately, a church was established to receive the worshippers collected. We have now the first fruits of the Bon Mahon printing-press before us in the shape of six royal octavo volumes of "Dr. Gill's Commentary;" which, considering the disadvantages under which they appear, are a perfect marvel of typography. With regard to the work itself, it must be observed that it is of the highest order of Calvinism. So extreme, indeed, are the views which it advocates, that there will be found comparatively few in the Church to whom the volumes will be altogether acceptable. The volumes will, however, be

valuable in another point of view, for Gill was a learned Orientalist, and took every opportunity of enriching his pages with his rabbinical erudition.

PEWS AND PEW LAWS.

A GREAT degree of commotion was excited by the Bishop of London's proposed Bill for legalizing and regulating pew-rents. Unwilling to interfere with churches at present free, and which always have been so, the Bishop wishes to make pew-rents valid in churches which have ever been subject to the impost. We believe there can scarcely be more than one opinion as to the desirability of having all churches free, and the entire removal of those unsightly boxes which disfigure many of our most ancient edifices ; but it is not always a matter of choice. Hundreds of churches would be destitute of ministers, if the pew-rents could not be appropriated for their support. Many more will soon find it necessary to demand pew-rents, in order to maintain the fabric ; and the present state of the law concerning church-rates, renders it more than ever necessary that this ground should not be cut away from under our feet. We know that we are differing strongly from many of our brethren, in expressing any approbation of the Bishop of London's bill, but we are bound to say, that some such measure does appear to be necessary ; and our only objection is, that it was not a comprehensive enactment, suitable to all cases, and absorbing into itself all existing laws on the subject. This, in fact, is what we want ; and we should be glad to see such a measure emanating from one so well qualified as the Bishop of London.

CHURCH LAW AND POOR LAW.

OUR laws concerning both poverty and property are in a transition state. Mr. Baines' Poor Law Removal Bill, and the proposed Abolition of the Ecclesiastical Courts, will serve both as proofs and instances. Some such measure as the first of these has long been wanted. The distressed foreigner is relieved on the spot, while the native subject is passed from parish to parish through the kingdom, at great expense, and still greater inconvenience. Mr. Baines proposes to alter the law of settlement, so as to obviate much of this mischief. The great difficulties of the case will probably be brought out in committee ; for while it is quite clear that one universal and centralised rule would be dangerous as contraven-

ing local self-government, yet it is equally manifest that the system of parishes or unions is positively monstrous in the inequalities of its pressure. It will be found a rule without an exception, that the rental of a parish will vary inversely with the claims of its poor; so that the most pauperised district is the most heavily taxed, and the wealthiest the most lightly. The other measure, that of the Abolition of the Ecclesiastical Courts, would be an enormous saving to the public in point of expense, while it would transfer to more competent hands the work required to be done. By a wise precaution, the framers of the bill attempted to disarm opposition by giving employment to all the persons at present engaged, simply transferring their labours to the more active and effective supervision of Chancery. A few more efforts in the same direction, and the greatest blots on the escutcheon of the Establishment will disappear as if by magic, and men will wonder how, at a comparatively recent period, the Church had been so unpopular.

NEW PERIODICALS.

UNDER this head we wish to direct the attention of our readers to such new publications of a serial character as are devoted to Church questions, or may be made useful for Church purposes. And first, we would notice a newspaper bearing the title of the *Courier*, which pledges itself to a particular and most sweeping measure of Church reform; and appears to have been established for the purpose of advancing it. There are so many points in the proposed scheme with which we cannot agree, that did we conceive it possible that the scheme advocated by the *Courier* would succeed, we should be compelled to abstain from expressing any opinion favourable towards it; but there is an old Persian proverb, "He who aims at the sun may bring down the eagle," and they who talk of abolishing archbishops, deans, canons, and archdeacons; of dividing the kingdom into a hundred dioceses; of removing the bishops from the House of Lords, and giving every curate 200*l.* a year; may, perhaps, succeed in helping to sweep away sinecures and pluralities, and raising the pittance of curates to a sum at least sufficient to provide food and clothing; for these reasons we wish well to the *Courier*. Of publications which may be made useful to the Church, we would merely mention two small periodicals, one published by Mr. Shaw, and entitled, "*Our Friend*," and another, which will probably be in his hands before long,

which is called "*Home Thoughts*" the latter is peculiarly adapted for village distribution, and seems to be a conscientious attempt to offer a very high class of literature at the lowest possible price, to those who might be deterred by a higher one. Twopence per month will be within the reach of all readers; while "*Our Friend*," which amounts merely to three times the sum, we recommend to the literary support as well as the patronage of all. In days when everybody reads, those capable of informing and improving the mind, ought to lose no opportunity of writing; and Arnold's observation cannot be too frequently repeated, that he wanted not so much religious articles as secular articles written in a religious spirit.

OBITUARY OF THE QUARTER.

AMONG those lost to us during the last quarter, we have to notice three heads of houses at Oxford—Dr. Harrington, the principal of Brazenose; Dr. Richards, the rector of Exeter; and Dr. Jenkins, the master of Baliol—all men highly esteemed at Oxford, and deservedly so, but scarcely calling for much notice beyond their own collegiate circle. Yet thus much may be said of them, that they were all favourable to the cause of progress, and that the university of Oxford has lost in them enlightened as well as erudite members. The death of Dr. Mill, of Cambridge, took place before the appearance of our last number, but too late to be referred to in it. He was more extensively known than the three Oxford divines, and his position as almost the leader of a party, while it exposed him to considerable misrepresentation, did, at the same time widen the sphere of his influence. For learning and piety he was esteemed by all alike, but the weight of his judgment on ecclesiastical matters, would be estimated very differently by those who did, and by those who did not, agree with his peculiar theology. His place in the university has been supplied by Professor Jarrett, formerly Lord Almoner's reader in Arabic, and now Regius professor of Hebrew.

Speaking of the professorship of Hebrew at Cambridge, reminds us of the Regius professorship of Greek in the same university, now held by Mr. Thompson, of Trinity College. It appears by the constitution of that society, that the acceptance of the Regius professorship rendered it necessary for him to vacate his fellowship, which as he was one of the seniors was of considerable value. The stall at Ely, attached to the professorship, produces a smaller revenue, and Mr.

Thompson, in return for performing the duties of the professorship, will receive only the statutable allowance of about 40*l*., and lose the emoluments of his valuable fellowship.

We have also the melancholy duty of announcing another death, which will excite the deepest regret in the literary and judicial world. Mr. Justice Talfourd, one of the brightest ornaments of the English bench, and as much endeared to the profession by his courtesy and amiable character, as respected by the whole public for his splendid literary abilities, has been cut off suddenly, in the midst of a career as useful as it was honourable. While addressing the grand jury at Stafford, on the 13th ult., he suddenly faltered in his speech, staggered, and fell back into the arms of his second son, who was acting as his marshal on the occasion. He was immediately removed from the Court, but before reaching the judge's lodgings he had ceased to exist. Time and space will not here allow us to enlarge, either on the merits of the judge or the virtues of the man, but he has left behind him a remembrance that will not easily be effaced.

The same month, too, which has deprived us of a distinguished judge, has also witnessed the removal of a bishop, from whom, according to all human probability, many a long year of active usefulness might have been expected. At the comparatively early age of fifty-three, Edward Denison, Bishop of Salisbury, has been taken from the Church after an episcopate of seventeen years. At the time of his accession to that dignity he was not only the youngest bishop in England, but one of the youngest men who had ever been appointed to the office; and his elevation is said to have been as unexpected by himself as it was to the Church in general. It is said that application was made by a member of his family, possessing great political influence, that he might be made Regius professor of divinity in the university of Oxford, on the expected elevation of Dr. Hampden to the see of Salisbury. The minister replied that it was impossible, under present circumstances, to place Dr. Hampden on the bench, and that there would therefore be no vacancy in the Regius professorship; but that Mr. Denison, might, if he pleased, take the bishopric instead. He did so please; and though by no means one of the most distinguished of prelates, he seems to have administered his see with general ability and success. It must not, however, be forgotten that, when acting as the substitute of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, he bestowed on his brother the living of East Brent and the archdeaconry of Taunton—an act of patronage

scarcely decent under the circumstances, and which has entailed a large amount of mischief on the Church. He is succeeded by the Rev. W. K. Hamilton, a respectable clergyman of views verging towards Tractarianism.

CHEAP LITERATURE.

It will be fresh in the remembrance of our readers that a short time since Mr. Bentley made an attempt to reduce the price of books, publishing for 3s. 6d. the volume which hitherto had been sold at 10s. After a trial of some months the attempt was found to be unsuccessful, and abandoned accordingly. But it is still something to have made such an attempt, and Mr. Bentley deserves, therefore, to have the same praise as though he had been successful; but we are of opinion that had he tried a still lower price, and a class of books more useful than novels, he would not have had to give up a plan which promised so much for literature. It is not fair to compare the works in question with the shilling novel of Parlour Libraries and Novelist's Libraries, which stand in piles on all the railway counters in the kingdom, because while these fill up what will otherwise be a great desideratum, they consult cheapness at the cost of beauty, print, paper, and general appearance. Mr. Bentley's plan was to publish a book which, having been read on the journey, might retain a place on the library; and had he produced volumes at prices varying from a shilling to half-a-crown, we are inclined to think that the public would have responded to his appeal. In our day, if a book is to have effect it must be sold not by tens, but by thousands; and the continual demand for cheap literature makes this expectation by no means an improbable one. We may look forward with some expectation to the time when every working man will have his own bookshelf, and will find, at the end of the year, that it has both saved him money and gained him intelligence. Mr. Shaw, of Southampton Row, has announced a series of shilling books, under the title of "Shaw's Family Library," such as we particularly desire to see. They will be as creditable in their material and typography as, we trust and do not doubt, they will be in their literary character. A few will run beyond the shilling limit, but none are to exceed half-a-crown. It seems, from the list already put forth, that Mr. Shaw has succeeded in securing the aid of several sound Churchmen for this undertaking—one to which we wish every success.

AMERICAN COPYRIGHT.

It will perhaps interest the clergy as much as any other class, since so many works of importance result from their labours, to know that there is some chance, although yet rather distant, of an international copyright between this country and America. There is scarcely a work of note, for many years past, which has not been pirated by certain well-known American publishers; and one in particular, whose light—for he undoubtedly considers it a glory—we do not desire to hide under a bushel. Mr. A. Hart, of Philadelphia, propounds it as his opinion, that a free-born American book-seller is at liberty to lay his hands upon any literary property that comes within his reach, and, without any consideration for the claims of the owner, to appropriate it to his own use. He is filled with virtuous indignation with the government which professes to interfere with these his rights; and with no less righteous anger, against the American authors who, to secure a copyright for themselves in England, would grant the same privileges to the English in America. He thinks that picking pockets, breaking-open houses, and forging checks, are acts scarcely consistent with a high Christian morality; but he considers that stealing is no longer stealing when it concerns the author's study or the artist's atelier. The one he leaves to the punishment of the state, for the other he claims not only impunity but praise. The present bill, prepared by the American Government, though a step in the right direction, is very far from meeting the requirements of the case. It enacts, that a book published in England may have a copyright in America, if the author can succeed in making terms with an American publisher within three months of the appearance of the work in England. Should he fail in this, his property becomes the property of all mankind on the other side of the Atlantic; so that Mr. Hart may be as feloniously profited thereby as his soul can desire. The term is too short to be of any practical benefit. Three months is not sufficient to test a new book; and many an author may succeed in obtaining a considerable amount for his work from an American publisher after six, nine, or twelve months, who in a quarter of a year could scarcely make known its existence. The bad book will die, and nobody desires its permanence, but the good book requires the protection of at least a twelvemonth.

THE LATE ALDERMAN THOMPSON AND CHRIST'S
HOSPITAL.

THE death of the late Alderman Thompson will be much felt in the City, where he was well known to be a powerful and enlightened supporter of all the great charities of the county. Among the posts of importance which he held at the time of his death may be mentioned that of President of Christ's Hospital—a position usually held by one of the body of aldermen. There were many reasons which rendered the presidency of the late Mr. Thompson very valuable to the institution. He was a man of great practical good sense, of large parliamentary experience, and of more perfect education than that which commonly falls to the lot of the body of which he was a member. His great wealth too, and his high rank among merchants, seem to indicate, that if an alderman were to be president he was the man to fill the office. The question lately before the governors, and it was one of considerable interest, was, who was to succeed him. The practice has generally been, that though the governors did elect, it was according to a pre-arranged rota; for, first, it has been usual to choose an alderman; and, secondly, the choice has been still further limited to the alderman who at the time of the vacancy happened to be Lord Mayor. Thus, according to the rules, Alderman Sidney should have succeeded to Alderman Thompson as a matter of course, and he put forth his proposals at once. It was necessary that he should propose himself as a candidate, even though he supposed, and probably the great part of the body supposed with him that there would be no opposition. After a few days, however, it appeared that things were not likely to take their usual course. His royal highness the Duke of Cambridge consented to be put in nomination, and a powerful committee of merchants and bankers was appointed to conduct his election. At first it may appear strange that a prince of the blood should allow himself to be put in opposition to the chief magistrate of the City; but it cannot be supposed that this was lightly done, or that the great mercantile magnates, who formed the Committee referred to, had not fully considered the consequences of the step they took. It appears from the documents they put forth, that the chain of precedents by which lord mayors have been chosen to fill the presidency of Christ's Hospital has been by no means an unbroken one. The Lord Mayor has been successfully opposed before this in a contested election. And it was the opinion of counsel in 1843, when the late

alderman was entertaining the idea of resigning his aldermanic gown, that his doing this would be no reason for his resigning the presidency of Christ's Hospital, for that the governors were not restricted, either by law, or legal custom, to the choice of an alderman. A very slight glance at the civic body, as it is at present constituted, will suffice to shew how few men it contains qualified to fill a post like this. With few exceptions, the aldermen of London are mere tradesmen, not unfrequently retail shopkeepers. The papers are filled with their advertisements, and the streets with their advertising vans. All but destitute of education themselves, they are ill-qualified to judge of it in others; and however well disposed they may be towards the great cause, it is surely not to their hands that the educational executive should be entrusted. Exceptions among them there may be; and that the body is not altogether without scholars, gentlemen, and members of learned societies, only makes its general deficiency the more glaring. To be an alderman of the present day, it suffices that the candidate should be a successful shopkeeper or a sharp attorney—the sharper the better, and gentlemen of high standing and commanding position, observing with whom they shall be mixed up, reject with contempt the honours of the City. Considerations such as these induced a powerful body among the governors to break through the precedent, if precedent it be, which was supposed to fetter their choice. The Duke of Cambridge consented to aid them in their design, and will, by the time these remarks meet the eye of the reader, dignify Christ's Hospital with a Royal President. The Lord Mayor, however, has not been induced to yield, without resistance, the honours which have been claimed by his predecessors; and in the addresses and advertisements which he puts forth on the subject he seems a little to have mis-stated the case, supposing that the practice had been invariable of selecting the Lord Mayor for the time being to fill the post in question.

THE CORPORATION OF LONDON.

MENTION of Christ's Hospital reminds us, that though the war in the East, the new Reform Bill, and many other subjects of universal interest, have diverted for a time the public attention from the Corporation of London, yet that the evidence concerning their doings and misdoings is now complete, and will soon be before us in the form of a Blue Book. The very investigation has done wonders. Many abuses

have been swept away already; and if the mere threat of reform has been able to do so much, what may we expect when the charters and titles of the City are in the hands of men able to understand them, and determined not to allow their limits to be over-passed. When once the public are in possession of the nature and extent of civic rights, it will probably appear that, as in the case of deans and chapters, the mischiefs which have been complained of for so many years, has arisen, first, from a wilful, and afterwards from an ignorant neglect of those charters, in virtue of which the powers were claimed. The demand made to the civic authorities from first to last should be, show us your title-deeds: you are only a corporation by virtue of being citizens, and every citizen ought to have free access to the charters. Let us know precisely what you can do, and why you can do it, and we will neither oppose your just authority nor permit you to exceed it. Among the many claims made by the Corporation was one of metage, or that of measuring all goods brought into the port of London—taking their own time, and making their own charge for performing this duty. After having inflicted the greatest mischief and inconvenience on thousands of citizens, whose means were too small to defy them, they at length met with antagonists in the firm of Messrs. Combe, Delafield, and Co., who were determined not to submit without a regular and searching investigation. The cause was tried at Common Law and decided against the City. They appealed, and the former decision was confirmed. They filed a Bill in Chancery, and a cross bill was filed against them, requiring them to produce the charter on which they grounded their right of metage. Finally, they appealed to the House of Lords, and being given to understand that before that ultimate Court of Judicature the documents would have to be produced, they abandoned the whole cause, and Messrs. Combe and Delafield came forth victorious. Conduct more unprincipled, more tyrannical, and in the end more cowardly than this, can hardly be found in the annals of legal proceedings. A poor man would have been ruined, however just his cause; and a single man wearied, however well founded his expectations. It was only a powerful and wealthy firm that could stand forth in such a case; and if the result has been to cover the Corporation with disgrace as well as defeat, they have only to thank themselves for the consequence of their own acts, and Messrs. Combe and Delafield are well entitled to the thanks of the public.

COLONIAL BISHOPRICS.

THE attention of the Church is much directed just now to the increase of our Colonial bishoprics—an increase which, if it were conducted upon sound principles, would call from us only the voice of congratulation. We are, however, by no means able to make the unqualified admission of satisfaction which we could wish. A large proportion of our colonial prelates have been selected, if not absolutely from the Tractarian party, at least from those who look with great favour upon it. Hence, in our colonies, the overweening attention which has been paid to form and ritual; and the spending of the money contributed to the Propagation Society, in building cathedrals; a misappropriation to which the Rev. C. Girdlestone has very rightly directed our notice. Hence the disputes too frequent among the clergy, and the apathy too prevalent among the laity. The diocese of Cape Town has been divided into three, and the greatness of its dimensions seemed to render such a step necessary. But Dr. Gray boasted, when in England, that, large as it was, it contained only seven evangelical clergymen; at least this is the true way of putting what his Lordship did say. And if the choice of Drs. Armstrong and Colenso for the sees of Natal and Graham's Town be in accordance with his wishes, and they themselves men after his own heart, the probability is that the seven evangelical clergymen in question will be glad to transfer themselves to some more favoured locality. The Bishop of Jamaica labours under a similar suspicion; still more so the Bishops of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Frederickton; and of this last prelate we have heard anecdotes which tend to put his Christian prudence on a level with his evangelical doctrine. In fact, we begin to look with very little hope on the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The gospel which it does propagate is by no means pure, nor are we at all satisfied with those who have the management of it. There seems a strong disposition among the evangelical clergy to retire altogether from its ranks, and to give their whole support and countenance to the Church Missionary Society. They ought, one and all, to do this, and leave the older body to the support of those who approve of its present management. For the same reason we would wish to see them advocating and assisting the Church Education Society, and the Church Pastoral Aid Society, to the exclusion of all rivals. These we know to be really evangelical societies, and it is not right to take the children's bread and to cast it unto dogs.

EARLY-CLOSING ASSOCIATION.

It is pleasing to find that this Association is making progress, but as its advance depends entirely upon the habits of the public, and as all know how difficult it is to break through habits when once confirmed, its advance must necessarily be slow. Nor must its promoters be discouraged if all whom they wish to benefit do not at once make the best use of the time thrown into their hands. No doubt there are many young men who will spend in idle dissipation the hours which should be engaged in healthy exercise or intellectual improvement, and this has frequently been brought forward as an argument against the whole system of early closing. But, surely, because some abuse these privileges, it does not follow that others are to be deprived of them. It would be as reasonable to say, that because Mr. Tittlebat Titmouse spends his time at drinking at Greenwich on Sunday, therefore Mr. Tagrag's shop must be open on that day. The Bank gave promise lately of another advantage, which, if not exactly in the same direction, was at least likely to produce similar effects. They proposed to delay the period of opening until ten o'clock—a step which would have enabled all their clerks to live remote from the noise and dust of London, and given them at least an hour's pleasant and healthy exercise every day; but we regret to say that, at the representation of a few private bankers, the design was abandoned. Nevertheless, we shall bear in mind that the proposition has been made; and it will, no doubt, be referred to again and again, until it has at least the chance of a trial.

The Literature of the Quarter Classified and Reviewed.

It will be needless to say, that the articles which under this title will appear in each number of our Review, must not be expected to contain analyses of all the books which it will yet be necessary to notice. In the first place, our space will not permit this; in the second place, the articles which precede, will contain the examination of those works which appear to us most to call for searching and critical notice; and, in the third place, a few words of commendation or the reverse, is all that in many instances the nature of the case will admit. For these reasons, and as our object is not so much to afford half-an-hour's amusement as to indicate what books are worth purchasing for the library, or ordering for the book club, we shall rarely make extracts from the books reviewed. On one thing the reader may safely depend, that whether our notice of any book be brief or extended, it will arise from conscientious examination of the book itself. We have classified the works, we are about to review as follows:—I. Theology. II. Sermons. III. Commentaries on Scripture. IV. History and Archæology. V. Ecclesiastical History. VI. Philosophy. VII. Poetry. VIII. Voyages and Travels. IX. Fiction. X. Biography. XI. Books for Young Persons. XII. Education. XIII. Periodical Literature. XIV. Miscellaneous.

We have not as yet been able to organize our American and continental correspondence so as to give a view of sacred literature in other lands, in our present number; but this we trust to do, so as to make it a feature in our next.

I. THEOLOGY.

1. The Evidences of Scripture against the claims of the Roman Church. By the Rev. Sanderson Robins, M.A. London: Longman. 1854.
2. The Mystery Unveiled; or, Popery and its Dogmas and Pretensions as they appear in the Light of Reason, the Bible and History. By the Rev. James Bell, one of the Ministers of Haddington. Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie. 1854.
3. Religion in Heart and Life; or, the Fruit of the Spirit. By the Rev. Frederick George Barton, B.A., Curate of Osset, near Wakefield. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1854.
4. A Scriptural Enquiry into the Election of Grace, as it concerns Man's Condition and Prospects. By Jeremiah Jackson, Vicar of Elm-cum-Emneth, London: J. W. Parker. 1854.

5. *The Knot of To-Day, and a Hand to Undo it.* London: Seeley. 1853.
6. *The Apology of the Church of England, and an Epistle to Seignior Scipio on the Council of Trent.* By the Right Rev. Father in God John Jewel, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury, with Notes, and a Life of the Author. London: Washbourne. 1853.
7. *A Discourse of the Pastoral Care.* By the Right Rev. Father in God Gilbert, late Lord Bishop of Sarum. London: Washbourne. 1853.
8. *The Gospel of other Days; or, Thoughts on Old and New Testament Scriptures.* London: Hatchards. 1854.
9. *The Sensibility of Separate Souls Considered.* By C. Webb. London: Houlston and Stoneman. 1853.
10. *The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony, Illustrated.* By Samuel Wix, M.A., F.R.S. London: Rivingtons. 1854.
11. *Questions on the Articles of Religion, with Scripture Proofs,* compiled by the Rev. Thomas Clark, M.A., Minister of Christ Church, Preston. London: Hope and Co. 1854.
12. *Truths Maintained.* By James Biden, Monkton House, Anglesea, Hants. London: Aylot and Co. 1854.
13. *Twelve Letters on Transubstantiation containing two Challenges to Dr. Cahill.* By James C. L. Carson, M.D. Derry Sentinel Office. 1853.
14. *A Manual of Family and Occasional Prayers.* By the Rev. William Sinclair, M.A., Incumbent of St. George's, Leeds. London: Hatchards. 1854.
15. *Charges by Samuel Horsley, L.L.D., F.R.S., late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.* London: Hatchards. 1854.
16. *Christ and Christianity: a Vindication of the Divine Authority of the Christian Religion; grounded on the Historical Verity of the Life of Christ."* By W. L. Alexander, D.D., Author of "The Connection and Harmony of Old and New Testament," &c. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1854.
17. *The Altar of the Household.—A Series of Services of Domestic Worship for every Morning and Evening in the Year; select portions of Holy Writ; and Prayers and Thanksgivings for particular occasions, with an Address to Heads of Families.* Edited by the Rev. John Harris, D.D., Principal of New College, St. John's Wood, London. Assisted by Eminent Contributors. John Cassell, Ludgate Hill, London.
18. *Christology of the Old Testament, and Commentary on the Messianic Predictions.* By E. W. Hengstenberg, Dr. and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Second edition, greatly enlarged. Translated from the German, by the Rev. Theodore Mayer, Hebrew Tutor in the New College, Edinburgh. Vol. 1. Edinburgh: T. and I. Clark. 1854.

OUR list will show that the theological treatises, properly so called, we have but few to lay before our readers. Nor

among them is there any one which calls for peculiar remark, save "Truths Maintained," by Mr. Biden, and the three works last on our list. Mr. Robins is successful in showing the unscriptural character of Popish claims, and Mr. Bell follows on the same side with equal zeal, but not always with equal ability. Mr. Barton's little work is pleasing and practical, but never profound, and the same judgment may be passed on the "Gospel of other Days;" the poetry in the last named book does not soar above mediocrity. Mr. Jackson's "Scriptural Enquiry," elicits nothing new on the important subject on which it treats, though it demands the praise of Christian temper and moderation. "The Knot of To-Day" recommends a society to counteract Jesuitism, by meeting it in its countless ramifications. Mr. Washbourne's two reprints of Jewell and Burnet are valuable, the latter especially; it has an admirable preface by Canon Dale. The essay of Mr. Webb, is on a subject about which we hardly should have expected much diversity of opinion among Christians. If, however, any one should imagine that the soul sleeps from death to resurrection, Mr. Webb will convince him by good scriptural reasons, to the contrary. The two little works by Mr. Wix and Mr. Clarke, are well calculated for the purpose intended by their authors. We now come to Mr. Biden's work. This gentleman thinks for himself, and much as we differ from many of his positions, we are yet satisfied that he has not unfrequently "hit the right nail on the head." All that he says is worth considering, for even when most wrong he is never without having reasons to alledge on behalf of his theory, which at all events look strong. There is no good done to the Established Church by underrating the opposition of thinking, reading-men, like Mr. Biden. Much may be learned from what he has written, and we recommend his books to attentive perusal. The Letters by Dr. Carson and the Prayers by Mr. Sinclair are good; as to Horsley's Charges all the world knows what they are.

The already established reputation of Dr. Alexander, as a divine and biblical scholar, would, of itself, be a sufficient guarantee for the value of such a book as that now published. But there are special features about "Christ and Christianity," that recommend it most strongly to all who are interested in the great theological questions of the day, or are conversant with the topics engaging the attention of thoughtful men.

There is a species of literature which we are loth to call theology, although it arrogates that title to itself. It certainly is not Christianity, however loudly its professors

declare that it is so. Philosophy is a wrong word for it; since true philosophy and true Christianity must be identical. We can only think of a word, used by some French writers, namely, *philosophism*, as the correct representative of the systematic jargon which emanates from certain neological authors, and we should not hesitate to use it, were we not desirous of avoiding all approach to nick-names, in what is really a most serious and awful waste of talents.

For the last hundred years the mind of Germany has passed through all shades and varieties of religious opinions. The writings of the English Deists, at the beginning of the last century, attracted, on the Continent, more attention than they ever deserved. But the gross and unmitigated blasphemies of such men as Toland, Chubb, and others, were refined, and rendered somewhat more palatable by the induction of what is called *Rationalism*; a term, which although frequently used improperly, to describe all sorts of scepticism and heterodoxy, is in reality applicable only to a particular species of infidelity, which never travelled far out of Germany, or even existed there for any length of time. Those who taught *Rationalism*, did not deny the Bible as the Deists had done; but they explained away all its supernatural or marvellous features. They would profess to receive the entire gospels, but could not see anything like a miracle in them. Nothing but mere stolid ignorance, they said, would mistake the figures of speech used by the Evangelists, when describing the miracles of the Lord, for actual exertions of superhuman power. The feeding of the thousands with the few loaves and fishes was the influence Jesus exercised in persuading the richer of his followers to give provisions to the poorer. The coin found in the fish's mouth by Peter was merely the price for which he sold it. When Ananias fell dead before the word of Peter, this was only an instance of the apostle's impetuous temper, who, in his righteous rage, gave the liar an unlucky blow. The resurrection itself, the great Christian miracle, was not very wonderful after all. Jesus recovered from a swoon in which he had fallen, from having endured the pains of the cross.

Rationalism was felt to be so monstrous an evasion; that it has at last come to be ridiculous, even in Germany, which is very tolerant as to the number of creeds that may pass without challenge. It gave way to another system; that represented by Dr. Strauss, and his English and American disciples, as Theodore Parker, Francis Newman, and William Rathbone Greg.

Apart from the misty and unintelligible psychology of these men, the principle of their system is, that the gospels were only the gathering together, into a concrete form, the various myths and legends that had been floating about among the Christians of the second and third centuries.

Now this system, when fairly examined, is not one jot more reasonable or sober than Rationalism. But its absurdity is certainly not so transparent. It demands either plain Christian faith to rebut its insinuations, or else such a knowledge of history and philosophy as are not in every one's power. The ordinary adherents to this system, among ourselves, are half-educated and conceited people, who are led away by pleasant fictions, and have never exercised the virtue of humility in their previous career. We have no desire to rob either Mr. Francis Newman or Mr. Theodore Parker of their confessedly great attainments and ability; but if any one would understand how a cultivated mind can take up with such trumpery, he has only to read the autobiography of the former gentleman in his "Phases of Faith," and he will then perceive, that if a man continue to follow his own conceits, and his own entire ignorance of either Christians or Christianity, he is at last led to believe a strong delusion; and even to write such a sad chapter as that of Mr. Newman on the character of Jesus. It is perfectly sickening to hear a man like Mr. Newman, who has been, by his own very candid confession, the shuttlecock of every wind, "unstable in all his ways," find fault with, or (which is worse) condescendingly palliate, a character which he has no soul to appreciate.

There is little danger, (we say so confidently), for men of large minds or hearts being led astray by this philosophism (we must use the word again,) and therefore "The Eclipse of Faith," powerful and effective as it is, will not do the amount of good we might expect, simply for this reason;—that the class of minds that can delight in such a book is not the class to be bewildered by Mr. Francis Newman. We want something shorter, and in a more logical and systematic shape;—something in the style of Leslie or Paley; and which they would have composed, had this species of infidelity existed in their days. We want an antidote that shall be simpler and less costly than "The Eclipse of Faith."

And Dr. Alexander's very welcome little work seems precisely to meet this want. He dissects the system of Strauss in a most masterly way. His arguments are clear and logi-

cally stated; and his conclusions are most irresistible demonstrations of the folly of the mythic school of infidelity. The book has, besides, in our eyes, the additional merit of being short and of small price; so that it is within the reach of those who have not the peculiar mental training, or the leisure, or the money, to be able to investigate the subject farther. At the same time we desire to say, that Dr. Alexander has brought a great amount of learning to bear upon his theme; and that if he has produced a simpler book than others, it is because he has more carefully moulded his materials.

The "Altar of the Household" is the joint composition of some twenty or thirty ministers selected from the several sections of the one great Evangelical body. Nothing could have been more happy than the thought of employing such a diversity of mind and of talent in a work of this character. The same task has been attempted on the part of individuals, single-handed and alone, but always with more or less of failure. No one man can do it as it ought to be done, and hence, in the absence of the higher devotional element, we have, instead of prayer and intercession, theological dissertations, dogmatic statements of truth, the style of the preacher rather than the voice and the words of the suppliant at the throne of God. From this defect the work before us is not wholly free, though there is much less of it than in most of our published Manuals of Devotion. In the several compositions there is a pleasing and profitable variety, nor can such a volume fail to be acceptable to thousands as an aid in their daily approaches to the throne of the heavenly grace.

There are those who take objection to any thing in the form of a Liturgy, and who go so far as to affirm that any form of prayer is destructive of the very life and soul of devotion. Never was assertion more unfounded. Not only may the deepest piety be nourished and developed by the use of a liturgical service, but those in whom the life of God is most conspicuous, have a growing delight in the use of such a service; and their judgment, not less than their predilection, is decidedly in favour of it. To say that we have the most perfect sympathy with these true hearts, is little, if any thing, to the purpose. We are not only the decided advocates of a liturgical service, but we would make every liturgy much more responsive than it is, whether as used in the domestic circle, or in the great congregation of

the faithful. Scripture supplies an abundance of material for the structure of such a service, and we have it in contemplation to offer something of the kind to the public at no distant day.

Meanwhile we commend the work before us to all heads of families, as a most valuable help to domestic worship. "The choice of Scripture has been made on the principle of securing ~~all~~ the interest, variety, and instructiveness attainable within the ~~present~~ limits. Historical portions have been generally preferred, on account both of the greater pleasure felt in them by the young, and of the greater attractiveness of the lessons they yield. In addition to the brief exposition which follows each passage, the *feeling* of it will be found generally to pervade the accompanying prayer; thus tending to sustain attention, and to promote variety." And since "home was meant to be the holiest, peace fullest, happiest spot on earth, there only can this high aim of the family constitution be approached, where the altar stands in the midst, where the presence and the blessing of God are daily invoked, and the family becomes a Christian society." To build up and to perpetuate such societies in this noisy, distracted, and divided world, may the present work largely contribute, and neither money nor labour will have been expended in vain.

The "Christology of the Old Testament," is, undoubtedly, the most important work which has proceeded from the theological press in Germany for some years; and it is with peculiar propriety that it has been selected to inaugurate the new series of Clark's Foreign Theological Library. The object of the book is to place in one view before the reader all the predictions concerning the Messiah in the books of the Old Testament,—all the types, shadows and allusions,—to work them into one great whole, to show their bearing on each other, and the way in which they were regarded by the Jews, such a work cannot but be valuable. Here and there we detect the presence, not of rationalistic principles, but of the effect which rationalistic reading has left; but not sufficient to indicate any leaning in the mind of the author towards that dangerous form of heresy.

II. SERMONS.

1. *Memoir of the late Rev. Alexander Ross, A.M., Rector of Banagher, in the Diocese of Derry, and a Selection of his Sermons; with a Preface by the Ven. John Hayden, M.A., Archdeacon of Derry.* London: Hatchard. 1854.
2. *The Beatitudes of the Mount. In Seventeen Sermons. By the Ven. J. Garbett, M.A., Archdeacon of Chichester.* London: Hatchard. 1854.
3. *Olney Lectures, delivered on Particular Occasions, to the Congregation assembling in the Parish Church of Olney. By the Rev. D. B. Langley, D.C.L., of St. John's College, Cambridge, Vicar of Olney. Second edition.* London: Piper and Co. 1854.
4. *Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge in the month of November, 1853. By the Rev. Harvey Goodwin, M.A., late Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, and Minister of St. Edward's, Cambridge.* Cambridge: M'Millan, 1853.
5. *Sermons, by Henry William Kemp, B.A., Minister of St. John's Church, Hull; late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.* London: Seeleys. 1854.
6. *Six Plain Sermons, preached to a Rural Congregation. By the Rev. Charles Wolfe, late Curate-Assistant of Kemsing, Kent.* Hatchard. 1854.
7. *Overcome Evil with Good. Second Address to the Congregation of St. Luke's Church, Berwick Street. By the Rev. Henry Jones, M.A., Incumbent.* London: Skeffington. 1854.
8. *Christian Experience in its several Parts and Stages. By the Rev. J. Leifchild, D.D.* London. Second Edition. Ward. 1854.
9. *Practical Sermons, designed for vacant Congregations and Families. By the Rev. Albert Barnes, Philadelphia.* Edinburgh: Clarks. 1854.
10. *Youthful Development; or Discourses to Youth, classified according to their Character. By Samuel Martin.* London: Ward. 1854.

It is impossible to read the sermons which are now daily put forth by the press, without acknowledging, with thankfulness to the great Head of the Church, the wonderful improvement that has taken place in this branch of composition. Instead of dry jejune essays filled with the barest morality, we can now rarely take up a volume of sermons without finding the truth of the gospel in them. That there is any very large amount of originality, any very clear and philosophical comprehension of Christianity as a whole, it would be too much to assert, and certainly unreasonable to expect; but while there are a sufficiency of men in our

Church whose attainments are on a level with the highest, it is satisfactory to observe that, on an average, our congregations are addressed by men not behind the spirit of their age, nor unaware of its requirements. We have now before us ten volumes of sermons very different both in their kind and degree of merit, but not one which, forty years ago, would not have been considered a very great effort. Of Mr. Ross, we have a brief and most interesting memoir, as well as a few of his sermons, so that the work may be called "Remains;" and if he left many such discourses as those which the Archdeacon of Derry has printed, we can only say we hope he will print the rest. They are strikingly beautiful as well as vitally evangelical; and the interest with which they will be read is increased by the account prefixed of their amiable and highly-gifted author. Mr. Ross was a poet as well as a divine, and there are a few specimens in the volume marked by much sweetness and pathos.

Archdeacon Garbett is too well known for it to be necessary for us to speak in terms of praise of any production of his. As a poet, a scholar, a theologian, and a Christian, he is more than usually qualified for such a task as that which he has here imposed on himself. His rich and flowing style is well adapted to the grandeur and beauty of his subject, and we frequently meet with passages of great philosophical depth, as well as great oratorical power. The "Olney Lectures" are more common-place. When we have said of them that they are plain, practical, and affectionate, we characterize them in the way which they most merit, and which will, perhaps, be most acceptable to their excellent author. Their theology is Calvinistic. An error of the press—one of those numerous ones which so unfortunately disfigured our last number, and of which the recurrence will be prevented by placing the work in other hands—makes it necessary for us to recur, in the present, to Mr. Goodwin's Cambridge Sermons. We spoke highly of them, and certainly not more highly than they deserve. Mr. Goodwin is not exactly of our school of divinity. He views the apostolical succession, for example, in a very different way from that in which we regard it; but an attentive examination of his work has convinced us that he does not go one jot beyond the limits within which our Church allows the right of private judgment. There is nothing Popish in his teaching, and we look with satisfaction on his great and increasing influence in the University.

The sermons of Mr. Kemp deserve commendation for the

large admixture of Christian metaphysics which they exhibit. This, though by no means so rare a phenomenon as it once was, is still far from being common either among Churchmen or Dissenters. Unhappily, it is generally the case that where there is any metaphysical gift in a preacher, there is also a tendency towards mere speculation and the consideration of subjects which have little practical relation to "our common salvation." This is not the case with Mr. Kemp: his sermons are useful as well as philosophical, and his style is graceful as well as correct.

The name prefixed to the next volume is so dear to the Christian and literary world, that we took it up with a feeling of pleasure and interest, and have not been disappointed. It is by the nephew of the celebrated author of the "Ode on the Burial of Sir John Moore," pronounced by Byron to be the *chef-d'œuvre* of all odes in our tongue; and found, with other poems and some beautiful sermons, in the Life of their Author, by Archdeacon Russell. The object of the author of the sermons which we are now noticing, is to furnish the country clergy with discourses adapted to their congregations; and, in our opinion, nothing can be better fitted for that purpose. The too generally cold, classical, scholastic, or abstruse style of the clergy of our churches has, we fear, sent many of our poorer classes to dissenting chapels, to hear sermons delivered with more warmth of manner, and more, as it were, in their own vernacular. From this fault the above sermons are wholly free. Simple, warm, affectionate, scriptural, and substantial, there is still a gleam of genius beneath all, which betrays that power is modulating itself to humility, and that there is no gap in the links of hereditary talent. Their avowed object has been more than accomplished, for they not only present excellent discourses for adoption, but admirable models for rural sermons, and also germs for more extended and intellectual discourses in comparatively cultivated spheres. We heartily wish them a widely-extended circulation, and many a similar sequel, and hope that they may attain their merited usefulness both to the clergy and the Christian Church in general.

We now come to Nonconformists, and here we have three specimens. The venerable Dr. Leifchild has given us some "Sermons on Christian Experience," a subject on which he is well qualified to treat. Like all that he has published, the present volume is marked by very clear views of divine truth, and great power of practical application. Albert Barnes is, perhaps, as well known in this country as in his own. The

object of the volume which we have here to notice is peculiar. It appears that there are many congregations in America which have no stated minister, and the practice prevails of allowing a sermon to be read from some printed book by one of the body. For those congregations the present volume is intended; and although it will not be used in the same way in England, we are yet glad to see an English edition of a book in itself so valuable. The last on our list is Mr. Martin's "Youthful Development;" but though last, it is by no means the least in importance. The work is admirably adapted to its purpose, and diving deeply into the recesses of the youthful heart, it exhibits the peculiar temptations of that period with equal skill and faithfulness.

III. COMMENTARIES ON SCRIPTURE

AND EDITIONS OF THE WHOLE OR SEPARATE BOOKS.

1. **Biblical and Theological Gleanings: a Collection of Comments, Criticisms, and Remarks, Explanatory or Illustrative of nearly two thousand seven hundred passages in the Old and New Testament, especially those that are generally accounted difficult; selected from more than six hundred Writers and Commentators, with some original Observations; designed principally for Village Scripture Students.** By William O'Neile. London: Ward and Co. 1854.
2. **The Commentary of Dr. Gill on the Old and New Testament.** Printed at the Bon Mahon Press, Ireland, 6 vols., royal 8vo. London: Collingridge. 1854.
3. **Biblical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, in continuation of the work of Olshausen.** By Dr. John H. A. Ebrard, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Translated from the German, by the Rev. John Fulton, A.M., Garvald. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clarke. 1853.
4. **The Four Gospels in One Narrative. Arranged by Two Friends.** London: J. W. Parker. 1854.
5. **The New Testament in Greek, from the Text of Dr. J. M. A. Scholz; with English Notes and Prefaces, a Synopsis of the Four Gospels, and Chronological Tables illustrating the Gospel Narrative.** Edited by the Rev. J. F. Macmichael, B.A., Head Master of the Grammar School, Ripon, Yorkshire. London: Whittaker. 1854.
6. **A Guide to the Apocalypse, including a Refutation of all extant Schemes of Interpretation, and a demonstrated Outline of the True.** London: Nisbet. 1854.

THE work of Mr. O'Neile is a literary curiosity, culled from all sources, he gives us opinions on all manner of pas-

sages, difficult and easy, arranged in scriptural order. His object has been to furnish village preachers and teachers with a cheap commentary; and though we cannot award the praise of much profundity, or of much originality to the original parts, nor can we always agree with the selection made from others, yet on the whole, and in the absence of any other critical commentary, Mr. O'Neile's work may be pronounced a treasure. We say *critical* commentary, because our author rarely either sermonizes himself, or selects from those who do, and this is no small merit in such a work as this.

Of Dr. Gill's work we have already spoken in our Quarterly Report, and need not, therefore, say anything more here. Dr. Ebrard's work is a continuation of Olshausen, and though not quite equal to the masterly exposition of that eminent divine, is yet well worthy of close and careful study. This volume forms one of the *late* series of Clark's Foreign Theological Library, an undertaking for which the Christian Church in this country is under deep obligations to Messrs. Clark, and which we rejoice to see is not to be discontinued. A new series is announced, commencing with "Hengstenberg's Christology,"—and which will comprise some of the most important productions of the German theological press. Not the smallest merit of these volumes is the accuracy with which they are translated.

The Four Gospels in a continuous Narrative, is a praise-worthy attempt, and well executed. The volume would be particularly well adapted for family reading, and is not without its utility to the student also. Mr. Macmichael appears to have prepared his edition of the New Testament for schools and colleges: the type is clear, the notes useful, and the synopsis at the end likely to be found very serviceable.

Most readers will be deterred from reading the "Guide to the Apocalypse" by the assumption of its title page, but should they get over this, they will find much that will repay their researches, much truth powerfully exposed, and many old and respected theories utterly overthrown.

IV. HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

1. The Gentile Nations; or, the History and Religion of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Greeks and Romans; collected from Ancient Authors and Holy Scripture, and including the Recent Discoveries in Egyptian, Persian and Assyrian Inscriptions. By George Smith, F.S.A. 2 vols. London: Longmans. 1854.

2. *Illustrations of Ancient Art ; selected from Objects discovered at Pompeii and Herculaneum.* By the Rev. Edward Trollope, F.S.A. London: Bell. 1854.
3. *Rome: Regal and Republican.* By Jane M. Strickland. London: Hall, Virtue and Co. 1854.
4. *Sacred and Profane Chronology, and the Reign of Sennacherib, Chronologically considered ; with a view to the re-adjustment of Sacred and Profane Chronology.* By J. W. Bosanquet, Esq. London: Longmans. 1854.
5. *The Roman Empire the Empire of the Edomite.* By William Beeston, of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. London: George Cox.

MR. SMITH has at last completed one of the most valuable works of recent times, we allude to his "Sacred Annals." In five volumes, we have a good, accurate, and well arranged epitome of ancient history ; not mere meagre lists of names and dates, but well written and well studied analyses. The first volume embraces the patriarchal age ; the two second, that of the Hebrew nation ; and the two last—which are now before us—that of the Gentile nations. Viewed in the light of a great historical commentary on the books of Scripture, this is exactly the proportion we should require ; and we should also seek in that part which concerned the Gentiles for peculiar stress to be laid on their creeds and religious ceremonies, on the evidences of light amidst their darkness, from the one great fountain ; we should desire to see Jewish traditions pursued through Gentile mythologies, and the mere civil and military history lightly passed over, not as unimportant, but as to be sought for in other works. This is precisely what we notice in the work before us, and it gives evidence of patient research and conscientious accuracy highly creditable to the writer. We recommend all five volumes, *i. e.* the complete work, "Sacred Annals," to all the clergy, they will find it a profoundly learned, and yet popular historical comment on Holy Scripture. It is exactly what it professes to be, and does exactly what it professes to do ; no small praise in these days of book making.

It is with much pleasure that we notice the splendid work of Mr. Trollope ; a work which displays equal taste and erudition. From the Museo Borbonico at Naples, and from objects disinterred under his own eye, he has selected a number of the most beautiful specimens, and has arranged them so as to give the reader an idea of the life and habits of ancient Rome. Here we see their festal pomp ; here their war-like panoply ; here again, we are in the midst of the para-

phernalia of some ancient *Soyer*; and anon within the boudoir of some Roman beauty,—Poppœa it may be, or Plautilla—and we admire her costly jewellery and her precious cosmetics; here is the sphendona, which we see on the coins of the Empresses, and which, by its excessive costliness, provoked the apostle to prohibit to Christian women “the *plaiting of the hair*,” and here we find ourselves in some upholster’s shop, gazing on the furniture which he is just about to send to the “Aurea Domus,” or the villa of Lucullus. The explanations are simple and elegant as the objects they concern, and we cordially recommend this volume to all lovers of art for its own sake, and to all jewellers, silversmiths, and upholsterers, as a book of classic patterns.

The name of Strickland has a kind of prestige in matters of history, and when we took up a volume of the Roman Annals from the pen of a lady bearing that name, we expected to find the merits of Miss Agnes Strickland’s works reflected in those of her sister, nor have we been altogether disappointed. If not always perfectly accurate,—if now and then careless in diction, the work is still a very acceptable and valuable one. It is peculiarly addressed to young ladies; and the Romans, during the first two eras of their eventful and most important history, are brought in a very effective way before our sisters and daughters. Miss Strickland will probably improve as she goes on, and then will, in her other volumes, leave little to be desired. Mr. Bosanquet’s volume, slender as it is, touches on so many points of interest to the historical student, that we shall confine ourselves here to merely indicating its object, and shall leave its more complete investigation to a future period; there is no question that the chronology of Scripture is susceptible of having much light thrown upon it by the discoveries which are even now in the course of being made in Assyria and Egypt; we shall probably, at no distant period, be able to read the history of Assyria in the monuments of her long buried cities, and then we shall be better able to investigate the dates of the Hebrew history.

We have read Mr. Beeston’s book with much gratification, and though we cannot commit ourselves to all its statements and conclusions, yet we recommend it as interesting alike to the antiquary and divine; for it displays a great amount of research into ancient documents and traditions, and gives some sound expositions of a few obscure parts of the Sacred Oracles. Neibuhr has overturned our long standing notions concerning the origin of the Roman

empire ; or if all historians will not admit so much as this, it must be acknowledged that he has cast considerable doubt upon them ; and not having attempted to construct another theory, he has, on this point, left our minds in bewilderment. We are grateful, therefore, to Mr. Beeston for so worthily filling the void thus created. His scholarship, and peculiar line of investigation, have enabled him to adduce some strong evidence that the Roman Empire is of Edomite origin. The grounds upon which he conducts his enquiry are, Jewish tradition, Hebrew and Phenician etymology, and Scripture prophecy ; bringing to bear upon each branch some confirmatory evidence from either heathen historians or Christian philologists. The book is worthy of attention, and is one to be studied, not glanced at.

V. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

1. History of the Church of Christ until the Revolution, A.D. 1688, for the use of Schools and Private Families ; in a Course of Lectures. By the Rev. Charles Mackenzie, M.A. Second Edition. London : published for the Author. 1853.
2. A Compendium of Ecclesiastical History. By Dr. John C. L. Gieseler, Consistorial Counsellor and Ordinary Professor of Theology in Göttingen. Fourth Edition, revised and amended. Translated from the German. By the Rev. John Winstanley Hull, M.A., Incumbent of St. Michael's, Erimsargh. Vol. IV. Edinburgh : Clarks. 1853.
3. A History of the Convocation of the Church of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1742. By the Rev. Thomas Lathbury, M.A., Author of a "History of the Nonjurors," &c. Second Edition. London : Leslie. 1853.

MR. MACKENZIE'S "History of the Church" is simple enough, and a few years ago would have been thought good enough for all purposes. Now we not only require something a little more expansive, but we should be inclined to question the tendency of a considerable part of the volume. Mr. Mackenzie takes too limited and too prejudiced a view of many important subjects for us to be able to give our unqualified approval to his volume. Of Gieseler's work it is scarcely necessary to speak, as its merits are generally acknowledged. It is written in a hard and dry style, but it is valuable both for its research, and for its accuracy. When complete, it must be in the library of every student of Ecclesiastical History, who wishes to understand his subject

thoroughly. Mr. Lathbury's "History of the Convocation" was reviewed at great length in an early number of this Review. The present edition is much improved, and appears very opportunely, now that the subject is attracting renewed attention.

VI. SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY—LAW AND ART.

1. The School of Doubt and the School of Faith. By Count Agenor de Gasparin. Translated by Robert B. Watson, B.A. Edinburgh: Constable. 1854.
2. Lectures on the True, the Beautiful, and the Good. By M. V. Cousin. Increased by an Appendix on French Art. Translated with the approbation of M. Cousin, by O. W. Wight. Third edition. Edinburgh: Clarks. 1854.
3. Essay on Human Happiness. By C. B. Adderley, M.P. London: Blackadder and Co. 1854.
4. A Popular Sketch of the Origin and Development of the English Constitution, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. By Henry Raikes, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, and Registrar of the Diocese of Chester. London: Dalton. 1854.
5. Prize Essay on the Laws for the Protection of Women. By James Edward Davis, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London: Longman. 1854.
6. Dress as a Fine Art. By Mrs. Merrifield, Hon. Member of the Academy of Fine Arts at Bologna. Author of "Ancient Practice of Painting," "Art of Fresco Painting," &c. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1854.
7. Parliamentary Reform considered under the Views suggested by Evidence given before the Election Committees of 1853. London: Piper and Stephenson. 1854.
8. Manual of Needlework. By Cornelia Mee. London: Aylott and Co. 1854.

THE Lectures of M. Victor Cousin are too important to be hastily treated, and we shall therefore reserve for another Number our examination of his recent valuable contribution to philosophical literature. M. de Gasparin is well known as a decided Scripturalist, standing as far from Rationalism on the one hand, as from Popery on the other. He is a champion of *verbal* inspiration; and his work is worth studying, if it were only for this, that no other advocate of that extreme theory has put forth its claims so ably as he has done. Mr. Raikes has completed his "Historical Sketch of the English Constitution," a work which ought to find a place beside De Lolme in every library. Two works before

us, one on the kind and degree of Reform still necessary in Parliament, and on the laws for the Protection of Women, are each valuable in its kind. The writer on Reform is more valuable for his facts than his theories; and the author of the Prize Essay on the other subject has treated a difficult and delicate subject with skill and discrimination. Mrs. Merrifield's work on "Dress as a Fine Art," small as it is, is worthy of every lady's study. The subject is of far greater importance than is usually supposed, and dress, when rightly treated,—treated in fact as Mrs. Merrifield has treated it,—becomes, what she properly calls it, one of the Fine Arts. The wood-cuts are extremely apposite, and if this little manual were studied by dress-makers, (every one in the kingdom ought to have a copy), we should see fewer solecisms, both in form and colour, perpetrated by the fairer portion of humanity. Health, too, as well as beauty, would gain by the proceeding. Mrs. Mee's little book, which has been previously published in numbers, is now offered to the public in one volume, revised and corrected. The designs are novel and elegant, and the directions for working them correct and easily understood.

VII. POETRY.

1. Christmas at the Hall, and other Poems. By T. J. Torrington. London: Longman. 1854.
2. Beautiful Poetry. Selected by the Editors of "The Critic," London Literary Journal, Vol. I. London: Crockford, 1854.
3. Solitary Musings: a Poem on the History of the Hebrew Nation, as contained in the Bible, from Abraham their great Progenitor, down to their Settlement in the Promised Land, with Reflections thereon. By the Rev. John Acaster, Vicar of St. Helen's, Stonegate, York. London: Seeley. 1854.
4. The Temple: Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations with the Priest to the Temple; or, the Country Parson. By George Herbert. London: Washbourne. 1854.
5. A Dozen Ballads for the Times about White Slavery; and—
6. A Batch of War Ballads. By the Author of Proverbial Philosophy. London: Bosworth. 1854.
7. The Legendary and Poetical Remains of John Roby, Author of "The Traditions of Lancashire." With a Sketch of his Literary Life and Character. By his Widow. London: Longman. 1854.

OF all this verse we have but little to say. "Christmas at the Hall" is well intended, but the author has made a great mistake not to put into plain prose the sentiments he wished

to inculcate. Verse is in itself a clog to narrative, and, unless "married to immortal" poetry, spoils everything that is turned into it. Our author has, to use a Teutonic expression, "upset" his meaning into rhyme, and has unhappily dislocated it by the process. But if we speak thus of "Christmas at the Hall," what shall we say of Mr. Acaster's "Solitary Musings!" Here we have scripture spoiled and travestied;—the historical part of the Old Testament is put into what a respectable country clergyman fondly imagined to be poetry. Alas! what a lamentable waste of paper! what a deplorable effusion of Christian ink! The patience and untiring industry displayed in this work would have sufficed to build a church, schools, parsonage, and all. As it is, we have only a grievous book which no one has yet read save the writer and the compositor, and which no one else will read till the end of time. Then we have "Ballads on Church Abuses," reprinted from the *Daily News*. How such bald common-place ever got into the columns of the *Daily News* is a mystery to us. And Martin Tupper, who ought to know better, and does know better, sends out "A Batch of War Ballads," written, we presume, to match the "Church Abuses." He is guilty of a high literary crime and misdemeanour. Few can rival him in his own walk, but any school-boy could write better ballads than these, and he knows the truth of this judgment himself, and blushed when he saw the printed evidences of his own forgetfulness. It is pleasant, after all this trash, to come back to "Glorious John," to romantic Surrey and his compeers, and to old George Herbert's quaint but nervous writings. Mr. Parker deserves credit for his editions, under Mr. Bell's critical superintendence. We would gladly see them a little more elegant in typography, binding, and paper; but as it is, they are wonderfully cheap and accurate, and these, in the present day, are the first requisites for a book which is to have an extensive sale. Mr. Washbourne's edition of Herbert is elegant though small, and susceptible of assuming a very mediæval appearance when "well and truly" bound.

There is a melancholy interest attached to the volume of Mr. Roby's Remains. Had he been a less devout and less amiable man, had he died as the generality of men die, or had those Remains been put forth by himself in his own lifetime, we should probably have treated them with some critical severity, but we read the affecting memoir by his widow,—we see how truly the departed was a follower of the Saviour,—we admire his warm heart and his varied

acquirements, and we mourn that the ill-fated "Orion" should have reckoned him among those who went down with her in June, 1850. His widow and daughter were saved from the wreck, but saved only in time to know how sad a loss they had sustained. The poems, drama, and tales contained in this volume are pleasing, but they want the salt of immortality. When those who loved and revered the author shall have gone to join him in a happier world, then the literary productions of John Roby shall pass out of remembrance for ever. Nevertheless, we welcome them now, and hundreds will welcome them besides ourselves.

The first volume which the editors of the *Critic* have published, under the somewhat singular title of "Beautiful Poetry," does certainly deserve the name. It contains some of the loveliest productions in the English language. We do rather regret that Byron, Moore, Cowper, and other poets, whose collected works are in every library, have been laid under contribution. It would have been better had the volume been a selection of those pieces *not* to be found elsewhere—works of writers whose poems have not been collected, or which have become rare. There is a most beautiful poem, "To an Infant Smiling as it Awoke," which the editors know not how to assign to its true owner. We are happy to be able to help them in this difficulty. The poem is by Horace Smith, and is to be found in a delightful work of his, entitled, "Gaieties and Gravities." They are right in including Edgar Poe's "Raven" in this collection; and though we could have wished to have found fewer of our old favourites, and more new claimants to become such, still we must express our satisfaction at the work and our hopes for its continuance.

VIII. VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

1. *Evenings in my Tent; or, Wanderings in Balad-Ejjereed. Illustrating the Moral, Religious, and Social Condition of various Arab Tribes of the African Sahara.* By the Rev. N. Davis, F.R.S., S.A. 2 vols. London: Hall, Virtue and Co. 1854.
2. *The Net in the Bay; or, Journal of a Visit to Moose and Albany: By the Bishop of Rupert's Land.* London: Hatchard. 1854.
3. *The Cross and the Dragon: an Account of the Progress of Christianity in China, with Notices of Missionaries and Missions, and some Account of the Secret Societies.* By John Kesson, of the British Museum. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1854.

4. Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan. By the late James Lloyd Stephens, with numerous Engravings, revised from the latest American Edition, with additions by Frederic Catherwood. London: Hall, Virtue and Co. 1854.

It is very long since we have read a book so delightful, both in matter and spirit, as Mr. Davies' account of Balad-Ejjereed, commonly called in all school books Billedulgerid. The novelty of the subject, the extreme difficulty of getting any information about the great Sahara, the charm of the writer's style, the nature of the work in which he was engaged, and the fruits of his labours, all tend to invest the "Evenings in my Tent," with a character not often met with in modern books of travels. We know of no better way to describe it than by saying that it is pleasant as "Eothen," and as improving as "The Crescent and the Cross."

The Bishop of Rupert's Land, has given us a modest and unpretending volume, but one of considerable value, when we remember how little is known of the country to the north-west of Lake Superior. Thinly inhabited, and but partially explored, it seems yet to be in many respects deserving of more attention than it has till lately received.

"The Cross and the Dragon" is a book of a more extensive, as well as of a more abiding interest. Everything that concerns China is now peculiarly worth knowing, as it appears likely that before long, this once jealously guarded empire will be open to the rest of the world; more open, indeed, than Russia is even at the present day. We have had yet no book which gives us so good a narrative of Christianity in China, of its fate during the period since which it was first introduced, and the vicissitudes which its followers have experienced, like "The Cross and the Dragon," and the account of the secret sects adds greatly to the value of Mr. Kesson's work.

Few books of travels have been so extensively popular as the "Incidents of Travel," of, we lament to say, *the late* Mr. Stephens, and few have better deserved their popularity. Even yet its real importance is but half known, and we have often wondered that it had not long ago made its appearance from the *officina* of some London publisher. The present edition is acceptable in more ways than one, for some of the less interesting portions of the original work are omitted, and Mr. Catherwood has substituted in their place materials which cannot fail to add much to the already great value of the book.

IX. FICTION.

1. *Reginald Lyle: a Tale.* By Miss Pardoe, 3 vols. London: Hurst and Blacket. 1854.
2. *Sir Roland Ashton: a Tale of the Times.* By Lady Catherine Long. London: Routledge. 1854.
3. *The Confessor: a Jesuit Tale of the Times.* By the Author of *Michael Cassidy*, with a Preface by the Rev. C. B. Tayler. London: Clarke, Beaton and Co. 1854.
4. *Castellamonte: an Auto-Biographical Sketch, Illustrative of Italian Life, during the Insurrection of 1831.* 2 vols. London: Westerton. 1854.
5. *Emmanuel Appadocca; or, Blighted Life: a Tale of the Buccaneers.* By Maxwell Philip. 2 vols. London: Skeet. 1854.

THE first work on our list is Miss Pardoe's "*Reginald Lyle*," of which it would be, perhaps, enough to say, that it is by far the best of all her works of fiction. We may be permitted as divines, when we see a lady writing such histories as those which we owe to Miss Pardoe, to wish that she would keep in those higher and nobler walks of literature in which she stands, without any exception, the first female writer of Europe. Yet if novels we must have, let us by all means have such as "*Reginald Lyle*," which does not contain one dull page, nor one ill-drawn character. We shall leave our readers to develope the plot. In making a comparison between Miss Pardoe and any other novelist of our day it would be necessary to observe that their aims are different. The one gives you a picture of life, more or less correct; sometimes works out a moral, sometimes illustrates an historical fact; but in all cases the work is sketched from without, it is strictly objective. Miss Pardoe takes a totally different course, her fictions are eminently subjective, they are psychological studies: she takes human nature, and instead of drawing what she sees, she transposes it, and exhibits it under new and untried combinations. Hence her writings require more attention than those of romancers in general; and her brilliant powers of description, her unrivalled skill in designing character, and her dramatic conversations, have hardly justice done them by those who read hastily, and fail to notice the peculiar idiosyncrasies which she places before them.

Lady Catherine Long's novel of "*Sir Roland Ashton*" forms a remarkable contrast to what we have been describing; here all is drawn from without. The tale is pleasing but melancholy, and though brightened by the influence of Christianity,

it leaves a sad and pensive feeling behind. There is little dramatic skill, no profound investigation of character; but still the book is one which deserves and has attained popularity. Of "The Confessor" we are hardly inclined to say so much, we have had rather too many fictitious Jesuits lately, nor do the merits of the work before us relieve the disadvantages of the subject. Those in whom the anti-popery feeling slumbers will not care for the novel; those in whom it is very vivid will look only to its religious politics.

We have classed "Castellamonte" as a work of fiction, because it appears to be so; but on the title page, it claims to be an auto-biography. It is a stirring narrative of that troubled period in Italian history which immediately succeeded the accession of Louis Philippe to the insecure throne of the barricades. It gives a very striking and accurate picture of the hopes and fears of the Italian people during that season of suspense, when at first it appeared as though the hour of liberty had struck, and many noble hearts beat high to welcome it, soon, alas! to be crushed beneath the iron heel of Austrian despotism.

"Emmanuel Appadoca" is a wild and thrilling tale of the Spanish main, told by one to whom the scenery of the tropics and the perils of the seas are evidently well known. We are induced to think that this is a first production, and if so, can assure Mr. Philip that he may go on and prosper. He displays unmistakeable power, and with care he promises to become one of our best writers of fiction. As it is, few will lay down "Emmanuel Appadoca" till they have concluded his romantic story.

X. BIOGRAPHY.

1. *Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.* By his Son-in-Law, the Rev. William Hanna, LL.D. Edinburgh: Constable. 1 and 2 Quarterly Parts. 1854.
2. *Autographic Sketches.* By Thomas De Quincy. Edinburgh: Hogg, 1854.

THE cheap reprint of Dr. Chalmers' Life possesses other merits besides cheapness; it is beautifully printed, and on good paper. Of its literary merits it is needless to speak; they have been extensively acknowledged, and by none more willingly than by ourselves.

Mr. De Quincey's work requires a few words. Fascinating in the extreme, the style of Mr. De Quincey is such

as few attain to, and in this work it can hardly be said "*materiem superabat opus.*" Rarely has a more attractive book fallen into our hands. Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth, live and move before us; we walk with them, read with them, entertain their friends, wander with them about moor and mountain, and catch glimpses as we go of nearly all the poetical celebrities of the day. This is, we understand, a second volume, but it seems complete in itself. We shall look forward with the deepest interest to the next instalment.

XI. BOOKS FOR YOUNG PERSONS.

1. Memorable Women: the Story of their Lives. By Mrs. Newton Crossland. London: Bogue. 1854.
2. A Peep into the Family of Mrs. Delmar; a Book for Me and my Children. By the Author of "Commence the Great Lesson." London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1854.
3. Spencer's Cross; or, the Manor House. A Tale for Young People. By the Author of Belgravia, &c. London: Westerton. 1854.
4. The Lamp of Love. Edited by the Rev. Christian Henry Bateman. London: Houlston and Stoneman. 1854.
5. Far Off. Part I.—Asia and Australia Described. Part II.—Africa and America Described; with Anecdotes and Numerous Illustrations. By the Author of "The Peep of Day." Seventh Thousand. London: Hatchard. 1854.
6. A Peep at the Pixies; or, Legends of the West. By Mrs. Bray, Author of the Life of Stodhard, &c. London: Grant and Griffith. 1854.
7. The Heroines of History. By Mrs. Octavius Freire Owen; with Eight Illustrations by Gilbert. London: Routledge. 1854.
8. Letters from Sarawak addressed to a Child. By Mrs. M'Dougal. London: Grant and Griffith. 1854.
9. The Dying Soldier; a Tale Founded on Facts. By the Rev. William Sinclair, M.A., Incumbent of St. George's, Leeds. London: Hatchard. 1854.
10. Dale End; or, Six Weeks at the Vicarage. By the Author of "The Unseen Hand." Dublin: Hubert. 1854.

It is pleasant to see so much care taken to provide the young with intellectual pabulum as we see in our day, and to see persons occupying a high rank in literature not disdaining to cater at once for their instruction and amusement. Biography is at all times a delightful study, and the two ladies whose works we have to notice—minor works though they be—Mrs. Octavius Owen and Mrs. Newton Crossland, have

neither detracted from their dignity nor thrown away their labour in these pleasing volumes. The two books—alike in form, and very much alike in character—should be purchased together, and they will make a very delightful addition to any young lady's library. Perhaps we may say that there is more power in Mrs. Owen, and more pathos in Mrs. Crossland. Those who take a "Peep into the Family of Mrs. Delmar" will be glad that they are not obliged to do more, but may return at once to more pleasant homes and more congenial companions. The book is unmitigated trash. "Spencer's Cross" is a pleasant and well told tale; the characters come out naturally, and the aim of the book is good throughout. Still higher in character is Mrs. Bray's "Peep at the Pixies." This is indeed a lovely little volume. Here is romance, art, poetry, and nature, all at once. We would gladly recommend this work to young and old alike; and the same commendation we would bestow on the "Letters from Sarawak." The writer of this last most interesting book has just seized on what is most interesting and most worth knowing in that strange land, and placed it before her youthful readers in the most graphic way. Not quite so good, but still very valuable, are the volumes by the author of "The Peep of Day." The first part describes, and describes well, Asia and Australasia; the second deals with Africa and America; and it is saying no little for the author when we put these works in the same category with the "Letters from Sarawak." "The Lamp of Love" is a pretty little magazine. We know not whether it is to be continued, or whether the one volume completes it. If it goes on we wish it all success. Mr. Sinclair's very small, but very pleasing volume, is written in a style that strongly reminds us of Defoe. The interest is sustained without flagging to the melancholy close, and the lesson taught is most valuable and important; while the tenth, which closes our list, "Dale End," is a proof that, on the other side of St. George's Channel, the same wants are felt, and with equal ability and integrity supplied.

XII. EDUCATION.

1. The Popular Educator. London: John Cassell. 1854.
2. The Historical Educator. London: John Cassell. 1854.
3. The Popular Biblical Educator. London: John Cassell. 1854.
4. New and Popular History of England. By Robert Ferguson, L.L.D. 4 vols. John Cassell. 1854.

5. Education best Promoted by Perfect Freedom, not by State Endowments. By Edward Baines. London: Snow. 1854.
6. Whitaker's Educational Register. London: Whitaker. 1854.

POPULAR Education had never so many advocates, and never so many persons engaged in its work, as at present; and if royal roads are not found to every branch of art, science, and literature, it is not for want of trying.

Among the various purveyors of instruction to the million, Mr. Cassell holds a distinguished and very enviable place. His publications are remarkable for soundness and accuracy, and though the low price at which they are issued precludes the idea of much beauty in paper and type, yet even in this respect it is wonderful that so much can be obtained at so small a cost.

The writers employed seem to be all competent, and a few of high standing. The "History of England," by Dr. Ferguson, may be taken as an example. There are four volumes for four shillings, so closely printed as to be capable of occupying at least ten times the space. The book is valuable; and if it be ugly—and this undoubtedly it is—it must be remembered, at the same time, that it is good, reliable, and exceedingly cheap.

Mr. Baines' pamphlet is able and argumentative, but not to us convincing. He is certainly, however, the most competent advocate that the purely voluntary system can boast of.

Mr. Whitaker's "Register" contains an account of all the universities, colleges, educational institutions, foundation and grammar schools, and training institutions for teachers, in the kingdom. It seems to be carefully compiled. It does not, however, give the names of trustees. In cases where trustees are the patrons of schools, this would greatly add to the value of the work. We notice that it gives an account of all the chief educational establishments on the Continent and in America.

XIII. PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE "Westminster Review" has in the January number a very curious article on the origin and present types of English religion which will be worth studying, by those who imagine they can make Christianity embrace all kinds of creeds. It will be hardly necessary for us to say, that able,

and in many respects profound, as the essay is, we do not consider it Christian.

The "British Quarterly" has a very interesting article on Neibuhr, especially regarded in a religious point of view ; and a remarkably powerful and searching essay on Coleridge as a theologian. There is an attempt also, to elevate the late amiable and excellent Pye Smith into the rank of a great man, but, as may be imagined, without much success.

The "Irish Church Journal" is very good, but not especially Irish. In the second number, is an interesting account of religion in America ; and in the third, one, scarcely less interesting, on the present state of the Waldenses.

The "Homilist" is a work little known, but which deserves to be much more so. It is conducted by a congregational minister, and circulates chiefly among Nonconformists. Its object is to present sketches and skeletons of sermons—thoughts which may be expanded, and a few more finished productions ; it also reviews sermons ; and is faithful as well as useful.

The "Eclectic" for March, contains an article on Christianity and its modern assailants, which will well repay perusal.

The "Journal of Sacred Literature" for January, has an important article on the Armenian translation of Eusebius, and another on the sources of the received text of the New Testament, which is worth examining.

We have received from America, the "Bibliotheca Sacra," (the London publishers are Tübner and Co.) The January number is one of great value. We would especially notice an article by Mr. Aiken, on the "Comparative view of English and German Biblical Science ;" and another, by Dr. Hickok, on "Rhetoric determined and applied." A paper on Phrenology in the same number, by Dr. Pond, is altogether a mistake ; Dr. Pond does not know what phrenology is.

The 18th part of the "Cyclopædia Bibliographia" differs in no essential respect, from its predecessors. It is, however, gratifying to find how well its character continues to be sustained. And we can speak, from our own actual experience, to the great advantage conferred by such a book, on all who are seeking after some of the hidden treasures of theological lore ;—on all, indeed, who are occasionally called on to hunt through the pages of some old, dusty, folio, which is seldom privileged, except as a special favour, to quit the repose of the shelf.

You hear, for example, as we heard, that the list of the

books in the Bible, according to the various editions, is to be found in Hody. You discover, after a little trouble, that this Hody is an austere looking volume, of very antiquated character; and the leaves show unmistakeably that few indeed have been bold enough to peruse it. You grow pale at the very thought of having to search it; but you determine before beginning, to consult the *Cyclopædia Bibliographica*, and it soon gets you out of your trouble; for under the article *Hody*, you see "De librorum Biblicorum numero ac ordine, p. 644;" and you turn, with a light heart, to this page, inexpressibly rejoiced that the good offices of the catalogue have relieved you from the need of any further acquaintance with the venerable Archdeacon.

In our estimation, the entire work would have been a far more complete thing if it had been confined to theology; because on no other subject does it pretend to approach towards perfection. A *catalogue raisonnée* of any one department of literature, such as theology, is quite practicable. But if any one would form a conception of what it would be if consisting of universal literature, let him look at the catalogue of the British Museum, which is not by any means so minute as Mr. Darling's, and remember that the library of the British Museum is not the largest in Europe.

This 18th part almost brings us to a close of the first volume of the work. The second volume will contain the same matter, arranged, no longer under names but under subjects; and we would press upon Mr. Darling's consideration, whether the exclusion of all but theological books, and the insertion of all standard works of theology, would not add to the value of a publication, which ought to be in the possession of every literary man.

XIV. MISCELLANEOUS.

1. China; her Future and her Past: a Charge, by George Smith, D.D., Bishop of Victoria. London: Hatchard. 1854.
2. A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese, by John Bishop of Fredericton.
3. Church Synods: a Charge to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Archdeaconry of Worcester. By Richard Brindley Hone, M.A., Archdeacon of Worcester. London: Parker. 1853.
4. A Discourse on Church Discipline and the Burial Service. By Charles John Vaughan, D.D., Head-Master of Harrow School. London: Parker. 1854.

5. *A Sermon on the Rights and Privileges, the Duties and Responsibilities, of a Christian Nation.* By the Rev. Robert Bruce Kennard, M.A. London: Dalby. 1854.
6. *Two Sermons on the Prospect of a General War.* By the Rev. J. S. Boone. London: Parker. 1854.
7. *Casuistry and Conscience. Two Discourses delivered in the University Chapel, Dublin.* By the Rev. Arthur B. Rowan, A.M. Dublin: Hodges and Smith. 1854.
8. *Oxford Reform and Oxford Professors.* By Henry Halford Vaughan, M.A. London: Parker. 1854.
9. *Modern Revision of the Prayer Book, on the Orthodox Principles of its Preface.* By the Rev. C. H. Davis, M.A. London: Jackson. 1853.
10. *The Tables Turned; or, the "Wandering Spirit" of the Churches.* By Anti-Satan. London: Walker.
11. *"The Destructive Art of Healing;" or, Facts for Families.* London: Routledge. 1853.
12. *Cathedral Commission, and the Collegiate and Cathedral and Parish Church of Manchester.* Manchester: Beresford and Gall. 1853.

THE charge of the Bishop of Hong-Kong or Victoria will be interesting to all who are looking for the christianization of China; that of the Bishop of Fredericton will justify what we have said of this prelate in another place; while that of Archdeacon Howe will amply bear out our observations on Convocation.

The sermons are good. That of Mr. Bruce seems to go, however, a little out of its way to protest, very indirectly, against the admission of Jews to Parliament; and that of Mr. Rowan is a powerful exposure of the fundamental error of Jesuit theology. The appendices, too, are very valuable.

Professor Vaughan's pamphlet is an able recommendation of the professorial system at Oxford, as contra-distinguished from the tutorial: a view in which we cannot coincide with him. Mr. Davies' "Essay on the Moderate Revision of the Prayer Book," is itself moderate and wise. "The Tables Turned" is very well in its way, but has no great merit to compensate for the choice of a subject in which, if nothing new can be said, silence is wise.

Dr. Dickson deprecates bleeding and depletion in all cases; and, in nine out of ten, he is right.

The pamphlet on the Manchester Chapter is corroborative of all we have said in our article on Chapters in general.

BOOKS RECEIVED TOO LATE TO BE CLASSIFIED.

The Comforter; or, Thoughts on the Influence of the Holy Spirit. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., F.R.S.E. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1854.

Signs of the Times.—The Moslem and his End—The Christian and his Hope. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., F.R.S.E. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1854.

“THE COMFORTER” is the third of a series of small books in which the pious and excellent author has aimed at depicting, first, the hand of the ever-blessed Father; secondly, the work of the ever-blessed Son; and in the present treatise, the influence of the Holy Spirit. It need hardly be added that the work is characterized by truth and beauty. The latter *brochure* consists of three lectures; the subjects are treated prophetically, and Dr. Cumming’s peculiar views on prophecy are prominently put forth.

The Historic-Geographical Atlas of the Middle and Modern Ages. A series of Maps and Plans chronologically arranged, delineating the Migrations of the German and Asiatic Nations, and the Rise and Fall of all the States, Kingdoms, and Empires founded by them in Europe, Western Asia, Northern Africa, and America, from the Fall of the Western Roman Empire to the Abdication of Napoleon; with Special Maps, illustrative of English History. Based on the Historisch-Geographischer Hand Atlas of Dr. Spruner. Translated, with numerous Additions and Explanatory Memoir to the Maps, by Edward Gover, Editor of the Universal Atlas of the Middle Ages, &c. London: Varty and Owen. 1854.

AFTER presenting the reader with the title of Dr. Spruner’s “Atlas,” it will be sufficient if we say that it is well translated, ably edited, beautifully printed, and superbly got up. Its utility may be guessed at by what it professes to do—all of which it does faithfully perform.

The Treasury Harmony of the Four Evangelists, in the words of the authorised Version, according to Greswell’s *Harmonia Evangelica*. Having Scripture Illustrations, Expository Notes from the most approved Commentators, Practical Reflections, Geographical Notes, &c. Compiled by Robert Mimpriss. London: Varty and Owen. 1854.

It is difficult to speak in too high terms of the value of this manual. It forms a commentary, critical, exegetical, and

practical, in the whole of the Gospel Ministry, which is well expressed in the hermeneutical letter after Revelation. Yet we can foresee how it might be much improved. In this edition the type is too small, and the matter too compressed: we would recommend the omission of the "*Practical Reflections*" at the ends of the sides and bottom of the pages at some few of the explications, under which they assume too summarising a character, or when the meaning of the text is obvious. Let it be observed, that we do not quarrel with these things, but only that in so small a book they necessitate too small a type, and too great a crowding. In the larger edition proposed, they may find a place with advantage.

The Revelation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Figuratively and Chronologically Interpreted. By the Rev. Philip Gell, M.A. late Rector of St. Andrew's in the District of Dorset, in the Diocese of Lincoln. 3 vols. London: Wernham and Mackintosh. 1854.

Books on the Apocalypse are so abundant, that it is with real pleasure we turn to any thing so sound and thoughtful as that of Mr. Gell. He states, that as *general* he is a follower of Elliott; but he differs from his leader on many important points; and treats with much originality the era of the fifth seal, the fulfilment of the latter part of the sixth, the vision of the four winds, and the sealing; the whole interpretation of the seventh seal, the casting down of the stars, and many other portions of the great Christian prophecy. He disagrees, and we think rightly, from Mr. Elliott, in not regarding the seven thunders as papal bulls, and that the last head of the beast was the Pope. It must not, however, be imagined, that the volumes of Mr. Gell are occupied solely with those matters in which he differs from the author of the *Horæ Apocalypticæ*; they form one complete and connected Commentary on the most difficult portion of the Christian Scriptures.

